THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

RUFUS KING

VOLUME VI.

1816-1827

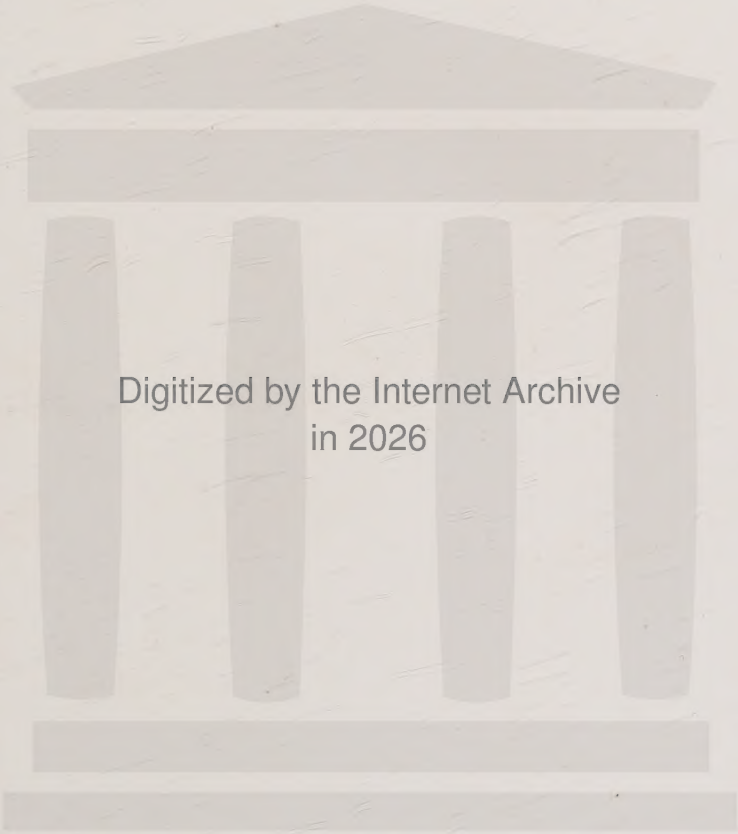
Of this Letter-press Edition

750 Copies have been Printed for Sale

No. 251

G. P. Putnam's Sons

February, 1900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THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

RUFUS KING

COMPRISING HIS LETTERS, PRIVATE AND OFFICIAL
HIS PUBLIC DOCUMENTS AND
HIS SPEECHES

EDITED BY HIS GRANDSON

CHARLES R. KING, M.D., LL.D. (TRIN.)

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HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

VOLUME VI.

1816-1827

NEW YORK
G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
The Knickerbocker Press
1900

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CHARLES R. KING

The Knickerbocker Press, New York

PREFACE.

The necessity of bringing the remaining papers relative to the life and work of Mr. King within this volume involved much difficulty of selection, and therefore this has been met by giving here such letters and statements as would throw light upon the times during his latter years and upon his connection with them. In this way the opinions he expressed relative to the many important questions which were before the country, and in the discussion and settlement of which he took a leading part, are fairly represented. The speeches he delivered in the Senate on the Navigation Laws the Missouri question, the Sales of the Public Lands, the Caucus System of selecting a President, all of which involved most careful consideration and treatment, and others on important matters, will be found either in the body of the work or, as corrected by himself, in the Appendix.

As to the material, most of the letters were collected many years ago by his son, Dr. Charles King; others have come into the possession of the editor, who has endeavored to exercise care in seeking information from other sources, in many cases from friends who have kindly furnished valuable matter in response to his inquiries, for which he is most thankful, and in others from published works, which have been carefully examined.

The object in view has been to show Mr. King in his daily life, and to present him as an able, wise and honest statesman, a true lover of his country, and a faithful guardian of her institutions, to the establishment of which he so largely contributed.

The Editor desires to thank the publishers for their assistance and courtesy in preparing these volumes, as shown in their neat and appropriate appearance, similar to that in which they have published the correspondence of the statesmen contemporary with Mr. King.

C. R. K.

ANDALUSIA, PA.,
December, 1899.

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ERRATA.

Vol. I., p. 130.—R. King was married March 30, 1786, not 31st.

Vol. II., p. 580.—Professor C. A. Riegelman, of the University of Michigan, called attention to the fact that the statement in the note on this page that the Virginia resolutions were "presented by Nicholas" to the Kentucky Legislature is incorrect. George Nicholas advocated the resolutions, but was never a member of the Kentucky Legislature.

THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF RUFUS KING.

CHAPTER I.

President's Message to the 14th Congress—Convention with Great Britain—House of Representatives claimed a Law necessary to repeal existing commercial Regulations—Decision that one was not necessary under the Convention—King opposed to Resolution to amend the Constitution so as to make Judges removable—King in Favor of an Amendment to choose Electors of President & Vice-President by Districts—King—On national Bank—Advocated larger Amount of Specie to be subscribed—Morris to King—Tariff Legislation—King to Morris—Land Tax—King to Armstrong—Claims of New York for Expenses for Harbor Defences—M. Lewis to King—Works for Defence were not properly authorized—Armstrong to King—Did not authorize the Expenditures—Morris to King—Opposed to the land Tax—Speculations on next presidential Election—Henderson to King and Gracie to King—Merchants feel Effect of excessive Importation—King to E. King—U. S. Bank—Tariff—King—Memorandum about Armstrong—President allows King's Charge for Advances to Lafayette.

Among the events of this year, 1816, was the Presidential election for a successor to Mr. Madison. A caucus of the Republican members of Congress was held on March 16, 1816, and Mr. Monroe was nominated as their candidate for the Presidency, and Tompkins, who had claims to the higher office, was named as the Vice-President.

"Monroe and Tompkins" was a clear national ticket which swept the country easily; the candidates receiving in fact, the

electoral votes of all the States, except Massachusetts, Connecticut and Delaware, where the forlorn hope of Federalism maintained a faltering last stand and gave Rufus King the compliment of the Presidential ballots, not having thought it worth while to unite upon any person for Vice-President."

SCHOULER—*Hist. U. S.*, Vol. II., 460.

The Message of the President on the assembling of the 14th Congress had called the attention of that body to the new aspect of public affairs after the peace and the conclusion of a commercial convention with Great Britain. The foreign relations, the military and naval affairs of the country, the condition of the national finances, all required careful attention, and discreet handling; and suggestions were offered looking to the making of roads and canals for easier internal intercourse, and for the fostering of incipient manufactures by a system of protecting duties.

Mr. King was placed on two of the most important standing committees in the Senate, that which related to foreign affairs and that which had in charge the finances and the establishment of an uniform national currency—for the consideration of which matters his previous experience and preparation eminently qualified him. Some of the correspondence in the 5th volume of this work will have shown the course he pursued and the views he held on these and other current questions. The war being over, he labored earnestly to provide for the future prosperity of the country by so modifying proposed legislation, for he was in a small minority, that its undoubted resources might be developed, and its increased importance as a nation, might be taken advantage of in dealing with others.

At an early stage of the proceedings of the 14th Congress a question arose relative to the effect of certain provisions of the Convention with Great Britain. The Senate had by an unanimous vote declared that all laws in opposition to that Treaty, should be held as void, upon the principle that, upon the exchange of ratifications, all commercial regulations incompatible with it were repealed by it. The Senate

believed that a bill declaratory of the fact was unnecessary, but might remove all doubts and difficulties. The House of Representatives, however, returned another bill claiming that the Treaty did not abrogate the law previously existing, but that a law to repeal those regulations must be passed, before the Treaty was complete. This involved the constitutional question as to the Treaty-making power, and the Senate having refused to accept this construction a Committee of Conference between the two Houses was agreed upon, of which on the part of the Senate Mr. King was appointed chairman, with Messrs Barbour & Bibb as colleagues. On the 27th of February,* this Committee reported through Mr. King the conclusions, upon which agreement had been reached. While both Houses admitted that some Treaties may, and some others may not, require legislative provisions to secure their execution, this was not one of the latter as contended for by the House, but that it was "conclusive and by its own authority suspends or removes antecedent laws that are contrary to its provisions," and that a declaratory law was merely expedient, "adding nothing to the efficacy of the treaty, and serving only to remove doubts whenever they exist." The House accepted this decision of the Committee and the bill was passed with modifications of its details which had been agreed upon.

There were many other interesting subjects brought before this Congress, in which Mr. King, either as a member of a committee, or deeming it his duty to discuss them, has made a record of the opinions he held. One of these was a resolution proposed by his colleague, Mr. Sanford of New York, on March 7th to amend the Constitution, to make judges removable from office by the President and both Houses of Congress by the concurring vote of two thirds of the latter.

"In the conversation (on March 18th) respecting the mode of disposing of this business, some general remarks were made, of a decided character, by Mr. King, against the object of the resolve,

* *Annals of Congress*, 1815–16, p. 160.

on the ground of its proposing to invade the independence of the Judiciary, so all-important and sacred a part of our Constitution, that the Legislature ought not even to propose to disturb it. Mr. Roberts & Mr. Sanford in reply took ground against Mr. King's doctrine, which they argued placed the judges on an eminence more exalted than was consistent with the genius of our Government, or the extent of our Constitution, &c., . . ."*

It does not appear that at this time any farther discussion on this subject took place.

Under instructions from the legislature of Massachusetts, Mr. Varnum introduced a resolution to propose an amendment of the Constitution, for the choosing of Representatives in Congress and appointing electors of the President and Vice President of the United States by districts into which each State should be divided.

These suggestions were discussed and there was a general agreement that the then existing law would authorize Congress to choose Representatives in the manner proposed.

Mr. King† said that, so far as regarded the manner and time of choosing Representatives and Senators to Congress, a majority of the Congress may by law now establish the very manner of choosing Representatives, which was now proposed to be erected into a constitutional rule. It seemed to him, therefore, unnecessary to alter the Constitution by imposing a rule, when, according to the Constitution, a competent power can now make the same regulation by law. Not so with the part of the amendment before the Senate, which the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Barbour) proposed to strike out. The States may now severally direct the manner of choosing their own Electors; it is proposed that the manner shall be prescribed by the Constitution. That, Mr. K. thought, would be an important change, and the only change suggested in the Constitution which he deemed an improvement. He thought he might venture to say, that if there was any part of the Constitution deemed by its framers and advocates to be better secured than any other against the enterprises

* *Annals of Congress*, 1815–16, p. 208.

† *Annals of Congress*, 1815–16, p. 215.

which have since occurred, it was the very provision on the subject of elections to the Presidency. The idea was, that the action of that particular agency, that has since controlled it, was as much displaced by the constitutional plan of election of President and Vice-President as could possibly be desired. The opinion had been that all undue agency or influence was entirely guarded against; that the men selected by the people from their own body would give their votes in such a manner as that no opportunity would be afforded for a combination to change the freedom and popular character which naturally belonged to the electoral bodies. Such had been the idea at the time of the adoption of the Constitution. We all know, said he, the course which this thing had taken. The election of a President of the United States is no longer that process which the Constitution contemplated. In conformity with the original view of the authors of that instrument, I would restore, as thoroughly as possible, the freedom of election to the people: I would make the mode of election uniform through the country, by throwing the whole nation into as many districts as there are Electors, and let the people of each district choose one Elector. One idea on this subject, he thought worth more than all the arguments against this course; that then all the people of the country would stand precisely on the same footing; and no particular addresses could be made to the special interests and particular views of particular men, or particular sections of the country. The course now pursued in this respect, Mr. King said, was not entitled to that high distinction. On the contrary, those who reflected on it could not help seeing that our progress in Government was not for the better; that it was not likely hereafter to be in favor of popular rights. It was with the people the Constitution meant to place the election of the Chief Magistrate, that being the source least liable to be corrupt. But if, under the name of the liberty of the people, said Mr. K., we put this power into other hands, with different interests, we place it in a situation in which the rights of the people are violated. In this point of view, he said, this particular clause of the proposed amendments of the Constitution was of great value. Let the question of the mode of election of Senators and Representatives rest where it is; if Congress choose to interpose, let them. The other part of the proposition was in

favor of the rights of the people, of the freedom of the country ; for with regard to these rights and freedom, no man could name a matter so important as the choice of the President of the nation. It is an infirmity of our nature that we look for chiefs and rulers, either for their superior virtue, or their supposed subserviency to the views of those in subordinate situations. It was against the evil of the latter principle Mr. K. desired to guard. The liberties of the people, repeated he, of which we speak much, are more affected by the choice of the President, than by any other ordinary political act. In this point they are vulnerable ; here ought the rights of the people and of the States to be guarded. Our existence and the passions of the present day are ephemeral ; public liberty should be immortal. Considering that this body should be to the people and States not only the safe guardians of their rights but the protectors of their liberty, he hoped they would adopt a provision he considered so nearly connected with the perpetuation of both."

Mr. Lacock having moved that instead of the original resolutions, a committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of proposing an amendment of the Constitution for the election of President & Vice President by the electors of each State qualified to vote for the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures, Mr. King, * among others, addressed the Senate. He said :

" All experience had shown that the people of any country were most competent to a correct designation of their first magistrate. So far as history affords us light, it leads to this point ; that in time of difficulty and peril to a nation, when it is in utmost need of superior talent for its high stations, no tribunal is more competent to discern and select it than the people. Intrigue, turbulence and corruption may have some sway in quiet times, when all is tranquillity in regard to the general situation of the country ; but when the Ship of State is in peril and in danger, turbulence ceases, and the best men are by instinctive power fixed on by the people for their governors. That has been wonderfully illustrated by history ; and the best designations of magistrates

* *Annals of Congress*, 1815–16, p. 223.

have been produced in this way. My sober view is, said Mr. K., that, as to the election of Chief Magistrate of this nation, nobody is so competent as the great body of freemen to make a proper selection. Whether their first impression should be taken, as now suggested by Mr. Lacock, was a question of great importance. There would be great difficulty in making the returns of the votes ; those who collected and compared the votes might defeat the choice of the people, &c. Not that these objections were insuperable. He was persuaded that the course of things under the present mode of choosing a President was in its nature pernicious, and that it had a tendency to prevent the object intended by the Constitution, of a pure elective majority. Men now live who will probably see the end of our system of government ; terminate when it will, that termination will not be favorable to public liberty. For five years past he had seen a character developing itself, the predominance of which he feared. Not a people on earth were more capable of high excitement than this people. During the excitement of the passion to which he referred, if a contested election occurs, the gownsmen must stand aside ; another character supersedes them ; and there can be little difficulty in judging what will be the result. The march from military rule to despotism is certain, invariable. Those who think they see the probable tendency of our present system should interpose something remedial. The people in this particular are the best keepers of their own rights ; and any device to remove that power from them weakens the security of it. He was anxious that the Senate should come to this question without the feelings of party ; it was one involving all their interests and those of their families and descendants. He knew that this proposition, if agreed to, would break down the power of the great States. He had no objection, if in curtailing their power, the same measure regulated the rights of the whole nation equally. He was willing to let the election for the Presidency rest wholly on the people."

The farther consideration of the matter, after some negative votes on amendments, was postponed.

The House of Representatives sent to the Senate a bill passed by it to incorporate the subscribers to the Bank of

the United States, which led to an earnest debate prolonged over many days. Many amendments were made, among others one offered and strongly advocated by Mr. Mason, of New Hampshire, to increase the amount of specie to be paid at the time of subscription to ten per cent. instead of five as proposed—making it $2,800,000 instead of $1,400,000.

"Mr. King* supported this motion. Before he proceeded to make any remarks on the motion, he touched upon a question preliminary in its character and which he regarded as of great importance, inasmuch as it superseded all detail, and, if decided affirmatively, rendered it utterly useless to discuss the details of the bill. Adverting to the discussion which had taken place in this House on late occasions in regard to public opinion, public opinion well defined and understood, the well considered judgment of the majority of the nation, no one doubted was entitled to profound respect from this House. Public opinion was not so embodied, not cast into such a shape, that much confidence could be placed in that argument on the subject of the establishment of a National Bank. Yet public opinion does exist; and where it is relative to constitutional questions of great municipal law, it may be relied on as authority. The legislative power of the nation was placed in two separate branches; public opinion in favor of this distribution of it was so general and strong that no educated man in the nation could doubt it. It was, therefore, not only a provision of the Constitution, but unquestionably the decision of public opinion, that, upon any measure fit to be made a law, the discussion on all its provisions ought to be subjected to separate examination in the separate branches of the Legislature, and that the decision of one branch should not operate to preclude a re-examination by the other; that each branch of the Legislature should deliberate on any measure which has passed the other branch with the same freedom as if the bill had originated in that House.

"The subject now under consideration was a most important measure, and had passed the other branch of the Legislature. Those very considerations, rather than forbidding, demanded a peculiar and circumspect examination of the bill in this branch of

* *Annals of Congress*, 1815–16, p. 237.

the Legislature. It may, for example, have fortuitously passed the other House. Care ought to be taken that it do not in like manner fortuitously pass the Senate. The smallness of the majority in the other House, the possibility of its varying, &c., instead of being reasons for hurrying over this bill, were reasons why it should be examined more freely. If this reasoning were not true, the Constitution and public opinion were equally wrong ; the Legislature should consist of but one branch. He was not, therefore, permitted to doubt that the Senate, disregarding the suggestion, that possibly the bill might fail on being again brought before the other House by amendments from this House, would decide according to the obligations of their station here, and with an unbiassed regard to their fitness of such amendments as should be proposed ; leaving the responsibility for the consequences of their duty where, by the Constitution, it ought to rest. These suggestions flowed from an apprehension, on the part of Mr. K., that, although the question was surrounded with difficulties, the Senate would be urged to pass the bill without amendments, but on its return to the House, if the Senate did its duty by amending it, the bill would fail.

"Mr. K. then turned his attention to the bill, which, he said, was imperfect in its provisions in the view which any gentleman might take of it, as could be easily shown. The particular proposition now before the Senate though important, was not so much so as the other points in the bill. But the gentleman from New Hampshire (Mr. Mason) had conclusively shown that one and a half millions was the greatest extent to which, as it now stood, the bank could safely issue on a specie system. Illustrating his view of the subject by a detailed statement of the process, he said, that the first discounts of the bank being necessarily to those most pressed by the State banks, the proceeds of the discounts would immediately find their way into the vaults of the State banks, &c. Under this view a million and a half of dollars would be a sum entirely too small wherewith to enter into competition with the existing banks. If the issue of the bank exceeded the specie paid in, the first process would be, immediately to transfer the specie from the general bank to the local banks ; if the bank confined its discounts within that sum, its agency would be very limited indeed, &c.

"Connected with this subject was another idea, which perhaps it would be premature now to enlarge on; which was, that according to the provisions of this bill, as he understood them, the bank need not, may not, will not, be a specie paying bank; the very circumstances already suggested would compel the bank to become a paper bank, to issue a paper that will not command specie. This, then, should be an additional motive to the Senate to increase the amount of the specie payment, that the bank may be enabled to avoid such a state of its affairs as would compel it to become a paper bank, &c. He hoped the Senate would agree to the amendment."

This amendment was rejected and so were many others considered important by those who acted with Mr. King; but after several days, the bill was passed by a vote of 22 to 12, Mr. King in the negative. It was returned to the House, "with a few unimportant amendments," and these being accepted the bill passed and was approved by the President, thus becoming a law on April 10th.

The President sent to Congress on February 13th, a report of the Secretary of the Treasury on a general tariff, a copy of which was forwarded by Mr. King to Gouverneur Morris. On March 1st, the latter acknowledged its receipt in a letter commenting at the same time, upon it, saying "some changes of the present duties were for the better and some for the worse"; among the latter, the placing higher duties on established manufactures, as proposed, he thought would have the effect of diminishing the revenue; for his belief was that,

"if the duties were lowered, so as to produce foreign competition, our mechanics would do more and better work to their own advantage and that of the community. . . . Our system is in my opinion vicious, and the Secretary's Tariff will make it worse. The present rates are so high that if they be not lowered, many articles will be fraudulently introduced. . . . It is the duty of us all to oppose what is wrong in any system, and they will be sadly duped, who impose pernicious taxes to please men in power. Let those, whose duty it is, propose proper taxes, and if they do

not, let those whose duty it is protect their constituents against injury and oppression. If those, who manage our finances, present an absurd system, a thing which though possible is not to be presumed, wise men who vote for it could hardly excuse themselves to themselves, much less to others, by saying we argeed to what was absurd, because nothing else was offered."

R. King to G. Morris.

Washington, Mar. 9, 1816.

Dear Sir:

I yesterday recd. your letter of the 1st instant, and thank you for the observations which you have taken the trouble to make on the proposed Tariff. My own opinion in this respect agrees with yours and especally concerning what is called the protecting duties. The Tariff meets with opposition, and like every measure coming from the same quarter is examined with distrust.

The Project of a permanent land Tax is abandoned, at least so I regard it. I have supposed that a moderate land Tax, combined with other internal Duties and the Duties of Impost, is necessary to the establishment of an equal and solid system of Finance. In this conviction I have been willing to concur in such a system; but in the course of the discussion that has taken place, I have become persuaded, nay convinced, that the slave holding States dislike the land Tax; and that the Western States, who will evade the payment of every other Tax, do not intend to continue its collection. As soon as this opinion became established, I determined on resisting the land Tax for the current year. We did so, but it is passed with the certainty as I conceive that it will not be renewed.

So much for this subject; I will add a word or two on another and important one. My nomination at Albany, as you will have believed, was a surprise to me. My mind felt no doubt of the decision I should make, when I first heard of the measure. But delay and the occurrences belonging to it, have brought me to a different conclusion. I have assented to the nomination—in doing so I have yielded to the opinion of others and without the full support of my own.

We have here some symptoms of the declining influence of Mr.

M.; as he draws towards his close, his authority diminishes; expectations are directed beyond his term. Thomas Morris was named Commissioner under the late Treaty of Peace, to ascertain the N. W. Angle of Nova Scotia, &c.

The remainder of the letter is missing—but the cases of Mr. Morris and of Mr. Pinkney to Naples, who were rejected by the Senate, are evidently cited as proofs of the statement.

R. KING TO GEN. ARMSTRONG.

WASHINGTON, Mar. 7, 1816.

SIR:

On presenting to the Secretary of War, the claim of the City of N. York for the reimbursement of money paid on account of damages to the land, on which the works for its defence were erected in 1814, the Secretary replies that the amount cannot be allowed; and, as I understand, because the works of defence were neither directed, nor authorized, by the Dept. of War.

I presume that no record of any instruction to General Swift, to lay out and construct the works, remains in the War Office; tho' the Certificate that accompanies the claim that the works were recommended by him, and laid out & executed under his directions, can leave little doubt of his authority.

As the militia were lawfully called into service for the protection of the City, it would seem to result from the nature of the authority of the General commanding there, and of the Officer of Engineers, that the authority to construct the necessary works, to enable the troops to protect the City, must be considered as incident to the Military Command. In almost every case the General necessarily possesses the power. But this argument need not to be urged with you, who are so much more able to appreciate the question correctly.

My object is to ask the favor of you to inform me whether your recollection serves you so far as to enable you to state whether Swift had any instructions on this head; and if not, whether in your opinion the works were necessary, & the office of Swift au-

thorized him to take the steps of recommending, laying out & erecting the Defences that he certifies he did do.

With great Respect & Consideration

I am, Sir, yr. obt. Serv.

RUFUS KING.

Private.

P. S. Some days past Wm. Pinkney was nominated to the Senate, Envoy Ext. & Min. Plenipo. to Russia, with a special mission to the King of the Two Sicilies—the Senate approved the mission to Russia, & called for information touching the expediency of the special mission to the King of the Two Sicilies. The information sent was, to demand compensation for property unlawfully seized by King Murat's Govt., to obtain permission for our ships of War to resort to the Sicilian & Neapolitan Ports &c.

To day the Senate negatived the mission, and, as I hear, Mr. P. says he will not proceed to St. Petersburgh.

GEN. MORGAN LEWIS TO R. KING.

STAATSBURG, Mar. 13, 1816.

SIR:

To the queries proposed in your favor of the 7th inst I reply, that in my earliest communications to the War Department, on assuming the command of the third military District, I urged the necessity of works of defence for the City of New York, and particularly of a fortified Camp on the Heights of Brooklin. That position and Macgowan's Pass on Manhattan Island, having their flanks covered by Waters and Marshes, were selected as points of defence by our Military Commanders in the earlier stages of the war of the revolution, and by the British, after their acquired possession of the City. There was equal, if not greater propriety, in occupying them in the last war; especially the former, the most prominent point of which commands not only the City, but all the fortified islands in the harbor.

On the second point, I should presume there could be no doubt, that in the time of war, and invasion threatened, it is competent to a military Commander to order the construction of

works of defence, without waiting the orders of his Government. But the works in question are, perhaps unfortunately, not in that situation. They were not authorized, nor, in their extent, approved by me. The chief engineer, General Swift, though frequently called on for his plan of defence, never thought proper to submit it to me; though it appears from the report of the Committee of defence, that to them he was much more condescending; and that he acted under their directions. They held the purse and could do as they pleased.

My principal objection to the works, judging by my eye, the only means I possessed, was, that they occupied far too much ground for the force we could afford them; and, I had been taught to believe that redoubts, except for the protection of very narrow passes, were a preferable defence to lines. I am however little of an Engineer, and it is probable therefore that I am incorrect.

I have the Honor to be most respectfully,

Sir, your obt. servt.,

MORGAN LEWIS.

J. ARMSTRONG TO R. KING.

RED HOOK, 14 March, 1816.

DEAR SIR:

I received your letter of the 7th inst, by the mail of today. I have no recollection of having authorized the expenditures, to which you refer, and I take for granted, that if Genl. Swift could have produced the instruction of the War Dept., he would have preferred it to his own certification. The office of Chief Engineer (that of Genl. Swift) gives no right to lay out, or erect, works of defence, but in obedience to orders received from the War Dept., or from the General, commanding the army, or corps, to which the Engineer is attached. The General, charged with the defence of a port or district, has unquestionably a right (unless expressly forbidden) to multiply works (and do all other things necessary to that object) and in this, his discretion is his only guide. The officers who ordered the works in question to be erected, no doubt thought them necessary. With great respect, yrs,

J. ARMSTRONG.

G. Morris to R. King.

Morrisania, March 15, 1816.

Dear Sir:

I have received yours of the ninth and am pleased to learn that you stand a Candidate for the Government.* . . .

I am also glad that Circumstances enabled you, consistently with your Sense of Right, to vote against the direct Tax. If I mistake not, I took the Liberty of expressing to you, last session my Conviction that our Sister States of the South and West would neither continue nor pay it. You must not expect to draw money from Planters by any but indirect means. Men out of the Line of Commerce have no money. If therefore you wish to collect Cash in the West you must first send and spend it there. Then indeed you may draw back a small Portion of your Expenditure. The only way in which that Country can be turned to good account is by making the Canal from Lake Erie to Hudson's River. I was laughed at, a few years ago, for my wild notions, (so they were called) on that subject. These wild notions have since been so tamed as to become domestic Cattle. Now that the plan has grown popular it finds Fathers by the dozen. Nay its opposers, finding their Batteries have failed, are forced to work by Sap. That Mr. Madison's influence should decline is to be expected. Who is to be the Successor? It seems to be acknowledged that no federal Character can run with Success. Nevertheless I believe that if Howard of Maryland were started against Monroe, he would stand a tolerable Chance. The Democracy can, I believe be heartily united by nothing but the Fear that a Federalist of superior talents should be chosen. I have at the same time, Doubts whether our Friends in the Southern States would warmly support a Candidate from the North. Should James Ross of Pennsylvania be held up also as Vice President, it would conduce to the Union of one Party and contribute to distract the other. Howard has good Sense, Honor, Courage, and Integrity. Ross is a man of the highest order of Talents.

Mr. T. Morris and Mr. W. Pinkney have been rightly served. The more of such jobs are rejected the better. If you can establish an opinion that the setting Sun will soon lose its Lustre and

*See Vol. v., page 526.

raise a Doubt as to the rising Sun, you will go far towards paralizing your political Enemies in this State.

I am as ever, yours truly,

GOUV. MORRIS.

WM. HENDERSON TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, Mar. 21, 1816.

DEAR SIR:

It is reported here that the Bank bill will pass the Senate without amendment. I think it will depend into whose hand, the management of it falls, whether the institution produces good or evil. The Amount of the Capital will do no harm if good men have the control of it. Our dry goods Merchants are beginning to feel the effect of their excessive importations; the prospect of payment from Country traders is very bad. Our ships are lying at the wharves with little chance of employment. It seems certain the ensuing summer will show that the revenue of last year ought not to be taken as a ground for calculation as to the amount that will accrue in the present one. I am with respect and esteem your

Humb. Servt.

WM. HENDERSON.

A. GRACIE TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, Mar. 28, 1816.

DEAR SIR:

. . . There is much anxiety here to know the fate of the Bank bill, and some of our friends would rather have it, with all its imperfections than lose it. Our Banks are reducing their Loans with a view to resume specie payment at no very distant period, and I fear they may do some mischief without effecting their purpose; for under present circumstances I see no immediate remedy for the evil complained of, and until we cease in a great measure importing, the balances accumulating against us abroad would drain the Country completely of what specie remained in it.

Yours very respectfully

ARCH. GRACIE.

R. King to Edward King.

Washington. Mar. 28, 1816.

My Dear Sir :

. . . In a former letter, I told you that Circumstances, occasioned by absence from home, brought me reluctantly to consent to become a Candidate for the off. of Gov. I entertain little expectation of being elected and no personal desire to be so.

From Charles we have nothing later than you have seen. All are well in N. York. John has leased his house,* bought Capn. Motley's Place, & will remove to Jamaica.

The Caucus as you will have seen have named Mr. Monroe to be Presidt. ; the opposition which favored Mr. Crawford will submit ; and a Bill has passed the House, wh. is now before the Senate to erect two new States, Indiana & Mississippi ; they will unite in supporting Mr. Monroe. We have much discussion on a Bk. Bill, which will pass, I think. Excepting the magnitude of its Capital, and the appointment by the Pr. & Senate of a fifth of the Directors, I should assist in passing the Law ; but especially on the latter objection I am opposed to it. The Patronage of the Executive is already enough ; the civil list, the army, the navy & the Revenue officers, holding their places at pleasure, & scattered over the face of the country, are a powerful Executive influence, & sufficiently so, without creating 5 Directors of the Bk. of the U. S., who may overlook & in some way control the private business of every man in the nation.

The Tariff is still before the House ; a strong interest has been raised up in favor of manufactures ; moderate encouragement would be politic and prudent : while too high protecting Duties may impair the customs, diminish foreign trade, and impose too high Duties upon the consumers. As the Double Duties continue till June 30th, when in case the new Tariff be not adopted, the old or single Duties, raised 42 per cent, are to be levied, some persons are disposed to postpone the Tariff until next Session.

Mr. Pinkney was named Min. Plenipo. to Russia with a special mission to Naples ; the former was approved, the latter disapproved, by the Senate ; but as Mr. Pinkney is unwilling to go to St. Petersburgh, except by the way of Naples, we are told that the

* Corner Park Place and Church Street, N. Y.

President will renominate him when it is supposed that new light will be given to the Senate and the special mission be approved.

Having voted ourselves a salary of 1500 Dols a year, our session will be closed by the 20th or 25th of April.

Farewell RUFUS KING.

Memorandum by R. King.

Ap. 1816.

On the question of thanks to Shelby & Harrison, objections were made to giving thanks to Harrison, he having petitioned Congress to enquire into his money transactions during his command.

Gov. Barbour, who urged Harrison's claim to thanks intimated that the disfavor manifested to Harrison, arose from the manifestation on his part of dissatisfaction by reason of the conduct of a Person, of whom he wd. not speak, more than to say that he had sunk below the political horizon and wd. not again appear to disturb or derange our pub. affairs.

Mr. King said that the allusion to Armstrong was extraordinary; that of the particular affair, of advancing officers to a command to wh. Harrison aspired, he knew nothing; but in relation to the chief affair that had been glanced at, Genl. Armstrong ought not to be implicated—others not he are responsible. Armstong is a Genn. of talents and high character; he is not a new man; he has a family, has sons who have fought yr. battles, he has friends and connections of Consideration, Authority and Reputation, and ought not to be dishonored by these side blows.

JAS. MONROE TO RICHARD HARRISON, AUDITOR OF THE TREASURY.

DEPT. OF STATE, April 5, 1816.

SIR:

The President considers it proper that Mr. King should be released from the charge against him on the Treasury books of $4895 $\frac{9}{100}$ as money paid to the Marquis de la Fayette, during the period the former represented the United States at London; and

that the Marquis de la Fayette should be charged with that amount, provided the vouchers of Mr. King to establish the payments to the Marquis be satisfactory.*

I have the honor &c.

JAS. MONROE.

JOS. ANDERSON (COMPTROLLER) TO R. KING.

7th Aug., 1816.

DEAR SIR :

Your letter of the 4th inst. I have just received, and in reply have the satisfaction to inform you, that the account against you on the public books, relative to General la Fayette has been closed.

with high respect yr. obed. Servt.

JOS. ANDERSON.

* This was the claim made by Mr. King in the settlement of his accounts with the Government at Washington on his return from his mission to England. Mr. Jefferson had refused to authorize this expenditure by Mr. King for the relief of Genl. la Fayette after his release from the Austrian prison, and as it would appear, the charge against Mr. King still remained. See Vol. iv., pp. 374–383 of this work.

CHAPTER II.

W. Coleman to King—N. Y. State Politics—King to E. King—Approved of the Tariff—Reviews Measures passed by Congress—King to Gore—Interview with a Trader on Condition of Affairs in the West—Supply of Goods and of Specie—King to E. King—Advises refraining from political Discussions—Graham to King—Asking Cost of Maps offered to the War Department—King to Gore—Republicans now do what they condemned in Federalists—W. King to R. King—Maine—Election of King as Manager of the American Bible Society—Declined—Reasons given—King to Crawford—Offers Collection of Maps and Charts to War Department at Cost—King to Gore—Peace causes Losses in Business—Commerce deranged—Eastern States to lose Influence by it—Gouvr. Morris's Illness—King to Gore—Pinkney's Mission to Naples cannot succeed—C. King to King—Affairs in Europe—Gore to King—Presidential Electors—King to Gore—Conversation with Mr. Willing on U. S. Bank—Emott to King—State Politics—Clinton and Tompkins—W. King to C. King—Commercial Interests of Maine—The Presidential Election.

Wm. Coleman to R. King.

New York, April 21, 1816.

Dear Sir:

. . . Our Legislature have adjourned. . . . I have some hope that Tompkins has sufficiently betrayed himself to the members of the Western District in his conduct respecting the canal; but the Clinton interest will all be thrown into the scale against us. At the same time they, with Machiavellian cunning, will probably aid our assembly ticket upon the cunning calculation that a federal Council of Appointment would prepare the way for reinstating Clintonians in office, by removing present incumbents which *they* would not dare to do. DeWitt being chosen Governor next Spring, according to promise, to fill the vacancy occasioned by Tompkins being elected to the Vice Presidency, will come into

power in due time and federalists, cleansing the stable the ensuing year, will make way for the glorious state of things which is to suceeed at the subsequent election : a fine arrangement. But he calculates without his host. I think there is but little doubt that we shall carry our Assembly ticket in the City & State. But it is impossible to make any thing like a satisfactory calculation, as by the census almost completed, we shall have from 1500 to 2000 new comers. . . .

The Result of the elections at the Eastward has had (as respects our financial prospects) and will have upon our elections generally a bad effect. The federal party are more animated and active throughout the State than I have ever known them. There is a knot of Jacobins at Albany among the federalists, formed of New England people (of which our friend Lovel is I believe one) as opposed to the Dutchman, who have been able to prevent the nomination of the patroon as member of Assembly ; to which he had consented merely because he thought it might bring out more Governor votes at the Election. It was this factious view that nominated Southwick as federal Senator.

If we had but another year before our election, Beef & Butter from Inland & taxes, which are only *heard* of yet, would render electioneering on our side unnecessary.

Affectionately & respectfully yrs

Wm. Coleman.

R. King to Edward King.

Washington May 1, 1816.

Dear Sir :

Congress adjourned yesterday, and we intend setting out for home tomorrow. Mr. & Mrs. Gore are going to the Warm Springs in Virginia in hopes that the use of the water will serve to restore his knee joint, which has become weak by Rheumatism. We intend accompanying them as far as Harper's Ferry on the Potomac, where we shall separate, they going on to Winchester, and we taking the Road to Hagerstown, with the purpose of proceeding by Carlisle, Harrisburgh, Reading & Easton. We do not expect to reach home before the middle of the month.

The Tariff which Congress have passed, is an important meas-

ure; its provisions calculated to protect the manufactures of wool & Cotton have been matter of considerable division among our political Economists. I have concurred with those who approved of this system, tho' I am inclined to apprehend that the navigation and foreign Trade will be somewhat impaired by it. The System must be favorable to the Western States which will hereafter become extensive Manufacturers, especially of wool. Some, indeed many other, Measures of the Session have been impolitic. The profusion of grants of money, and provisions under which very extensive demands will be made on the Treasury, have been more extensive than during any former Session. The Salary Bill of 1500 Dolls is imprudent, and will create much popular displeasure. It would have been more correct, if the per diem allowance had been increased. On the subject of the Currency much solicitude exists throughout the Country. The Banks have been going on, as tho' the day of reckoning would never come; their paper in different places is considerably depreciated, and a strong desire is pretty general, that something should be done to oblige the B'ks to curtail their business & to diminish their paper in circulation. The Incorporation of the B'k of the U. States it was hoped, would aid the return to Specie Payments, and Congress have directed the Sec'y of the Treasury to take means towards the accomplishment of this end; and moreover resolved that, after a day in February, the Taxes shall be receivable only in lawful money, &c. All this is paper; I have no belief that so long as the B'k of Eng. does not pay specie (and by a new Law the suspension is continued till July, 1817) and the balance of our foreign trade continues so heavily against us, that this Country can resume Specie Payments. The trade of the Country is carried on to a greater extent than is commonly supposed by money borrowed of B'ks: very great importations of foreign goods have been made since the War, and notwithstanding our Cotton, Tobacco, &c have borne high prices, a great balance remains to be paid, & double Duties to Govt. are also falling due. Thus, while the Traders want money for these purposes, the B'ks are not only declining to make new loans, but in some States, calling on their Debtors to pay a portion of their old ones. The late Resolves of Congress will tend to stimulate the B'ks to persist in this course. The consequence will be great distress from the scarcity of money;

failures among those of the narrowest means in the first instance; these will be followed by the like failures among their superiors, and a great defalcation in the revenue.

"Facilis descensus Averni, sed revocare gradum, hic labor, hoc opus est." How & when we are to get out of the difficulty, I know not, but am pretty sure, we shall not do so before February next, nor by the process that is in operation.

Yrs. Affectionately

R. K.

R. King to C. Gore.

Elizabethtown, 14 May, 1816.

. . . After Mrs. King went up stairs last Evening, Gilmour the Trader returning from the West with Cash and Horses, came into my room. I invited him to sit down, which he did; made enquiries respecting the expedition in which he had been engaged, the mode in which he carried on the trade, the condition of the Countries that he had visited, the supply of goods that existed in the Western Country and the quantity of Specie which was to be found there. On all these subjects he seemed to be well informed and spoke with confidence.

He said that he and his Brother purchased goods to the amount of 20 m Dollars in N. Y., and set off with them in Sept. last to Phila. & thence to Pittsburgh. On their arrival at which place, they found the town most abundantly supplied and the sellers much more numerous than the buyers; the place a comfortless, dirty, smoky, industrious, manufacturing and commercial Station. They moved on to Cincinnati, hoping to find there a market; but this town was fuller of goods than Pittsburgh; in addition to the old and established traders, and foreigners who had recently arrived, a score or more of the inhabitants, who had gained from 1 to 2 or 3 thousand dollars by contracts and other means during the war, had resolved on becoming merchants and proceeding to Phil & Balt. had obtained credit for large supplies of goods. As the Western Traders have been heretofore safe customers, a little money down and a slight recommendation were sufficient to enable them to obtain credit to any time.

Hence the town of Cincinnati was full of goods, and our new

comers saw no prospect of turning a penny unless they could devise some manner of sale, that from its novelty would bring them customers. One of the Brothers had been employed as a Salesman by an Auctioneer ; he therefore proposed to open an auction at Cincinnati to sell off his Cargo of goods. There had been auctions there as elsewhere, but not an auction of positive sales : if the goods did not obtain satisfactory bidders, they were bought in, as the phrase is, on acct. of the Proprietor. Our adventurers resolved to proceed on a different plan and to make the sale absolute to the highest bidder without bidding on their own acct. They began, after taking out a License under the U. S., by offering single and shewy and commonly cheap articles : sold the first day several hundred dollars worth, and a considerable portion of the articles below their value. These sales were published to take place 3 times a week. At their next sale, the customers were more numerous : the novelty, the idea of cheapness and a bargain, brought great numbers from the country into the town ; the second day's sale was more considerable than the first, tho' not a few articles were sold for less than their worth ; in this way they proceeded until they had sold $\frac{1}{3}$ of their goods ; meanwhile their rivals, the shopkeepers, were without customers, everybody preferring to buy at auction, where now & then great bargains were made.

Complaint was made by the resident traders to the Corporation, and a petition offered that it would prohibit these pub. sales. Two days were spent in debate, when the Corporation decided, that the Auctioneers, having obtained a U. S. License, could not be restrained. The complaint was renewed in another form ; the auction had been in the streets—this it was alleged was a nuisance, as the crowd obstructed the highway : the Corporation therefore forbid any further sale in the streets. Our adventurers recommenced their sales inside their store, standing at an open window, and the attendants standing outside and in the streets. This answered equally well as their former mode, and, as their fame & their customers daily increased and their rivals could not impede their proceedings, they soon sold off the greater part of their goods ; carrying on at the same time the conversion of their Bk. paper, recd. for their goods, into specie, which they were enabled to do by a small premium. Their dexterity and success

induced several of the resident traders, to send in their goods also to be sold, which was done for a small commission—a business in which one of our Long-Island traders remains in Cincinnati to carry on ; the other being my fellow traveller, proceeded with a portion of his own goods united with some goods to make up an assortment, belonging to a Cincinnati trader, to Lexington Kentucky, there to carry on the auction business and money changing which had been so successfully prosecuted in Cincinnati ; as he only spoke of the glut of Eng. goods at Lexington and nothing of his success in selling by auction, perhaps the business there did not succeed as it had done in Cincinnati.

He returns, as I have mentioned, with his specie. . . . He expresses his admiration of the Western Country, not only on account of its climate & fertility, but in respect to the Houses, Towns, Furniture, Horses, Carriages and other appearances of wealth, which he had not expected to see. But he observes that the rapid acquisition of money during the war, has created habits of expense and a relaxation of industry, which may prove highly injurious ; that the country is greatly overstocked with foreign goods, and that the specie is coming out of that country, as fast almost as it went into it ; that great losses will be sustained by the merchants, who gave credit so freely to the country traders and who will be unable to make good their payments. As this misfortune will be common throughout the U. S. the traders of the Western States will suffer no peculiar rigour on account of their delinquency. . . .

Good night & may health and happiness attend you both.

R. K.

C. Gore to R. King.

Warm Spring Bath Court House, June 14, 1816.

My dear Friend :

. . . I sometimes see & talk with the Virginians. They invariably speak very lightly of Barbour, & all affect to wonder how he became of so much Consequence ; for he was, as Randolph said, a Deputy Sheriff & a Lawyer of little Practice & low Reputation. He was made Govr. because the successful Candi-

date was burnt in the Richmond Theatre, and in the Stupor of the Moment at that distressing event, he was elected, was made a Senator because of his zeal in the war, though every one blamed his Improvidence, Folly & Ignorance in calling out the Militia as he did. This I have from Federalists & Democrats,—Mason they say is a thoughtless, giddy young Man, but has gained on the Hearts of the People by opposing the Bill compensating Members of Congress. This is a sample of Virginia Republicanism. You have one still more degrading, to human Nature in the Preference given to the pitiful Tompkins for his Valour & Wisdom in the late War. But such is our destiny, and we must expect still more afflicting Evidence of the humiliating Spirit—fit levius Patientia quod nefas est corrigere—I do not know if I am right in my Quotation, but I am sure of the justness of the Sentiment. —For yourself I have no Reason to regret that you are freed from the Confli of Contending Patriots for Office, and the sagacious Intrusion of smoking & stupid Dutchmen ; but for the Spirit it discovers in the Mass of the Community we have great Reason to be both alarmed & mortified at the precarious Tenure on which we hold our Liberty & Property, not to speak of the Honour & Character of the Country. . . .

faithfully & affectionately

C. GORE.

R. KING TO EDWARD KING.

JAMAICA, L. I., June 18, 1816.

DEAR SIR:

I am satisfied with the Resolution which you seem to have formed of abstaining from Political discussions and devoting yourself to those of the Law : on every prudent consideration this cause deserves your preference. As a Business, or employment, Politicks has, and deserves to have, no rank, that should entice men to engage in it with a view to profit : if by other pursuits we have gained a competence, and are able to support & take care of our families without expectation of profit from public employment, then those who may desire political stations are excusable in accepting them ; but otherwise not. Besides there is no employment, in which so few men of independent minds

and of unbending Integrity are found as in Politicks ; and, however heretical the opinion may appear, there is some ground to suspect that popular Governments, in which men attain offices by becoming favorites of the People, do not present the strongest motives in favor of a severe and steady adherence to what is honest. I repeat therefore my approbation of your purpose to adhere strictly to your professional employments. . . .

I am my dear Sir,

Always & affectionately yours R. K.

R. King to C. Gore.

Jamaica, L. I., June 26, 1816.

Dear Sir :

I last evening received your letter of the 15th. In a late letter that I have written to you, I touched on some of the subjects mentioned in your last letter, particularly that of Politics. On more than one Subject names are not only equivalent to, but of greater importance than things ; as respects Taxes, Army, Navy, and some other points, the practice of the Republicans now seems to be the same as that of the Federalists formerly ; with this difference however, that now the measures are carried further, than the Federalists carried them ; thus while things are essentially the same, names are different : but I am not inclined to oppose measures proposed or done by Republicans, which Federalists proposed and did in former times. I remain the same, and if others change & do what I did, and still contend that I was wrong in doing, as they now do, it is for them to make out their own consistency. It is their business also to convince themselves & me of the sagacity of People, who not only perceive no inconsistency in the course, but approve the conduct of the Republicans in opposing and supporting the same measures. It is for them to make out their own consistency, and it is their task also to convince themselves and me, of the justice & sagacity of those who perceive no inconsistency in this double dealing course, but approve and applaud the conduct of the Republicans for what they now do, and for their opposition to the Federalists when they did the same thing.

W. King to R. King.

Bath, July 1, 1816.

Dear Sir :

. . . I am inclined to think the majority in favour of the separation of Maine, will be much larger when the question is again taken, than it was the last time. It is not considered a party question at all, and will, unless I am much mistaken, have a tendency to do away with the asperity of party in this District : it is intended in the event of our being separated to organize the Government without reference to party and I feel confident it will be effected.

Will you have the goodness to turn your attention to a Constitution for our New State ; it is probable I shall have to take a part in the Convention, and there is certainly no person's opinion I should so much respect as yours. . . .

I remain your Brother,

W. King.

Rev. Dr. Romeyn to R. King.

New York, July, 17, 1816.

Dr. Sir :

In compliance with the direction of the Board of Managers of the American Bible Society, I have the honour to inform you that the Convention, which formed that Society, elected you one of the Managers.

The Board fondly cherishes the hope that this National Institution meets with your approbation, & that you will unite with them in "their labor of love and work of faith." I need not add that your acceptance of the office will be highly gratifying to the Board and afford a powerful stimulus to their zeal and activity in forwarding the great and good course of furnishing the destitute with the Word of life.

I am, dear Sir, yr obt. servt.

J. W. P. Romeyn, Secy. of D. C.

R. King to Revd. Doct. Romeyn.

Sir :

I have received your letter of the 17th inst, which informs me that I have been elected a Manager of the American Bible Society ;

and calls on me to make known whether I accept the appointment. The object of the Society's labours well deserves and receives my approbation ; but as I am connected with the body of Episcopalians, and the Bishop, to whose opinions in matters of order and disci. I am inclined to defer, has signified to us that the object, whose attainment is the common desire of all, may be more fitly promoted in the mode he has been pleased to indicate,* I think it expedient to observe his counsel and to decline the charge of a Manager of the American Bible Society.

With great Respect & Regard
I am, Sir, yr. ob. Servt.
RUFUS KING.

DR. ROMEYN TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, July 31, 1816.

SIR :

The Managers of the American Bible Society most sincerely regret that any considerations should have existed to deprive them of the aid of your cooperation & the honour & influence of your name as a member of their Board. Their disappointment

* In explanation of this decision, it may be stated that the Protestant Episcopal Church, had as early as in 1809 under Bishop Moore, established a society called the New York Bible and Common Prayer Book Society for the distribution of Bibles and the Common Prayer Book with them, which made its first report in 1811. Assistant Bishop Hobart in his pastoral address in 1815 says : "But what are the objects of Bible Societies? The general object, the diffusion of religious truth—the particular object, the distribution of the Bible. In the Bible and Common Prayer Book, Episcopalians make provision for the distribution of the Bible, and thus discharge that part of their duty ; and by providing for the distribution of the Prayer Book, they fulfil the general duty of diffusing religious truth more effectually than by the circulation of the Bible alone."—pp. 13, 14, and in 1816, he says :

"We desire to make known to all men not only the word of God, but the Church of God, which we think the Book of Common Prayer sets forth in evangelical and primitive purity, in respect to doctrine, ministry and worship. In this view of the two objects, so far from being influenced by narrow prejudice and illiberal views, we think we follow the method which the scriptures point out and to which common *sense* and the *natural course of things* lead."—*Address before the Society, 8th March, 1816.*

Mr. King was an annual contributor of $50 to its funds.—Ed.

has its relief, however, in the assurance that "the object of the Society's labours well deserves, & receives your entire approbation."

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obdt. Servt.

J. W. P. Romeyn, D. C.

R. King to Hon. Mr. Crawford Secy. at War.

Jamaica L. I. Sep. 29, 1816.

Sir:

While abroad I took some pains, (by ascertaining from the members of the Corps diplomatique at London the best maps of their respective Countries, and employing Mr. Faden to procure them) to make what I esteem a valuable and extensive Collection of Maps & Charts. As your department in a more especial manner should be well provided with these things, I have thought that I might furnish a desirable addition to your Collection by offering mine. They are in perfect order & condition, and consist of about 450 sheets; they are not bound in Vols., but arranged in four large Cases, in the form & bound as large folio Vols—a manner deemed the safest for preservation, & most convenient for consultation. These Cases are placed in a Mahogany Desk, 3 feet 3 inches wide by 2 feet 3 deep, and nearly 4 feet high, with a Top, which by being raised by rack work in the back affords an inclined plane, on which to place the Maps for examination.

If the Collection should be desired by you, I will sell it for what it cost me, and would moreover furnish your department with a perfect Copy in two very large Folio Vols. bound in Russia leather, of the Atlantic Neptune, being the Charts & Views of the Survey of the Amer. Coasts & Harbours from Labrador to the Gulf of Mexico, made by order of the Eng. admiralty immediately preceding our revolution. This work is not to be bought, unless young DeBarnes, who has secured the Plates, has retouched them and thrown off another portion. For a large proportion, especially the Northern portions of our Coast, this Survey is invaluable, and so accurate as almost to supersede future Surveys.

With great respect I have the honor &c.

Rufus King.

Wd. add views & Plans of battles between Amer. & Brit. troops in the war of the Revolution.

GEO. GRAHAM TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR, 25 Oct., 1816.

DEAR SIR:

With the view of covering, in the estimate which we may make of the sum required to be appropriated for the purchasing of books, plans, &c., for the department of war, the amount that may be necessary to purchase the maps which you were so obliging as to offer to this department, I have to request that you will inform me, what is the lowest sum which you could take for them.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, yr obedt. servt.

GEO. GRAHAM.

GEO. GRAHAM TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR, 8 November, 1816.

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th ulto., covering the account of the cost of the maps & charts which you offered to this department. the account will be returned to you on your arrival at this place, and I flatter myself that Congress will give us the means of purchasing the Collection on the liberal terms you have proposed.

I have the honor to be with great respect &c

GEO. GRAHAM Actg. Secry of War.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, Oct. 9, 1816.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . I perceive the Federalists have succeeded in their Election of Senators in Maryland. Some Person told me a few days since that a Bargain was made last Winter at Washington, with some of our Body, that if they would vote for Mr. Pinkney's Mission to Naples, money should be provided by the Claimants of Property there to promote the Election in September; otherwise the Hands of these federal Patriots should be closed. The Votes were given, Cash paid, and Maryland has gained her State Senators. The Gentleman who told me this said he knew & could prove this fact. We are told that the Votes in favour of Separa-

tion of Maine will not amount to the requisite Number. It may, however, appear differently to the Convention. There is in Massachusetts no publick Movement, & the People seem to feel no Interest or Concern in the acts of the National Govt. It is reported that Messrs. Lloyd & Quincy are both willing to be considered as Candidates for Mr. Ward's Seat. If the former incline to go, I presume he will be the Candidate.

. . . . . .

Yours affectionately,

C. GORE.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA L. I. Nov. 5, 1816.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . Of public affairs I know nothing except thro' the newspapers and they are of little interest. The presidential Election having been settled last winter at W. nobody except Duane seems to take any concern about it, and so certain is the result, in the opinion of the friends of the measure, that no pains are taken to excite the community on the subject. It is quite worthy of remark, that in no preceding Election, has there been such a calm respecting it; and it is equally so, that the Candidate does not possess the full respect & confidence of either party.

As I conjectured would be the course, Chauncey & all the Ships of war in the Mediterranean appear to be subject to Pinkney's Orders. The Envoy reached Naples in July, and the Squadron were still there in September. What will come of his mission it is quite impossible to say; but I have no better opinion of it now than when it was instituted; nor can I believe that the Govt. has authorized any menacing language to the Neapolitain Court. The rumour of having demanded a Port or Territory, of Naples by way of indeminity cannot be correct.

The result of Lord Exmouth's expedition is highly reputable to the Br. arms; and the actual delivery of the xtian slaves to the Br. Fleet and the destruction of the Algerine vessels of war will do much, and more than has ever been done before, towards putting an end to the Barbary Piracies. Indeed the very terms of the English demands, & of the Peace, seem to pledge the Eng. nation to the world, that their power shall be exerted to

compel the observance of the Articles of Peace, concluded with Algiers. Of the troubles of England, arising from the derangement in her various manufacturing & commercial pursuites, I do not think as seriously as I find others do; the peculiar character of her people, her institutions and occupations are not understood by superficial observers. No. Govt., no people so accommodate themselves to the necessary changes which in the course of affairs take place, as the Gov. & people of England. The general Peace has created great derangements in the occupations and business, which grew out of the long wars in wh. Europe has been engaged. In this portion of the people, losses and discouragement and disappointment will prevail extensively; the Public will be & have been agitated by these persons, and those who are always watching for events to create dissatisfaction towards the Govt. Besides the Taxes press, and must continue to do so; but these difficulties are temporary and will be surmounted; and by economy, patience, industry & perseverance, a new and prosperous state of business will arise, and present embarrassments will be forgotten.

Perhaps I do not correctly appreciate our own condition and difficulties, occasioned by the reestablishment of a general Peace; but as regards our Commerce and Navigation, I do not perceive that we are as likely to discover and adopt means, by which the prosperity of these interests will be promoted, as England is. The effects of our late Treaty with England, after all the censure which the former administration incurred in respect to Mr. Jay's Treaty, and the boasts of the opposers of his Treaty, shd. they ever make one with England, are very discouraging. Nor is it likely that with any other commercial Country, we shall make a better Treaty than with England, with whom, I grossly deceive myself, or a better Treaty might and should have been made.

There is no remaining course for us, but to promote the Independence of So. America; this effected, the European Treaties would lose their principal interest. But whether those South Americans are capable and worthy of self Govt. one is embarrassed in determining; and the course of policy wh. our own Govt. is likely to pursue concerning So. America is altogether uncertain and more likely to be the result of casualty than of a wise deliberation.

Unless the navigation and commerce of the U. S. become more extensive and prosperous, the Northern States will continue to lose their relative importance, and, with this, their Population and Wealth will be certain to suffer. If we are not to be commercial, but agricultural and, if you please manufacturing, the Western Country ought, & will be, the favored Region in which both will prosper. Already the tide of emigration from every one of the New Eng. States, and especially from Vermont, is very great ; and it is a proof of good sense among the emigrants ; for the exchange, as respects climate and fertility of soil are greatly on the side of the western world. How much with these prospects and apprehensions, are the courses & policy of late pursued and adopted to be regretted ; how much to be desired is a wise influence of the Eastern States upon the general policy of our national affairs ; how much to be deplored that the ablest and most prudent men are not prevailed upon to take a share in the general administration of our affairs. The rivalries, the factions, the apathies and indifference, which prevail, are most unfavorable—symptoms of a bad, if not desperate, condition of the Eastern and Northern States. With this temper, things must become worse ; they may still be retrieved, but ere long will become remediless.

The Proceedings of the Maine Convention are not creditable to the majority. The ground which shd. have been taken was plain ; it shd. still be taken and it must prevail whether now assumed or omitted. A Majority of the People on two trials have been in favor of separation ; a majority is sufficient and is moreover the only principle that is applicable to the question ; to require more is arbitrary, and the proportion above a majority is perfectly arbitrary : those who shd. require $\frac{7}{8}$ths. have principle just as much as those who require $\frac{5}{8}$ths. I believe it to be the true interest of Mass. to let Maine become independent ; and after what has happened, she must and will separate.

Of the anecdote of the motive of the change in the Senate concerning's Pinkney's Mission, I have no doubt, tho' I had not heard of it before your mentioning of it. This is the degradation and depreciation of our Party, which has in its ranks too many who in nothing of worth differ from our opponents.

We are like to lose, if we have not already lost, one of our distinguished citizens. Mr. Gouverneur Morris was not expected to

live thro' yesterday. He has been long subject to a stricture in the urinary Passage; and having unskilfully forced a piece of whale bone thro' the Canal so lacerated the parts, as to create a very high degree of inflammation, which has been followed by a mortification that I am told will prove fatal. Some years ago, and in the interior of our State, he performed the same operation with a flexible piece of hickory; the success on this occasion probably emboldened him to repeat the experiment, that is now to prove fatal. . . .

Faithfully yrs.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA, L. I. Nov. 22, 1816.

MY DEAR SIR:

I lately received your letter of and entering fully into your feelings, I am glad that Massachusetts has rejected the degrading counsel that was given to her. Of the Characters in N. & S. Carolina, your acquaintance & knowledge are as extensive as mine. Looking thro' the middle States I do not know any more correct & respectable Federalist than Mr. James Ross of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Mason & Webster with their wives have passed a night with us, and we went to town yesterday, which we rarely do, except for little commissions, to meet them at dinner at Mr. Gracie's. To day they embarked in the steamboat for Brunswick and will pursue the water line to Baltimore.

We have no other information than what the Papers communicate concerning Pinkney's mission to Naples; the dissatisfaction of Russia, which so far as I can understand the affair is without just cause, would probably have been obviated had Pinkney proceeded immediately to St. Petersburgh. I cannot discern the grounds on which it has been expected that he would succeed at Naples. The property said to have been confiscated by Murat fell into his hands in 1809 & 1810. It does not appear that much regard, if any, was given to this subject during Murat's Reign. The *National Intelligencer* says that the change of Government in no manner releases the successor from the duty of compensa-

tion for the wrongs, and performing the compacts, of her Predecessor. That in the revolution of States, or rather in the Govt. of States, the Principle shd. be observed, certainly as respects compacts, seems reasonable; but the Rule must, and should be subject to various exceptions, and in cases of wrong, a course of acquiescence, or the omission of seeking redress from the actual aggressor, wd. equitably operate in favor of a revolutionary successor.*

Besides the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies has not undergone a Revolution; the King de jure has never been cashiered—his continental dominions were conquered, but not his insular Territories, where he continues to reign; in the course of events he regains by the Reconquest of his allies, what he had lost by Conquest. The case of the King of the Two Sicilies differs from that of the King of France, and allowing the duty of the latter to perform the compacts of Bonaparte, it does not thence follow that the King of the Two Sicilies is bound to perform those of Murat.

But we need not speculate on this subject since no speculation can or will affect the result, with which ere long we shall become acquainted.

I understand that our Mr. Clinton has failed in the project, which he had formed of being one of the Electors of this State. He was at Albany, and with a view of reconciling himself to his old Friends & Party, as well as to advance a step in the accomplishment of his desire to succeed Tompkins as Governor, he made exertions to be put at the head of the Electoral Ticket; but on a vote in caucus failed by a large majority against him. Such ought to be his fate, and such shd. be the fate of all changelings. Your J. Q. A. it is said is to be recalled to be made Monroe's Sec'y of State, either to disgrace, or promote him—but rather any southern or western democrat than J. Q. A. for President; rather Cheves or Clay—if J. Q. A. become Pr. all of N. England that is virtuous or enlightened, will be persecuted & degraded; manners, laws, principles will be changed and deteriorated. Farewell affectionately yrs.

*See Appendix I.

CHAS. KING TO R. KING.

PARIS, 22d Nov., 1816.

DEAR SIR :

. . . This kingdom is quiet or at least silent. In England discontent seems general and loud ; and is certainly accompanied with much real distress. The ministers evidently are much embarrassed and they must, at the approaching session of Parliament, either renew the income tax, or borrow some millions from the sinking fund ; and either measure will be attended by great clamor & opposition. The high price of bread stuffs, both here and in England at this moment, adds very much to the grievances of the people. On the subject of the claim of America on this Govt., I think something will be recovered. . . . Naples has refused any reparation, declaring that the present Govt. can never be called on in justice, for any acts committed by an usurper, at the head of a superior foreign force. Here they do not hint at any disclaimer of responsibility—indeed they could not ; for in their Treaties with all the allies they have assumed such responsibility directly. . . .

Ever yours CHAS. KING.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, Dec. 20, 1816.

Be assured my dear Friend, no personal influence was necessary to attain the Result of our Election. The Legislature sufficiently indicated their sentiments by their Choice of Electors, and among these there was not a single Question or Hesitation as to the first officers, nor was there ever in the public Mind. The Individual, who wished & promulgated his wishes for another, & a disgraceful Course, found no Followers, who dared to avow the degrading Sentiment more literally than did the great Chatham, tho' in a Quality directly the Reverse of that eminent Statesman. He stood alone. Corruption like his had not reached the Body of Federalists in Massachusetts, and I am confident they would have spurned with Indignation the degrading advice had it been offered them—one of the Electors remarked that we had not been told whom we must vote for, but for whom we must not vote, and he believed there existed with honourable & wise men but one opin-

ion on either Question ; and sure he was that no man existed in Massts that could have been chosen an Elector, that would have dared to express an opinion, much less to act differently from the Sentiment of the Board as to the first Officer.

I am grieved that Talents and Worth like those of James Ross should be so lost, I fear the Report is well founded.

Madison's speech on the Subject of our commercial Connections, as founded on Mr. Jay's Treaty and that of the last year, I consider both imprudent & false, but it offers a Creed for his Party, and all will swear by it.

We hear nothing of Pinkney's mission in this Quarter. Some of our Legislators, especially Mr. Quincy, took the occasion of a Debate on the Compensation Bill to address himself to the Passions & Meanness of Democracy & declared that he considered the former Pay adequate, and the Bill the Congress had passed, as destructive of Republican Govt. Varnum closes his political Life in all Probability, with the present Session of the Senate. Dearborn is the democratic Candidate for Governor, and the situation of our Demand for payment of the Militia may have much Influence in his Favor.

. . . . . .

Your faithful & affectionate Friend,

C. GORE.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

GADSBY'S BALTIMORE, Dec. 26, 1816.

MY DEAR SIR :

. . . Of the route (to Philadelphia) I can tell you nothing which you do not know ; at Philadelphia Mr. Vaughan made us his customary visit and I called to shew my respects to old Mr. Willing, who at 85 has never had headache, or earache, nor any serious malady, except a paralytic affection some years ago, from which he is recovered, and walks four or five miles a day, eats with a relish, and sleeps soundly. He told me that the Directors of the Bk. U. S., had passed a resolution to discount for every stockholder to the amount of his next specie payment, under the pretext of not raising the price of specie, which a demand of the next specie Instalment wd. have produced. Thus, tho' the Law

says a sum in specie double to the first payment shall be made at the second period or Instalment, the Directors feel no scruple with a dispensation, which will prove so seriously mischievous in the early resumption of Cash Payments.

Tomorrow morning we shall proceed to the metropolis. I shall go to Crawford's, when I shall decide to remain or remove as I shall find expedient. Mason & Webster are on the Hill, in a house by themselves ; and I hear that Bailey, called the Virginia Gambler, and who had moved from Hagerstown a little before we were there last year, has taken two or three houses on the Hill, including the house where Dallas lived, and affords good accommodation to the gentlemen who are with him.

I have suffered neither fatigue nor trouble in my journey thus far, and think I can bear the early and late hours, the squeezing and jostling as well as I did 25 years ago.

Adieu My dear friend, with affectionate regard, &c.

Always yrs., R. K.

James Emott to R. King.

Poughkeepsie, Dec. 28, 1816.

Dear Sir :

I recollect a year or two since, at the time I last belonged to the State Legislature, you were pleased to say that you would have been gratified to have received information relative to the winter proceedings at Albany. As by the movement of the political wheel I am again thrown into the Assembly, I beg leave to offer you from time to time such information as I may have of the views and doings of our friends and foes. In return, I hardly need say that I shall be proud to receive from you such occasional information from the seat of the general government, as you may have leisure to communicate.

The short session of the Legislature in the fall showed us the democratic party arrayed into two factions of equal violence as respects each other, and of nearly equal strength ; I speak with reference to the Legislature, for out of it and among the great mass of the people, I have at present no means of judging. One party calling itself Clintonian, but in truth headed by Spencer,—the other, professing to be the true republican party, willing to support caucus nominations and to do all things necessary to pro-

mote the views of the holy father at Washington, but in fact led by Van Buren and a few young men who mean to make the administration at Washington, as well as the good people of this State, subservient to their particular views, which are in part ambitious but in main interested.

These parties came into contact in filling up what in the cant language of the day is called the electoral college. The Clinton party was anxious to put their ostensible head on the ticket in order to prepare the public for his nomination in the Spring. It was understood that he had offered a voluntary pledge to vote for his good friends Monroe and Tompkins. If he was on the ticket and so voted, it was believed that the understanding throughout the State would be that Clinton had become firmly reconciled to the party and was fully pledged to answer its views on all subjects. The other party, aware of the advantage which Clinton might receive by this proceeding, met him at the outset and finally was triumphant. The Clintonians profess to believe that they failed not because they wanted numbers but because they suffered themselves unwittingly to be outmanaged. The opposite party attribute their success to their physical strength, as well as superior talents, and boast in a way not a little grating to such a man as Spencer. In my own opinion Clinton had in the outset a majority with him, but his troops either threw down their arms, or deserted him, I speak of some of them, under the belief that the appointment of Clinton would not be well received at Washington.

With such temper and feelings the rival factions separated to meet again in January, and ever since the excitement has been increasing. The warfare between them must be violent and the victory is certainly doubtful. The first open occasion for their meeting will be in the appointment of the Council, and if Clinton and Spencer succeed in their man, I shall believe they will have the Van Buren party by the throat. On the contrary, if the Council is hostile to them, I shall judge their cause hopeless. The contest must end in the nomination of Governor in the Spring ; and as the whole list of office holders and office seekers throughout the State are made dependent on one or the other party, so will the nomination and election go.

On the subject of the election, the almost universal sentiment

at Albany in the Legislature appeared to be that it must be gone into in the Spring not so much to satisfy the terms and intent of the Constitution as the whims and expectations of the people. I am satisfied however that our lively Governor is in heart opposed to an election, and, if a fair party pretext is offered him, will hold over. The truth really is that he thought the office of President of right belonged to him in the election that has passed and his views of the throne are not given up altho' they are necessarily postponed. With an eye to the next election he wishes to retain his standing and his power in the great State, and if he cannot get some puppet of his put in nomination, and this in my opinion is neither Clinton nor Thompson, he will hold on himself if he dare, or drive off the election for the present. If Clinton or even Thompson is put in nomination, his hold is loosened, and when once his State importance is at an end, I must think he sinks to rise no more. And yet after all light bodies will be near the surface. But more of this hereafter.

I observe with much regret the pertinacity with which our friends in Congress cling to the compensation bill. The gentlemen who insist so strongly in having, as our friend Quincy would say, another swill at the treasury trough may talk of the dignity of self-respect, and refer to their characters to repel any imputation of improper motives, the mantle will be deemed in the country 'too short and too thin.' I confess to you that I felt disappointed in finding in a report drawn by a high-minded man a reference to the salary of clerks, when talking about his own pay as a member of the national Legislature. The proud and dignified position of a member of the supreme Council of the nation is indeed degraded when it is thus made a money seeking business. But why will the federalists take the foreground on all questions of this nature? If this measure, which has become universally odious, must be persisted in, why not let the administration take to itself the responsibility? Our friends may deem it magnanimous to breast themselves against the storm and to fight and die in the same ditch with their opponents, but they cannot surely be aware that they are adding to the weight which bears down their party in the country.

I am with great respect & esteem,

yr. obt. servt. JAMES EMOTT.

W. King to Cyrus King.*

Bath, Dec. 30, 1816.

Dear Brother:

Your letters of 23, 24 & 25th just came to hand this day; I have seen the report to which you allude and should despair, if I believed a Majority of Congress would for one moment believe that such a contemptible thing could have the least effect whatever.

Nothing short of what I have heretofore named to you will have the least effect: the British find employment for more than one hundred sail of Vessels in the trade from this State to their Colonies. The articles are of the first necessity to them, and nothing but our own folly, and stupidity, can ever for a moment permit this trade on terms so unequal.

You cannot render a more acceptable service to the people of the country than by doing every thing in your power to put a stop to all intercourse with every place where an American Vessel is excluded: almost the entire object is to prevent their taking from this Country cargoes to places where we are excluded. The British by their Treaty have evidently advantages which were not contemplated: they in fact have three sides of the triangle when we have only one. And what is still more mortifying, it is now evident that even the men themselves, who negotiated it on our part, did not understand what was to be the operation of it—for do you ask any of your people at Washington, if the Treaty gives to the people of the Colonies any advantage whatever, and they will answer certainly not, as the colonial business is expressly reserved: so it was understood I am confident by our negotiators—but the fact is otherways. Vessels owned at New Brunswick load from that Colony for England—they then take in a cargo for Bath (say), and when they arrive here, as they are English Vessels pay no more than Amn. They then take a cargo for the West Indies, then to England and they are then in a situation to load again for the U. States, where they are to enter as Amn. Vessels in point of expense. Here is the entire triangle, and if our people will permit this business so to be conducted, there is an end to business in this section of the Country.

* He was a Member of Congress from Massachusetts.

Will you name this subject to Rufus, I am confident it is soon to be considered the most interesting which will engage the attention of Congress; it is I am convinced very little understood at present, there is no one person, who understands the whole of this business better than Rufus; if he is therefore disposed to give the subject his usual consideration, it will be not less useful to the Country than to himself.

Your Brother

W. King.

P. S. you will perceive that Vessels would in any of the British Colonies, by making just as many voyages to the Mother Country as to this, carry on their trade on precisely the same terms, as relates to expense in our ports, as American Vessels would do it.

CHAPTER III.

King to Gore—Affairs in Washington—Fears a solitary Session—King to Gore—Trumbull in Washington—Proposing to adorn the new Capitol with Pictures of revolutionary Events—C. King to King—France after the Restoration—Gore to King—Trumbull's Proposition—King to Gore—Measures before Congress—Swedish Treaty—Navigation Law—King to Gore—House Repealed the Compensation Law—Opposed new Department—Washington Life—King to Gore—Doubtful if any Navigation Bill will pass—Coleman to King—Asking Particulars of King's Life for Delaplaine—King's Answer to his Questions—King to Gore—Ministry Appointments—Adams or Clay—King to Gore—Trumbull's Arrangement with Academy of New York—Adams to be Foreign Minister—King to Gore—Mrs. Trumbull at French Minister's Ball—King to Worthington.

R. King to C. Gore.

Crawfords, Jan. 2, 1817.

My dear Sir :

. . . Altho' I am four weeks after the meeting, nothing has been done, and a state of singular apathy seems to prevail. Except a question for the removal of our dy. door Keeper Tims, and the appointment of a successor, for which station there are said to be more than twenty candidates, there is no subject wh. seems to engage the attention of our wise Assembly. There is no indication of asperity, or party in any quarter. As to the latter, the party spirit, it is pretty well extinguished—those who have for some time desired emancipation, are considered as free to pursue their respective courses, so that such as were the most zealous, or most noisy men in opposition, will now soften or wholly change their note ; with what profit to themselves, is more than any one as yet pretends to determine. The opinion seems to be, how correct I can't tell, that as respects the future Cabinet, nothing is yet decided. It has been reported that Mr. Adams

has been, or will be, recalled to be Secy. of State ; I hear that Mr. Clay says this must not, and shall not be ; whether Mr. Crawford is sufficiently humble to take what they may offer him I do not know, but if the body of Congress cannot be roused, or some greater portion of interest excited among them, I sh'd think the new reign will not be such as has been anticipated. The Compensation Law has excited a most undue portion of popular censure, and, as I hear, feelings, which were not thought likely to be awakened, prevail so extensively in Congress that it may even be doubted whether the law may not be left to the next Congress for revision. I fear that I shall have a most solitary session. I occupy my old rooms, breakfast & take tea in our drawing room, and today for the first time dined in the mess room, consisting of Herbert, Grosvenor, Lewis, Hanson, & myself, with the daily additions that of right or by courtesy come in. Hanson arrived last Evg. and as he was foiled in his attempt to be elected for the State Legislature, considers himself restored, by his appointment to the Senate ; he is a good & clear spirited man, and I therefore take an interest in his reputation. Farewell my dear friend I am always & faithfully R. K.

Oh how much do I wish that we were again here altogether, or that I was at home as you are. I had intended to return home in Feb., but as the Senate will be detained a few days after Congress adjourns, to assist in the forming of the new Adm. & inaugurating the Pr. I may have scruples about being absent.

R. King to C. Gore.

Georgetown, Jan. 17, 1817.

Dear Sir :

. . . I am staying at home, because I have a little cold, and also because there is nothing to do in the Senate. Your great men from Boston have not yet appeared ; when they arrive, I hope they may find out better quarters than these at Georgetown. Col. & Mrs. Trumbull arrived last night ; the Col. has just left me ; they are at Queens near the House where Congress meet. His object is to adorn the Capitol with pictures which shall perpetuate the great events & the glories of the Revolution, as the Ducal Palace of Venice, and the State House at Amsterdam, by

the talents of the great Painters of the day, have commemorated those of these Republics. He has with him the small Pictures which exhibit the Portraits of the Statesmen & Heroes, and the principal incidents of the Revolution. By inviting the Members to see and admire them, he may awaken a spirit and desire of possessing these sketches, in the form of enlarged and more perfect works. I have advised him to wait on Mr. Monroe and to endeavour to engage him & his influence in favor of his being employed. He finds the Capitol a ruin ; perhaps he may feel ambitious not only to restore, but, like Pericles, to extend and adorn it. I understand that the bill for a new Department is the order of the day in the Senate for Friday. Rush is good for nothing, nay worse, as Atty. Genl., but will do as any other wd. do, for an office composed of scraps & offals from other Depts. By placing *him* there, and increasing the provision for the Atty Genl, a man of competent talent may perhaps be employed.

Farewell

R. K.

P. S. I have heretofore made efforts for good & agt. bad Measures ; but in vain, and I no longer feel inclined to endure the mortification of defeat in well meant but fruitless exertions.

CHAS. KING TO R. KING.

PARIS, 24th, Jany. 1817.

DEAR SIR :

. . . In politics there is nothing to tell from here. This Govt. struggles on with difficulty thro' the pressure of foreign subsidies and the maintenance of foreign armies, in the presence of a deficient crop and diminished revenue. Still the intention of the Govt. seems good & is certainly in a degree successful in conciliating the nation ; indeed the most discontented portion of the French now are those who claim most to love the King ; the ultra royalists, the old nobles instigated by the old priests, who would gladly undo what 25 years of blood & misery have consummated. But it is not one of the least proofs of the good sense of the King's Govt. that they endeavour on all occasions to throw a complete veil over the past, and that they are satisfied

with present fidelity and devotion, without enquiring whether such subjects were always faithful and devoted. From this disposition which inspires confidence, & from the circumstance of its having been agreed in the committee on the budget to abandon all the national woods (the produce of revolutionary confiscation) for the endowment of the sinking fund, it is thought that English Capitalists will lend upon comparatively moderate terms the £12,000,000, which are needed for this year, and A. Baring is now here, negotiating on the subject.

The abandonment of the woods has another good effect, as it assures the proprietors or buyers of national property, that there will be no question raised hereafter as to the legality of their tenure; and thus places as it were the seal upon the acts of the revolution, quieting thereby many unquiet consciences. Mr. Madison's message appears to us all here a very delightful one, as well from the spirit of peace & benevolence which reigns in it, as from the delightful picture which it gives of a happy & flourishing country—a picture of which here one feels and appreciates all the beauties from the effect of contrasts. Mad. de Staël told me she had not been able to read it without tears. My sensibilities were not I confess, quite so much excited as that. . . .

I am always,

CHAS. KING.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, Jan. 26, 1817.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . When Congress considers the Efforts you and Mason made against the Kentucky House Bill & the Dissatisfaction now felt at its Operation, the members will have Reason to repine at their own Folly. They however, are not in the Habit of repenting or mending their Course, by experiencing the Evil of former Conduct. I am gratified that the House has discovered so much Spirit on the Subject of the Compensation Bill, & the more so as many of both Parties made it the occasion of catching a little Popularity, by addressing the mean Passion of the Mob. I shall rejoice if Trumbull succeeds in his Endeavours to adorn the Capitol. He should remember that Pericles could not advance

himself at Athens without taking part with the Democracy against the Aristocracy ; not that I should believe this to be the obstacle of greatest magnitude in his way, at least not insuperable. At any Rate I most truly wish among all their Waste & Prodigality the Demagogues might afford him an opportunity of rendering Washington, as that illustrious Statesman rendered Athens to Greece, the Light & Eye of the U. States. We talk here as you do in Congress of the perfect Extinction of the Party Spirit, and there are not a few of our first rate Patriots, perfectly willing to avail themselves of this general Sentiment to take Sides with any man in any party, and approve & promote any Measures, however contrary to former Conduct & former Professions, provided they can by such measures, slide into Office & attain Distinction. I have always felt so much Interest in Hanson's Gratification, since the Defence he made in Favour of public Liberty, by assuming such a Stand in Support of a free Press, that his Appointment to the Senate gave me Pleasure, altho this is more than I fear it did to our Friend Mason. He will not, however, be long, or much, annoyed in this Event as I presume he will not go many times more to Washington. . . .

Your faithful & affectionate,

Friend, C. GORE.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

SENATE CHAMBER, Jan. 30, 1817.

MY DEAR FRIEND :

. . . A great project for a new Dept., recommended in the President's message, and reinforced in a report, to which a supplement was added, by the Heads of Departments, has failed by a great majority in the Senate. Our Swedish treaty has not yet been considered and, as I conjecture, will encounter some opposition, because it makes provisions, the operation and effect whereof were not understood by our minister. It is really a deplorable thing, that men should be entrusted in these matters, whose habits, education and acquirements are so little, relative to these complicated subjects. Our Compensation law has been several days in the Senate ; what course its friends will give to the bill I do not know nor inquire concerning ; the bill repeals all laws on the subject from the 3d of March next. The proposed laws of naviga-

tion and of exclusion of the ships and produce of England, or rather of her W. Indies Colonies, are before the House. The former allowing forn. ships to import only the produce & manufactures of the Countries to which they respectively belong, may perhaps become a law. I doubt whether the second will at present be adopted. I doubt, because I do not feel quite satisfied that just now it is the expedient time to do a business, which, if arrangement be impracticable, must be done. The bill restraining the arming, and fitting vessels so armed, to be employed in the war between Spain and her Colonies, will probably become a Law; so far as an impartial neutrality goes, I wd. go, but not a step further. I would go thus far now, especially as it seems probable that the great coalesced Powers, wd. not see with indifference any course pursued here wh. wd. appear to throw our means where it is believed our wishes are. Within the last week it is said with much confidence, that J. Q. Adams is to be the Secretary of State; the competitors having been J. Q. A., Gallatin & Crawford. As I know nothing, and communicate mere rumors, you will give to the report only such credit as mere rumors deserve. The Bagots, as I hear, are very popular here; they entertain handsomely, conduct themselves with much affability, manifesting a great desire of pleasing, and of course succeeding to no small extent in doing so. The Frenchman also keeps a pleasant house and sees much company, having good cooks & a plentiful cellar.

With affectionate regard to Mrs. Gore I am as always most faithfully yr's.

R. K.

R. King to C. Gore.

Jany. 1817.

Dear Sir:

. . . Congress have done little; the H. of R. have consumed much time in unprofitable debate on the Compensation Law. To day, by a large majority, they passed to a third reading a bill repealing all laws on the subject, to take effect at the end of the session—so that the matter will come before the next Congress at it did before the first Congress. Various efforts were made from ten dollars to eight; all failed. An attempt was also made to refer the repeal of the 1500 Dol. Law to the beginning

of the present session ; this also failed ; and as they resolved to retain the 1500 Dol. Compensation for the present session, they thought it unbecoming to fix the Compensation of the next Congress at a lower rate ; so they determined to repeal all the laws. A B.krupt Law, also a Navigation Law are spoken of ; perhaps the first may pass but I think the second will not, at least now. Of Pinkney we hear not a word except that I understand that Mr. Oliver don't bear jesting on this subject well. I conclude that nothing has been gained, & I fear that in character something has been lost. Russell and his Swedish treaty are before us ; you know that the latter is a secret, while undecided—I can't tell you what it is but may only what it is not ; and on this point you will not be disappointed in knowing that in my opinion it is not only good for nothing but worse. We are put questions for information, &c. ; in the mean time the runners are employed in fixing votes. Of the new Cabinet we hear nothing ; it is not talked of, and with the exception of a few Persons, I really believe it a matter of much indifference. I have dined once at the Palace with the Corps Dip. ; the dinner went off well and with good spirits. Of the successor I hear only little ; after a fortnight's being here he left me a card ; in point of time the return visit is nearly due. The prospect of a new or Home Dept., I have assaulted and perhaps we might have thrown it out had we taken a vote ; but delay was asked for by its friends, and in the mean time votes are secured. Some say Rush is to have the office in order to make room for a new Atty. Genl. Crawford's brother Thomas, a civil man enough, has succeeded him. Our party are Hanson, Lewis, Herbert & Grosvenor. I have my old rooms ; breakfast and take tea in my own room, dine with the mess. There is a large tavern put up by Bailey on the Hill, and Dawes has returned to the tavern on Penns. Avenue ; these have drawn off much of the company that formerly frequented this house ; so that we are in general very quiet here, and in point of provision, cooking, &c., I perceive no change. The old servants are here & Mrs. Crawford with her family, except Anne, lives in the house where Stagner was. Anne is married and at housekeeping near the Episcopal Church in this place. The Bagots are quite popular here they give balls & dinners, &c., &c., assume no airs, endeavour to conciliate and, as I hear, with much success. The Frenchman who

has two Houses in F Street, which were mere walls for several years & near the corner, also gives dinners, and Madame has a rout every Saturday Evening. Sweden, Spain and Portugal make no public exhibition.

Farewell my Dr. friend

R. K.

R. KING TO C GORE.

CRAWFORDS, D. C., Feb. 2, 1817.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . A bill repealing the Compensation law and all laws on the subject after the 3rd of Mar. has passed both Houses. So that the next Congress will have to provide for their own pay; the Extra session of the Senate, when, as we hear, the Boston Senator will appear & take his seat, must go unpaid or at least will be served on Credit. The bill proposing to establish a new Dept., recommended by the Presidt. and supported by two reports from all the Heads of Dept., was thrown out 23 to 11 votes; the subject was discussed on three days: Govr. Barbour, the chief in support, agt. my efforts in opposition to the bill. The bill in the House prohibitory of the intercourse with the Eng. Colonies is laid on the table. I understand that probably a majority was opposed, and its friends deemed it inexpedient to risk any decision at present. I hear that the navigation-law, confining the importation of goods to Amer. ships, and those of the country where the goods are produced or manufactured, will probably pass. This Bill will, regulate the proportion of National Seamen requisite to our own, perhaps to the forn. Navigation. I much question whether any measure of consequence will be adopted, unless the admission of the Mississippi Territory, or rather one half of it, as a new State be such a measure. We are tomorrow to consider Russell's Swedish treaty. I dislike one or two of its articles, and intend to oppose its ratification, unless these articles be expunged. To be sure it is a small matter, but the principle which the exceptionable articles assert is bad. Nothing as I believe is definitively settled about the new ministry. Adams seems to be still the more probable successor to the Dept. of State. It has been taken for granted that Crowninshield wd. retire with Mr. Madison; within a few days past it is whispered that Crowninshield

talks of holding on ; if so two Memrs. from the same state would not do. . . .

Adieu my Dr. friend I am faithfully yrs

R. K.

W. COLEMAN TO R. KING.

Private.

NEW YORK, Feb. 5, 1817.

DEAR SIR :

After casting about how I could obtain the object of this letter without disclosing its real intention, I have concluded on the whole that my best way is not to attempt concealment, but to pursue the old fashioned maxim that Honesty is the best policy, & frankly ask for the information I want without making a secret of my purpose. Delaplaine has determined to go on with his living characters in spite of my remonstrances, & finding I could do no better I have requested him to lend me yours & Mr. Jay's that I might at least put a little covering on the skeletonic figures, before they were exhibited. I have had little time allowed me & fear I have undertaken as much as I am equal to. But I cannot resist the impulse to try to do something at least. He promises entire secresy ; as do I as to what ever you may send me. Will you gratify me by answers to the following questions ? What was the question in the Mass'tts legislature in which you first opposed Sullivan ? I think something concerning the Impost. Mr. Paine was present & related some particulars to me. Were you elected by the Gen. Court, a few days after to Congress ? Were you deputed by Congress to Masstts. legislature soon afterwards, to make some representation on behalf of the U. S. ? On what occasion was it that you experienced the *vox faucibus haesit*, Monroe being your colleague ? What was the question & what the circumstances attending it when Burr & you stood opposed on the subject of Mr. Gallatin ? I wish to be particularly informed about this. Was it not the twenty last Nos. of Camillus you wrote or all but the ten first ? These queries you observe relate to the subjects of speaking & writing. May it not be said that a correspondence has been occasionally kept up with the most distinguished civilians in Europe ? Were you not pressed by Washington to accept the ambassadorship to England ? Will you,

may I not ask of you to write me on these & any other topics in entire confidence? Your letter shall be destroyed as soon as I have availed myself of it. The necessity of the case must furnish my apology.

In much hurry I am Dear Sir
very respectfully yours
W. COLEMAN.

Endorsed. Ansd. 9th Feby 1817.

Letter neither dated nor signed, but in the handwriting of R. K. and evidently an answer to Coleman's letter of 5th Feby. probably on the 9th.

I have received and now thank you for the letter of the 5th. Strange as you may think it, yet true it is, that respecting some of the early scenes of life, in reference to your Enquiry, my recollection is so indistinct that I shd. hesitate in speaking positively respecting them. Until by intercourse with public men, and that exercise of mind with the aids derived from such intercourse, the mind becomes enlightened & its misconceptions & errors are corrected, no habit for methodical exercise of the understanding is ever well established. And all which precedes this, is crude, unconnected, & fugitive; and the traces thereof so faint that they do not endure.

My impression now is that the discussion in the Legislature of Mass. in wh. I was opposed to Mr. S. and other distinguished men, was relative to the Recommendation of Congress to the several States to grant them power to levy for the use of the general Govt. an impost of 5/C on the value of all goods imported into the U. S. In the course of the war of the Revolution a Jealousy was excited by the Adams and other men in Congress, that France was acquiring too great an influence over our public affairs; that certain men and particular States were devoted to the views of France; and that the welfare of the respective States required, that instead of increasing the power of Congress, the general Gov. should be held to a dependance on the States for supplies, which wd. always enable the States to enquire concerning the Policy & Measures pursued by the Govt.

Another question propounded to the States by Cong. and con-

cerng. wh. we had much discussion, was the alteration of the article in the old Confedy. which apportioned the supplies among the several States according to a valuation of the Lands granted & surveyed in each State, including the houses thereon & improvements thereof, for the Rule by wh. direct Taxes are apportioned among the States by the present Constitution,—the Recommendation of Congress on both points was followed by Mtts. and if I can trust my Recollection, I opposed the first, and supported the second. The discussion on the impost was in 1782, that in the allusion of the art. of the Confed. in 1783. I do not now recollect whether my election to Congress was in this year or in the session of 1784. My appointment was an innovation in this respect, that according to our habits I was then too young a man to have been elected to Congress.

I was not sent by Cong. on any Mission to the Legislature of Massachusetts—in I think 1786 Monroe & I were sent to the Legislature of Penna. The Requisitions of supplies for the general treasury were ill complied with, and owing to their insufficiency, the numerous claimants often went empty away ; but such of them as belonged to the States, which were the most punctual in paying into the Treasury their quotas, complained that strangers were paid when they were dismissed unpaid. In this disorder of the Finances, Pennsylvania, which had paid her quota more fully than many others, adopted certain Regulations, according to wh., instead of paying her quota into the general Treasury, she assumed to distribute it among her own Citizens, holding claims on the general Treasury—this assumption increased the financial embarrassment of Congress and if followed, wd. have put an end to all the contributions from the other States.

To remonstrate agt. this course of proceeding by Penn. M. & myself were deputed to her Legislature.

Genl. Mifflin was the Speaker of the House ; it being before their present Conn. their Legislature consisted only of a single body : being first named in the Mission, it was in course that I shd. deliver the Remonstrance.

I had taken a good deal of pains to examine & arrange the matter of my discourse, and, having already acquired some little reputation, felt unusual solicitude that my performance shd. not disappoint any expectations that might have existed. The doors

of the Legislature were open, and the House very full. I had scarcely risen from my chair and addressed the Sp'er. before all my thoughts were scattered, and my power to recall them wholly gone. Confused and mortified, I had nothing left but to turn to my Colleague, who was sitting by me, and to ask him to take my place wh. he did & I sat down. Monroe went on and presented the views wh. he entertained on the subject. During his speaking I rallied, & recalled my scattered thoughts, became composed, and when Monroe finished I again presented myself, and went thro' my discourse without trepidation, and to my own satisfaction.*

The conflict to wh. you refer in the Senate, was not confined to Burr. Jn. Taylor & Monroe of Virginia, with others, took part in the same ; it arose on the question whether Mr. Gallatin, who had been chosen, by Penn. a Senator, possessed the qualification of Citizenship to hold a seat. Owing to the various modes in wh. for. had been naturalized by the several States ; the question was not only a little intricate, but of first importance. The result was that Gallatin lost his seat.

Of the Papers under the signature of Camillus, those relative to the permanent, or ten first, articles of Mr. Jay's Treaty were written by Hamilton, those relative to the commercial & maritime articles were written by me. †

The critical examination of these articles, in relation to Navigation, Trade, as well as to the Laws & treaties of Nations,—has been of great advantage to me thro' life. Principles were established, & usages & regulations discovered, relative to maritime & commercial Law, which have given to me greater confidence in acting & deciding on these intricate matters, than I feel on almost any other subject.

The Mission to England I was desirous to have. I had reason to know that Genl. W. had thought of giving it to me when Mr. Th. Pinckney was appointed. When Mr. P. desired to be recalled and the Mission was offered to me I unhesitatingly accepted it.

I lived more intimately with the public men of England, as well those of the opposition as of the Govt., than any other for-

* See R. King's *Life*, etc., Vol. I., p. 125.

† *Ib.*, Vol. II., p. 12.

eigner of my time. I frequented the society of literary men, & have been in correspondence with several of the most distinguished civilians of the old world.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

CRAWFORDS, Feb. 16, 1817,

MY DEAR SIR :

. . . As the Compensation Law is repealed Mr. Otis must attend the extra session of the Senate on credit. The new Ministry still a matter of mere conjecture—some persons suspect that there has been no real intention to place J. Q. A. in the Dept. of State,—that the report was circulated to draw off the pub. attention from Clay. Monroe opposed Madison, but was pacified and became Secy. of State ; Clay opposed in the caucus a nomination, fearing perhaps that Crawford wd. prevail ; afterwards nominated Monroe : this looks like good understanding between M. & Clay. If after this scene when M. becomes Pr. he appoints Clay to ye. Dt. of State, the things put together wd. look like bargains : therefore let it be put into circulation that Adams is to be called home and made Secy. of State : this will draw off attention from the real purpose. Let it also be said, as it has been with some confidence, that Clay has been offered the War Dept., refused it, and wd. be offered nothing more : these rumours wd. indicate disagreement between Monroe & Clay ; and when Clay is appointed, it may be ascribed to oppositions & difficulties concerning Adams. It is said Crowninshield intends holding on. This cd. not happen if Adams be Secy. of State ; nor will his wishes stand in the way of putting any body else in his place shd. it be deemed expedient ; perhaps, and it is only perhaps, Clay will be Secy. of State. Our Swedish Treaty is still undecided. Mason has thought of making a motion tomorrow to reduce the Army to 5000 men !

Farewell, with affectionate Regards to you both I am always yrs R. K.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

CRAWFORDS, Feb. 17, 1817.

DEAR SIR:

I recd. to day yours of inclosing a letter for Trumbull. I believe that you are misinformed of the sum to be paid to him for two or three of his Paintings that are taken by the Academy of N. Y. He told me that he had asked an annuity of 700 Dol. for three lives, his own, his wife's and his natural son John Ray's: the Academy offered & he has accepted an annuity during his own & wife's lives and the life of the survivor of 900 Dol. He has made his arrangements with the Pr. respecting the public Pictures—a part is to be paid in advance, when he begins each Picture, the residue when it is finished. To day our friend Mason moved a resolution which will be debated tomorrow, or the day after, to reduce the army to 5000 men, and a motion has been under debate in the H. of R. to repeal all the internal taxes—the fate of these projects I can't predict: if not now adopted they will be next year. To day I have learnt, and in a way that leaves me little doubt of the truth, that J. Q. Adams is to be called home to fill the Dep. of State. Crawford and Crowninshield will remain if they choose; and some one in the Western Country will be picked up for Secy. of War. Campbell, the late Secy. of the Treasury, will we are told replace Adams at London. Clay has been offered a forn. Mission and also the War Office, but declined them. Some say Crawford will not continue in office, but return to his plantation. It may be safely foretold that the new Cabinet will not long act harmoniously. . . .

Yrs &c.

R. K.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

CRAWFORDS, Feb. 19, 1817.

MY DEAR SIR:

I may send to Mrs. Gore a little report of the Party given last evening by the French Ambassador. Two houses in F. Street, nearly opposite to the Bk of the Metropolis, have been furnished during the past season. These are occupied by the Fr. Minister; the whole of the lower floor was opened by communicating doors which converted the two houses into one. At an early hour the

rooms were filled; in some the company danced, in others played cards, and the whole were crowded by I shd. conjecture at least 300 persons. Madame the Queen was there, and better dressed, as well as better looking, than usual; the new Queen did not make her appearance; the corps diplomatic was there and a good, meaning large, majority of both Houses of Congress made no small addition to the company. The chamber floor was also open and supper tables, covered with a profusion of good things, were placed in all the rooms: of course everything was cold but very well arranged. After standing and walking from room to room till I was tired, I saw a vacant chair in a corner, where I placed myself next to Monsr. Correa, the Portuguese Minister. We were engaged in conversation when of a sudden I observed Col. & Mrs. T. [rumbull] coming towards me. When near she quitted her husband's arm, and sallying towards me, almost tumbled into my arms, but by good fortune brought up on an empty chair on my right. She immediately began in expressions of joy on having found me; told me how much she esteemed me, hoped I was her friend and her husband's friend; and under pretence of a low conversation put her mouth to my ear. Correa expressed in his countenance admiration, and all who passed halted to observe our tete-a-tete. Just now the ladies finished a cotillion, and were looking for seats; I availed myself of the occasion and escaped into the crowd, leaving the lady alongside Mr. Ambassador. Mr Otis, who with his family were guests, happening to appear, she made out to rise and take hold of him beginning, as with me, to declare her esteem for him, and invoking his friendship for her. "How does Mr. Gore do, is he any better, and Mrs. Gore, she I hope is well? he is one of my best friends, he is my father, he gave me to my husband, Oh, how much I love him; he is my husband's friend, and I love him even more for that, than for anything else." Mr O. contrived to get clear. When advancing into the middle of the room Mrs. T. met Mrs. Fromentin, no small obstacle to her progress; they stood face to face, and Mrs F, looking at Mrs T, the latter exclaimed, pretty audibly, what do you see, what do you look at me for; what are you staring at? Mrs. F. made no reply but turning aside met Mr Crawford, who asked her who Mrs. T. was; instead of answering, Mrs F. replied there is her husband, pointing to

to Col. T. Like a tigress she immediately turned on Crawford and what business have you with my husband, what are you looking at him for? what is it to you that he is my husband? Crawford & Mrs Fromentin turned their backs, and soon became separated from the enraged woman. Supper was announced, I went up stairs and as the Col. & Mrs T. did not appear at the supper, I concluded that he carried her off before we came down, as I saw no more of them. This morning I saw the Col. on some business, he looked as usual without any expression of mortification in his countenance. I had thought I would try to muster up fortitude to tell him freely how much his own character suffered by this scandalous conduct of his wife; but his amiable countenance and polite manners joined to the uncertainty how such a communication wd. be recd., discouraged me; and we parted as usual, except that I could not bring myself to make the usual enquiry concerning his wife. Her conduct at the Bagots was terrible, but I had heard that she behaved strangely at Mrs Madison's; the conduct last evening will be certain to exclude her from all further civilities here. Farewell

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R. KING TO THOMAS WORTHINGTON.

CRAWFORDS, Feby. 21, 1817.

DEAR SIR:

. . . We draw fast to the end of our Session. Of a sudden and within a day or two past, a resolution has been made and debated in the H. of R. to repeal all internal Taxes: today it has been postponed to the 2nd of March, which is equivalent to a negative. In the Senate, we have a resolution brought forward to reduce the army to 5000 men. If the Taxes had been repealed, the reduction of the army would have necessarily followed; but that motion failing, I think it probable the army will not be reduced.

I am not sure that the wave which will be certain to press on the next Congress will not almost sweep the deck. The profusion of the public expenditures, the unchecked and unsettled advances which have been, and, I fear, still are made at the Treasury, have created pretty extensively an opinion that there is no means of limiting the grants but by limiting the supplies.

Very few measures of importance will have been decided by Congress at the present Session. The bill appropriating the Bonus and Profits of the Bk. of the U. S. for canals &c has passed the House and is before the Senate. It will be vigorously opposed, but may perhaps become a law; considering the great interest that the State of New York has in the decision, tho' I do entertain some doubts on the subject, I shall support the bill. . . .

very faithfully yours

RUFUS KING.

CHAPTER IV.

Randolph to King—Sheffey's Attack on Randolph—King to Gore—Randolph on Sheffey—Spanish Negotiations—Relative to Florida—King to Gore—Bill passed to appropriate the Government Dividends on Stock of the U. S. Bank to Roads and Canals—A Quip on R. Derby—To succeed Mr. Adams—King to Gore—Cabinet Appointments—Failure of Pinkney's Mission—King—Compensation for private Losses during the War—Compensation Law—Pay should be increased—An annual Salary was objected to—Manner of Increase left to Successors in Congress—King to Gore—Religion in Politics in Mass. and Conn.—Clinton successful in N. Y.—England would not agree in a joint Treaty with Russia and the U. S.—Gore to King—President's Tour through the Eastern States—King to Gore—President's Visit to New York—Part taken by King—Conversations with the President—King to Gore—Conversations renewed—King to Mason—Country owes them Something for their Services—President's Journey.

John Randolph to R. King.

Semmes', Feb. 21, 1817.

Dear Sir :

You will not I hope think me presuming, or obtrusive, in requesting you to read a paper which is in the hands of my colleague Mr. T. M. Nelson, whom I have requested to shew it you. The flattering notice with which you have honoured me will not, I hope, so turn my head as to make me forget the deference due to your superiority over me in other respects as well as age ; but tenacious of your good opinion (laudati viri) I cannot consent to do any thing which may have a tendency to impair it, or to omit any thing which may seem to rectify a first impression, perhaps, to my prejudice. I declare most solemnly, & Mr. Grosvenor amidst a host of witnesses can testify, that I met with good humour (retracting publicly my charge of deficiency in wit) the premeditated retort of Mr. Sheffey on Saturday the 8th instant. I say premeditated, because I had sportively apprized him on the preced-

ing Thursday (or Wednesday I forget which) of my intention to retort his sarcasm on my attack upon the unchartered banks of the District, & the nature of the retort ; so that his extemporaneous reply was the study of at least two days. His attack on the motion to repeal the internal taxes could not be mistaken. The observation was not *general* ; it was levelled at the " Policy of his colleague (Mr. R.) which could make the defence of the country depend upon the forbearance & clemency of the British Ministry " (Mr. Bagot an auditor) " which would lay this country bound hand & foot, at the mercy of Great Britain." Circumstanced as I am, a blow like this from the *rear* rank of the army to which I was attached was calculated, as I have no doubt it was intended, to be fatal. I saw certain long eared animals prick up their lugs and open their owlish eyes, & I saw at once the baseness & duplicity & cowardice of Mr. S. I am a thin skinned animal I know ; but there are a dozen in that House who might have gone (if possible) farther, without obtaining a reply from me. Mr. S. like a " special attorney " endeavours to shift the cause of my resentment to his clumsy attempt at wit. I am glad that he gave me an opportunity yesterday to *pin* him to a point. Excuse my bothering you with this egotism ; not having any of Mr. S.'s " sweet little pledges " to repose my " sorrows " upon I throw a part of the " filth " * upon you. With Perfect respect & great regard

I am Dear Sir your faithful Servant.

JOHN RANDOLPH OF ROANOKE.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

Feb. 23, 1817.

Poor Grosvenor continues dangerously ill,† and I am really afraid will die. Sym was called in last evening, said his case was very critical, and by his advice, after repeated & copious bleeding and purging, calomel is given in quantities to produce a speedy salivation ; indeed they talk of rubbing in the mercury to hasten this effect, and to shave and blister his head. Mr. Randolph also

* Excepted to by Mr. R. as an unparliamentary term, and pronounced yesterday by Mr. Speaker Clay to be " in order," as applied to a member, " the filth which the gent. has cast so liberally upon me." See Bear Garden and Hockley in the Hole.

† In bed very sick.

is in bed, cold, debility & spasms—but his constitution is so uncommon that altho' it may carry him on for some time, perhaps a long time, still it may fail him & that of a sudden. He has been engaged in a bitter controversy in the H. of R. with Sheffey. His power of invective was never before carried so far, nor before produced so much feeling for the assailed. He intends to decline a reelection & probably will go no more to the House during the session. The motion to repeal the internal taxes is laid over till next session ; that, to reduce the army will also fail. Trumbull's bargain with the Pr. is completed. For the four Pictures he is to receive thirty two thousand Dollars, eight of which are to be in advance. I am to move an amendment in the appropriation Bill tomorrow for the 8000 in advance & the residue as the Pictures are finished. On a call for information respecting the negotiation with Spain, we yesterday received a report from the Dept. of State in substance to this effect. In Aug. last Mr. G. W. Erving in a note to Cavallos stated the points in wh. he was authorized to negotiate at Madrid. 1. Compensation for the suspension of our Deposits at N. Orleans. 2d. Compensation for spoliation, 3d. an adjustment of the boundaries of Louisiana. After waiting a time, he asked for an answer, & was told that the preparations to receive the Princess of Brazills interrupted all business. After some time he repeated his demand, and was informed that the festivities on the King's marriage prevented an attention to the ordinary occupations. These past, on the third time of asking, he was answered that on recurring to the Correspondence of Don Onis, he had perceived that the President had expressed a regret that their Minister did not possess powers to negotiate on all matters of difference at Washington, and that as the King was desirous of giving a proof of great desire of doing what was agreeable to the President, he had resolved to send full powers to Don Onis & to transfer the negotiations to the U. S. This completely threw Mr. Erving out. On the resumption of the business here, Monroe repeated Erving's points, and after a note or two exchanged between the Negotiators, took up the question of boundaries ; and in order to avoid the examination of claims, proposed an exchange of Territory ; the U. S. taking the Floridas, and giving for them the portion of Louisiana lying between the Bravo & Colorado Rivers. The Spaniard replied that he has no positive

power to cede; but for an equivalent wd. recommend to his Court to cede the Floridas, protesting ag't Mr. Monroe's equivalent by asserting that the territory he had offered belonged already to his master, and much more of Louisiana also. He then proposed to recommend the cession of the Floridas to the U. S., they consenting to retrocede all Louisiana, west of the Mississippi—this Monroe refused, and offers to negotiate on the other points, which Don Onis refused on the plea, that unless a Treaty could be made on all the points, a good understanding & reciprocal tranquillity could not be expected. Here we are about as we were ten years ago.

Farewell.

R. KING TO MR. GORE.

CRAWFORDS, March 2, 1817.

MY DEAR SIR:

To day, as I have done each Sunday, I confine myself to my room taking a bowl of broth only for my dinner. As usual many bills are crowded upon us on the last day or two of the session. Tomorrow is our last day; we shall meet at 9 A. M., and not be discharged before that hour P. M. An important bill* passed both houses yesterday, which appropriates all the dividends that shall be received on the stock of the U. S. in the Bank, together with the 1 & ½ Millions to be paid by the Bank for its charter, to Roads & Canals. (the aggregate, if the Bank divide 8 p. c. will be about 12,700,000 or an annual average for 20 years of 635,000 dollars) to be apportioned among the States, according to their number of Representatives in Congress; the quotas from time to time to be vested by the Secretary of the Treasury in the funded debt of the U. S. & in the names of the States respectively, and to be applied within the States under the joint assent of Congress and the several States; provided that the quota of one State by its consent may be expended in another State. Neither army nor taxes are reduced this session. Two millions in addition to the 8 mil. are added to the sinkg. fund—and moreover 9 millions in the Treasury at the beginning of the year, are also to be in like manner applied in the course of a year towards

* This bill was vetoed by the President on the ground that Congress had no constitutional power to make such an appropriation.

paying off the pub. Debt. The treasury notes received in payment of taxes are to be cancelled, and such parts of Laws as still authorise further issue of Try. notes are to be repealed.*

The town is all engaged in practising a Quip on the foolish Dick Derby, whose former folly in this place shd. have restrained him from reappearing here again. Where it began, I have not heard, but I believe among some of the gentlemen on Capitol Hill. It being a common rumour that Mr. Adams is to return home to fill the Dept. of State, somebody to-day suggested it to Derby in much confidence that among other names, he had heard his spoken of as a fit character to succeed Mr. Adams at London. The Quip was so managed that this communication was in a few days made to Derby by a dozen persons, and in a way to represent the greater probability of his appointment than that of any other person who had been spoken of. He became completely the dupe, and has written letters on the subject to Mr. & Mrs. Madison, Mr. & Mrs. Monroe, Mrs. Bagot, de Neuville, Decatur and others, and from morning till evening is receiving the compliments of those he sees, on the almost certainty of his appointment. He is wholly insensible of the ridiculous part he is performing, and soberly thinks he shall be nominated on Wednesday by Mr. Monroe as Minister to London. Hunter of the Senate has lent himself to the Quip and allowed himself to be recommended to Derby as his Secretary of Legation ; has even spoken to Derby on the subject, who recd. the application with much gravity, and declined being explicit ; tho' he gave some reasons to expect that Hunter wd. be accepted. This morning he called three times on Hanson, before he obtained an interview, in which he told H. that he had good reasons to believe that he shd. be sent as Minister to London, and that he had been very anxious, and particularly during yesterday & last night, whom he should take as his Secretary ; that Mr. Hunter had been recommended to him, but that he preferred him, Mr. Hanson, and came to know

* Mr. King in a letter to Governor Worthington, March 1, 1817, says :

"This bill has met with strenuous opposition ; if the money be prudently managed and judiciously applied it will commence and do a great deal towards the execution of improvements not only of great advantage in a pecuniary sense, but still greater value in a political one ; as it will bring us nearer to each other and serve to bind us more firmly together by the bond of common interest."

if he would accept the Office. Hanson disqualified himself, extolled Hunter but finally consented, & Derby left him with marks of great satisfaction. Nothing can be more ridiculous than the foolishness that he is committing.

faithfully yrs.

R. K.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA, L. I., Mar. 13, 1817.

MY DEAR SIR :

. . . The inauguration consumed the 4th, and on the 5th the new ministry, with some unimportant appointments were made—Adams, Shelby, Crawford & Crowninshield. . . . The Senate adjourned *sine die*. *Campbell*, as I expected, perhaps still expects the mission to England. It seems by newspaper articles that the explanation which Mr. Coles carried to St. Petersburgh, respecting the imprisonment of the Russian Consul at Philadelphia, has been satisfactory and that Pinkney will arrive under favorable circumstances at the Russian Court. His mission to Naples absolutely failed ; in a final, and definitive note sent to him by the Neapolitan Govt., he was told almost in words, but fully in substance, what I told the Senate would be the reply to his demand. The Neapolitan Govt. deny all obligation to compensate those who suffered by the Usurpation of Murat ; they assert that they themselves were the greatest sufferers ; that they maintained themselves in a portion of their dominions ; constantly resisted the Usurper, supported as he was by the armies of a great power ; that the reclamation shd. have been made during the possession of the Usurper, who applied no part of the proceeds of the Amer. property to the advantage of Naples, but divided the same among his family and favorites. This I have not from our Govt., but in a way that leaves no doubt of its truth. It is not easy to foretell the course wh. Mr. Monroe will pursue. I think he will meet with difficulties ; already, or I mistake much, combinations are beginning in reference to the next Presidential Election. The Champions will be more numerous than is commonly believed ; this State will offer at least two Candidates, from the pure corps of Patriots : the disappearance of Federalists is followed by facts and animosities, which will divide the country up into as

many tribes, as there shall be chiefs to inspire a hope of success. . . . I am faithfully yrs.

R. K.

In R. King's handwriting.

Much of the time of the late Session of Congress was consumed in attempts to amend the Law of a former Session, which established a Commission to ascertain and liquidate the claims for Horses, waggons and other property destroyed or lost during the War. Special Laws have been passed, granting compensation for houses, stores, workshops, bridges and personal property destroyed or taken in the course of the War. In the discussion of these claims, principles of National Law, of policy and of public duty, if not altogether new, certainly not formerly acknowledged and practiced upon in the War of the Revolution, were asserted and sanctioned. In all cases of the destruction of property by our army, it has been contended, and in general successfully, that the U. S. are bound to grant compensation to the sufferers. Some have been desirous to extend the grant of compensation to every case of loss, or injury that was occasioned by the War, whether the same happened by our own acts or those of the Enemy; and the disposition to compensate for losses, where it is uncertain whether they happened by our own acts, or those of the Enemy, has generally prevailed. The frequent recurrence of War has made it almost necessary that Rules of a fixed character should be established and applied by every Nation on the subject of losses sustained by individuals. Unless such Rules do exist, there must be much want of equity in the distribution of compensation for losses; some claimants receiving more, and others less than their actual losses, and many, for want of attention, knowledge of the Law and proper assistance, receiving nothing. War is a calamity to every Nation, which, like other misfortunes, is almost sure to fall unequally upon individuals, and hitherto no system of philanthropy, or of ethics, has imposed upon a Nation the obligation to equalize among all its members the losses and sufferings which War brings upon a People. These, like other losses, which in the course of a wise Providence are cast upon individuals, must in general be borne by the sufferers. Nations

cannot, perhaps ought not to, attempt to indemnify or to equalize these afflictions. If war be a calamity that in the moral government of the world is inflicted on Nations as a punishment ; if moreover the sufferings which it produces are calculated to re-restrain Rulers from too hasty and inconsiderate making of wars, it may deserve inquiry, whether in morality or policy, the universal indemnity for the losses of War be a measure of prudence or discretion.

In the War of the Revolution no such duty was acknowledged, nor did any such practice obtain. The destruction of buildings by order of Amer. Generals at Plattsburgh, Baltimore and New Orleans has been paid for ; the bridges and some of the private houses burnt at Washington, have likewise been paid for. The commission to ascertain and liquidate claims for the horses, waggons and other things in the pub. service, lost, taken, or destroyed during the war is continued, the Senate having disagreed to a project of the H. of R., to abolish this Com. and to transfer the business to the accountant of the W. Dept.

The amount of these indemnities will be very considerable, and in general can only be justified by a principle which comes pretty near to that of a Mutual Insurance Company, which makes compensation for the losses of any of its members.

Another subject that consumed at least the fourth part of the time of the late Session of Congress, was the Compensation Law. However questionable the provisions and the prudence of the Compensation may have been, it must be confessed that an importance was given to the Law, and it was employed to produce effects far more general as well as more decisive, than, having regard to its provisions, it ought to have done.

That the Compensation should be increased, no sober man will dispute. The deterioration of the value of money during the last 27 years is everywhere known, and from the general prosperity of the country during the greater part of this period it must be acknowledged that what was thought a fit compensation in 1789, is an unfit and insufficient one in 1817.

What is a proper compensation now, or how much the old compensation should be increased, must depend on so many considerations, that to find men, and honest men, disagreeing about it is not extraordinary. Perhaps a per diem. of from 8 to 10

Dollars would be approved by almost every State in the Union. If for the whole number of days that Congress was in session between the 3rd of March 1816 and the 3rd Mar. 1817, the members had been paid 10 Dolls. a day, the sum would be just 1500. dolls., if only 9. Dolls. per. day be allowed, the compensation would have been 150 dolls. less. It was not the sum so much as the making the compensation an annual salary, that appears to have excited the general disapprobation.

A salary is commonly received by those whose whole time & thought all the year is consumed in the public service. It is known to every one that a part only, and the smaller part of the time of a member of Congress, is employed in the public service, and it could not fail to excite, what it has excited, a general dissatisfaction that the members of Congress should be receiving pay for the time during which they were at home and employed in their private concerns and occupations; for such was the belief of a majority of the People—an opinion that arose from the common notion of a salary, and which the numerous office-seekers and candidates for Congress, diligently inculcated and inflamed.

The course adopted by Congress, after a good deal of recrimination between the members and the manifestations of dissatisfaction on the result of the election, was perhaps the wisest which they could have followed. The public condemnation of the Law could not be denied; the propriety of its repeal appeared to be equally indisputable. But when the repeal should take effect and what should be the Rule of Compensation were questions respecting which a difference of opinion soon manifested itself. To make the repeal retrospect, interfered with what had been lawfully done; to provide different compensations for the two sessions of the term of the Representatives, or for different portions of the same session could be justified by no obvious principle of remuneration or of equity. To receive the salary and repeal the Law which grants it, and at the same time revive the old and insufficient compensation for their successors would have been a measure justly liable to censure for its illiberality and selfishness. The course pursued was to repeal all Laws providing compensation, the repeal to take effect after the end of the session. By this proceeding Congress submit their

own judgment to the public opinion, and they leave entirely open to their successors, a majority of whom will be new members, the question of settling their own compensation.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA, L. I., Apr. 17, 1817.

MY DEAR SIR :

According to appearances Govr. Brooks is reelected your Governor, and by an increased majority. In Connecticut the wisdom of the wise as they esteemed themselves is turned to foolishness. Is is not a little remarkable that while in Mass. a clamour has been raised against the Liberals in matters of religion,* the too rigid adherence to the platform in Connecticut has overturned the calvinistic Rulers, and introduced in their stead what is called there the Friends of Toleration. I have heard that the Former are disappointed and mortified ; as regards the order of Connecticut, I have no apprehension that Mr. Wolcott's administration will be less favorable than Mr. Smith's. In this State, after a good deal of jockeying & much of extraordinary coalition, among men who have censured each other in the coarsest and bitterest language, Mr. Clinton will be chosen without opposition ; and the Legislature will be composed of the fit men to promote his views : what are Mr. Tompkins' sentiments concerning Mr. Clinton's election, I cannot ascertain ; but if, as I conjecture, he looks forward a step beyond his present station, neither he nor the chief at Washington can be gratified by the success of Mr. Clinton. I yesterday crossed in the steam Boat with General Swift who has returned from Washington ; he said that while there he heard something about a Treaty of Commerce between Eng., Russia and the U. S. : some such project may have been proposed by us, perhaps by Russia ; but as I understand English Policy, it will not be favorably considered by her. She has a prudent antipathy to concert, or league, in matters of Nautical Regulations ; has uniformly aimed to dissolve the same, and succeeded in making separate Treaties with the powers which had combined against her. She must change her system, or

* Hildreth, *Hist. of U. S.* vi., pp. 597–602.

disagree to a Treaty to which Russia & the U. S. are parties on one side and England on the other. Whether Mr. Gallatin has committed some indiscretion in the affairs of France ; or the dissatisfaction which is expressed that our Govt. did not give the expected satisfaction respecting the Toast of the Baltimore Postmaster, be the true motive, is more than I know ; but it is understood that the Duke de Richelieu gives no answer to Mr. Gallatin's Notes and that we are in disfavor at Paris—of Pinkney & Ewing I have lately heard nothing. . . .

faithfully yrs.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, May 15, 1817.

MY DEAR FRIEND :

. . . Some men are taking great Pains, that President Monroe should be received with great Splendour & Respect.* It is said to be necessary to show all Party Spirit done away, & to attain the Favour of the Govt. to this State, and that if our Militia be properly arrayed before him as a mark of attention, he will be afraid of discomposing the Temper of Mass. The Govr. will do all that is due from him to the President. It is not probable he will be goaded to do more, altho' great Efforts are making to show higher Respect now than to Prest. Washington. . . .

We have to learn the Course of Connecticut with her New Rulers. I confess my Fears are great that before long we shall there have the worst of Democracy. In your State the Patriots appear to be quarreling with each other. Can or will any Good arise to the virtuous part of the Community from these Broils ? Clinton & Monroe are said to be making their Parties here for the next presidential Election.

Yours truly,

C. GORE.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA, L. I., June 12, 1817.

MY DR. SIR :

The President arrived in town on Wednesday, having passed the preceeding day with the Vice Pr. at Staten Island ; having on

* The President was making a tour through the Eastern States.

consideration thought it expedient to make my congratulations & compliments, I went to town in season to be there on his arrival. An appartment of ceremony was assigned to him in the City Hall, whither I went as soon as the crowd was a little dispersed in Broad Way. The Pr. recd. me as he had been accustomed to do with expressions of consideration. Quarters were taken for his private accommodation at a new pub. house that has been lately opened in Wall street. He invited me to dine with him at 5 o'c. After the presentations were a little over, he came up to me, and made the usual enquiries of civility—this offered me an opportunity of requesting him to come and pass a day with me here, he civilly intimated the pressure of his engagements, and would if he could. At 5 ock. I went to his house, several members of the Cincinnati, the Vice President, Gov. Clinton, the Mayor with others including his military and naval Cortege, making a company of 25 or 30 were his guests. Before dinner he come to me and entered into conversation concerning his tour, and the motives which recommended it to him. Men in pub. places speak in generals, and so, whether in earnest or otherwise, that nothing of particularity can or ought to be inferred from their conversations of this sort. The correct choice and selection of the points of defence, and the adoption, and execution of the plans of fortification, so that the works should be of permanent duration, serving for the protection of the country hereafter as at present, were the main purpose of his journey. In addition to which the pub. attention would be attracted towards these great national objects ; jealousies might be softened, and the Spirit of party lessened. I expressed my satisfaction, and added that in the principles of our Constitutions and Laws, in our manners and language, as well as in our occupations and enterprize there was more of identity, than existed perhaps, in these particulars, in any other country ; that our people were susceptible of great animation & of enthusiasm, and were devoted to the free institutions of the General & State Govts.; that such people had the strongest claims on their Govt. which owed to them in return, confidence, affection and the most impartial and faithful execution of its duties. To all this the Pr. assented—to this purpose the conversation continued for some time & until the dinner was announced. To day he has gone to visit West Point and will afterwards view the works, or defences

at the Narrows and at Sandy Hook. He then proceeds down the Sound, will examine with Genl. Swift, who accompanies him, the ports of New London, and its vicinity—and will then take New Port & Providence in his way to your Metropolis. I understood from Swift that he was at the request of y'r adjutant Genl. to give seasonable notice of the time when the President would arrive on your confines, where he wd. be rec'd by a Military Escort, who would attend him to Boston where a distinguished Military Reception would be given to him by Gov. Brooks. Whether he goes in to N. Hampshire or further I have not inquired nor have I heard what route he will take on his return, tho' I conjecture that he will cross the country to Vermont, take a look at Plattsburg, and then proceed thro' the western part of our State to Niagara. The Reception wh. the Pr. has rec'd at N. Y. has been a flattering one and I have no doubt that he has been pleased with it : that wh. awaits him in Mass. will probably be still more gratifying, as he might have anticipated it. We have no other topic of communication except that of the Pr's tour, . . .

Farewell yrs. always affectionately

In a letter to his son Edward in Ohio, June 5, 1817, Mr. King, after sending him some particular statements as to the welfare of his sons' families about New York and of his farming operations at Jamaica, gives an account of his own brother Cyrus's death. He had been a member of Congress in the recent session, and, as it appears, had taken an earnest part in its deliberations.

"I think I mentioned to you in my last letter, that my brother Cyrus died of an Erysipelas, or as it is commonly called St. Anthony's Fire. I think his physicians mistook his case, but perhaps not. He was a man of unblemished integrity, strong talents and as strong passions ; beloved and respected by friends and neighbours. He has left a young family, and in circumstances which are tolerably easy."

R. King to C. Gore.

Jamaica, June 21, 1817.

Dear Sir:

. . . The President has been ten days at, and in the vicinity of the City; he has visited West Point & inspected the approaches to our City by land & water, and shown himself to, & been seen and approached by all the world. This course has, as I think, been favorable to him, tho' I also think that he has staid long enough, and that his departure for New Haven yesterday was not too soon. His expenses of every kind have, as I have heard, been defrayed by the City Corporation; the same course will probably be followed by your Metropolis. Govr. Wolcott was to be at New Haven to receive the President; he wd. proceed to New London, New Port, & Providence, thence *to the Head Quarters of good principles.* He will visit Portsmouth and, if your committee of arrangements should have a suitable vessel all ready, and shd. offer the same, I am inclined to believe that he would extend his journey of inspection to Portland, and take Portsmouth on his return. He intimated to me that he was inclined, if he should find time, to pursue this route. He proposes going across the country from Portsmouth to Plattsburg, thence along Lake Ontario to Niagara, whence he will proceed to Detroit, return thro' the State of Ohio, and cross the Mountains homeward on horse back. I don't think he is entirely recovered from the attack of fever which he suffered at Washington. The south shore of the lakes are unhealthy in July & August; and the fatigue of traveling at that season will increase the hazard to which he will be exposed. I have heard that great numbers of all politics visited the Pr. while in the City. I was invited to accompany him to West Point, but did not; I went to meet him at the Narrows, or west end of our Island, and accompanied him to Sandy Hook. He spoke on various subjects with freedom; appeared not disposed to avoid any topic that is was desired to speak of; asked in an obliging manner concerning you and your health. I answered him by saying among other things that your health was not good; and as you were much confined at home on this account, that I hoped he wd. take an opportunity of calling on you while at Boston. Without being explicit, he expressed himself so as to have no doubt that he wd. make you a visit, in

case he can do it without a departure from his plan of traveling. He did not come to Jamaica. If your Health permit, I hope you will go to town to make him a visit. While on the one hand I wd. show no solicitude to manifest any zeal on this occasion, I would avoid the appearance either of dissatisfaction, or of the want of respect for the first Magistrate of the nation. . . .

I am affectionately yrs.

R. K.

R. KING TO JEREMIAH MASON.

JAMAICA, L. I., July 4, 1817.

DEAR SIR:

Accept my acknowledgements for the very obliging letter that you have written to me. I was sorry to see it announced that you had relinquished your seat in the Senate. To the force of some of the motives that have influenced you on this occasion I am not insensible. But that you have done no good, and think it doubtful whether you would be able to do any by continuing in the Senate, I am not willing to admit or to believe; on the contrary, for maxims of Govt., principles of administration, and views of general policy, which cannot fail to promote the public welfare, I am quite sure, that our colleagues and the country owe us something. It is true that we have had to contend with prejudices constantly working against us, and with jealousies which caused men to vote in opposition to us as well as to their own convictions. These are discouraging circumstances, but they perhaps necessarily belong to our political system, which altho' less conducive than might be desired to the greater prevalence of exact justice, is nevertheless better fitted to our character and conditions, and more certain to promote the growth of the strength and wealth of the nation than any other system. The President is by this time in Boston, where as you correctly observe there will be some little supererogation. From what I observed here, I am inclined to believe, that the Pr. will receive all that is offered, apparently in good part; both at Philad & here, the exclusives have been dissatisfied; and if a great demonstration of respect & affection, which may be exhibited *at Boston*, is reciprocated by the President, I am not sure that it may not be followed by an equivalent coolness, and disaffection among his old friends. The part

which I took on the President's coming among us was such, as on previous consideration, I had thought to be expedient. I went to town on the day of his arrival to offer to him my respects; he recd. me, with others, in an obliging manner and asked me to dine with him, which I did. I invited him to come and dine with me; he would if he could, by which I understood that he probably wd. not—as he did not. I was invited to attend the Pr. to W. Point, which I did not: he invited me to meet him at the fortifications on *our Island*, at the Narrows. I met him there, and accompanied him to Sandy Hook. He conversed with me freely on several public topics, leading always, in these conversations; which were accompanied by observations relative to his tour, and views in making it that were quite proper. But these general observations, which cover and conceal all details, amount to but little. I see no reason to change my conjectures relative to the present adm. I think the chief must, and will, be mainly influenced in his course by the perpetual changes in the political horoscope. I foresee little harmony, and of course nothing very decisive in his Cabinet. The office of Secy. at War is still open. Since Shelby declined, it has been offered to & refused by, Lowndes, who, as I hear, has been solicited a second time to take it. General Harrison is trying to obtain it, and for want of a better, may in the end succeed, tho' I doubt it. Of the foreign concerns I have heard nothing lately; Hunter's voyage to England, as he told me, and as I believe, is wholly relative to family concerns; he has also a picture, or two, said to be of value, which he hopes to sell in England. As to the mission to Eng., I have heard not a word since we parted. The newspapers talk of Rush and sometimes of Pinkney, as destined to succeed Mr. Adams. Of Mr. Derby nothing is publickly said, and notwithstanding the understanding to which you allude, I am kept in the dark on this, and other important Concerns!!! As the Pr. will visit Portsmouth, perhaps some state secrets may leak out; Swift who is a courtier, may make you his confidant; he appears as assiduous now, as he manifested formerly an inclination to be, in the anticipation of a very different order of men and things. . . .

I am Dr Sir with very sincere esteem & Respect

yr ob & faithful Servt.

RUFUS KING.

CHAPTER V.

Gore to King—President's Visit in Boston—Gore to King—King to Gore—President's Journey—Mason to King—President at Portsmouth—Thinks he has not yet decided on any Course—Inclined to conciliate Federalists—King to Mason—Opposition to Clay—Gore to King—Anecdote of Judge Sewall—W. King to R. King—Trade with British Colonies should be on a reciprocal Basis—Randolph to King—Asking for his Portrait—Clinton to King—New York Claims—Western Canal to be contracted for—Regrets the President's Objection to internal Improvements—King to Gore—Objects to the Repeal of internal Taxes—Would have preferred reducing import Duties—Gore to King—Etiquette at Washington—Randolph to King—Despotism of Opinion in political Matters likely to be established—Home Life—King to Gore—Etiquette established at Washington—Gore to King—Questions the Right of the President to send a foreign Mission without Authority from Congress.

C. Gore to R. King.

Waltham, July 8, 1817.

My dear Sir:

For some weeks before the Prest's arrival, my health had been declining, & my knees becoming more troublesome a few Days before his arrival, I applied a large Blister, which I have hitherto kept open by Savin and other ointments. The Day of his arrival I wrote him a Note expressing my Regrets that my health was so bad as to preclude my paying my Respects in Person, & obliging me to offer my Congratulations in the only way I could; I took the Liberty to say that so far as I was able to judge all Parties cherished the hope that his adminn. would be guided by a single Eye to the public Good, & that all Interests would be alike protected & promoted, and that I was persuaded such a Course would redound, not less to the public Prosperity than to his personal Satisfaction. He visited a Cotton Manufactory we have in this place & called here on his Return home. I said in my

Note that altho' I had no Pretentions to the honor yet if it should be perfectly convenient in the course of his movements to call here, I should be gratified to assure him in person with what perfect Respect I was, &c.—He went off this morning having visited every thing, and every Body, and I doubt not that he remained in this Quarter full long enough. Among others, that he visited, was Consul Wyer's Sister. He says the Pre'st asked him how his friends & Relations were. Ned answered all were dead except a Sister, whom he would bring to pay her Respects to the Pres't. Like a man of Gallantry the Pres. said he would visit her. Wyer then sends to Woburn for his Sister, (who is the wife of Frances Babcock & lives there so as not to be harrassed by Duns from his Creditors, which he has no monies to appease), asks young Joseph Hall to suffer his Sister to go to his house, and him to wait on the Pres't there with her. This was done & Pres't Monroe on Sunday noon went to Mr. Hall's & visited Mrs. Babcock. Dearborn & B. Austin presented Hanson's address from the democratic Part of our Legislature saying at first it was from their Party; he instantly replied (as is said) that he knew no Party. They then said it was from the Minority of the Legislature. . . .

Your affect. & faithful Friend

C. GORE.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA, L. I., July 15, 1817.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have recd. your Letter of —— and am pleased that the President availed himself of the opportunity, while in your neighbourhood, to make you a visit. He seems to have been sufficiently courteous even to such as his party placed on their list of Proscription; if this has proceeded from a proper temper, it merits applause, tho it is by no means certain, what its effects will be among the exclusive Patriots. When he turns off from the sea coast, and makes his journey thro' the interior, the eclat will be diminished and he may reach the seat of Govt. with less notice, and without a public report of the trivial occurrences that may happen in his journey. I did not greatly admire the Boston address; it was too studied, and by the careful avoidance of delicate

topics, became formal and cold. It wd. have been better to have confined the address to a mere official congratulation, coupled with such expressions of hope in regard to the future as the actual condition of things at home & abroad might be supposed to encourage. President Kirkland's address is excellent in matter and style,—it reflects credit on the College and its Faculty—and for this reason I am gratified with it. . . .

Farewell yrs faithfully.

R. K.

P S. I observe that the Richmond Enquirer wh. I have just received says, "we were aware of the spirit with wh. they (of Boston) wd. meet him (the Pr)—we have not been disappointed. They have in fact outheroded Herod."

J. Mason to R. King.

Portsmouth, July 24, 1817.

My dear Sir :

I thank you for your letter of the 4th of July. The President came here on Saturday and tarried till the following Tuesday. He received every body, who approached him, very graciously. Being requested in such a manner that I could not well excuse myself, had I been so disposed, I delivered him a short address in behalf of the good people of this place. He accepted my invitation and dined with me, and I accompanied him on his visit to the navy yard and forts in the harbor.

I had little opportunity of seeing him alone. When I had, he conversed with apparent frankness, but mostly in general terms. He expressed much satisfaction with the treatment he had received during his tour, especially in N. England, where he had never been before, and which exceeded his expectations in all respects. He was highly gratified by discovering so little party spirit. He said it had heretofore done us incalculable injury, and that without any retrospection on the past conduct of parties, he was fully determined to do every thing in his power to exterminate it, and to produce an union of talents for national objects, and consequently an union of strength, which would enable the country to do whatever was desirable both at home and abroad. But he did not, in any degree, designate the means by which he intended to accomplish this important object.

Genl. Swift does not, as I think, possess the confidence of the President to much extent, except in matters relating to his profession. He thinks the P. well disposed towards federalists, and that he intends as soon as he *safely* can to act independently.

Mr. B. Vaughan, whose character I presume you know, met the President at Portland, by special invitation, and accompanied him as far as Dover. There has been considerable intimacy between them, and the P. has professed much esteem and respect for Mr. V. From Dover Mr. V. came here, and has conversed with me much at large of the P. and his intentions. He thinks most favorably of the new reign. According to him the P. is well affected towards all good men and good measures. He is to banish party spirit and distinction, reject the control of demagogues, and in case of opposition to measures from the Legislature, appeal to the nation. He is to become the grand patron of literature and science. To aid him in which Mr. V. has already prepared a *memoir*, which he had the goodness to read to me. A national university at Washington does not enter into his plan. He is to write to the P., and next winter probably visit him at Washington. Mr. V. is certainly very learned, and on certain subjects may have considerable influence.

From what I have seen and heard, I do not believe Mr. Monroe has determined on any certain course of conduct. He is now feeling the public pulse. I think it probable he is inclined to conciliate the federalists, and gain their support if he can without offending his old adherents. But I doubt whether he is prepared, at present, to risk much in this experiment. He has however been less cautious of exciting jealousies than I expected. He has certainly taken no pains to avoid intercourse with leading federalists. In Boston, I am told, he was desirous to seem to know nothing of party distinctions. He tried to prevent the address of Genl. Dearborn, Austin &c in behalf of the minority of the Legislature : but they would not consent. I am told they profess to be satisfied with his answer, which I have reason to think he feared they would not be. On the whole I am inclined to believe he has a little mortified, if not offended, the democracy of N. England.

The next summer the P. intends, as I am told, to make a tour thro' the Western States to N. Orleans and return by the way of Charleston. I think the federalists this way have been tickled, and

at this moment feel better disposed towards him than formerly. I have been told and believe it has been stated to him that nothing would satisfy them except the taking off the ban of the empire and admitting to a participation of honours & offices ; that without this their pride alone could prevent their yielding him any cordial support and that D. Webster was named to him as a suitable person for the office of Atty. General. He replied that any step towards such a measure required great caution and much deliberation, and that nothing of that kind must be done hastily. He praised Mr. W., expressed not only respect but much esteem for Mr. King, and spoke civilly of federalists in general. I am far from believing any such measure probable.

From the stories I have heard, I am led to expect that Crowninshield will be turned out. Crawford will quarrel himself out, and Rush will be sent on some errand to Europe. Who will come in, I can form no conjecture.

Mr. P. thinks more favourably than you do of the steam frigate. I told him it was suspected she did not do well from the circumstance of no account of her sailing appearing in the newspapers. He said she did not sail well when he was on board ; but that Dr. Mitchill ascertained and assured him this was owing entirely to the intoxication of the crew ; and that he had no doubt with a good crew she might be moved fast enough for all purposes of a moving battery.

truly and faithfully yrs.

J. Mason.

R. King to J. Mason.

Georgetown, D. C., Nov. 30, 1817.

My dear Sir :

Mrs. King and myself arrived here last evening and the force of habit has set us down again at Crawfords. . . . Not having been abroad I have heard no news except that Mr. Gates, whom we met on our road from Baltimore, informed me that there is to be a contest between Gen. James Smith & Mr. Clay for the Speaker's chair ; he also said that the Prest. would bring the situation of the Spanish Colonies before Congress in his message. The opposition to Mr. Clay may mean more than appears on the surface ; mean whatever it may it must have the effect, if I inter-

pret it correctly, to separate him from the administration. With separation will begin a new division of parties; but we had better defer a little our speculation on this matter as at present we see very little into it. Our Boston folk have not been honored by an admission to the Cabinet; I allude to the office of Atty. Genl. What their late choice of a successor to Mr. Lloyd may do in their favour, we must wait to find out. To one who finds instruction as well as amusement in observing the new lights which break in upon us, the temper of accommodation, the attachment to new friends and the desertion of old ones, the correction of past errors by approving what we had believed to be wrong and the condemnation of what we have strenously contended to be right, the scenes of this session of Congress will not fail of being sufficiently interesting. . . .

With sincere esteem & Respect, I am Dr Sir
always yr obt & faithful Servt.
RUFUS KING.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, Nov. 30, 1817.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I was told an anecdote, the other day, which proves the great Politeness of Maine—Captain, alias Judge, Sewall received the President at Breakfast, in his own house, attended him personally, standing all the time, and would not be prevailed upon to sit, in Presence of the Supreme Magistrate.

. . . . . .

I am my dear Friend,
faithfully & affectionately,
Yours. C. GORE.

W. KING TO R. KING.

BATH, Dec. 3, 1817.

DEAR SIR:

The people in this part of the U. States are generally opposed to the continuance of the trade between this country and the British Colonies on the present terms, permitting them to be the carriers altogether. The opinions expressed by our late Brother,

in Congress, the last winter, on this subject were such as were universally approved. I sincerely hope if you hold corresponding opinions that you will give to the Subject your usual consideration. My own opinions have always been that no article the growth, produce, or manufacture of any Nation or of the Colony of any Nation whatever, should be imported into this Country from any port or place from which an American Vessel was not permitted to bring the same article. . . .

Your Brother

W. KING.

JOHN RANDOLPH TO R. KING.

ROANOKE, Dec. 8, 1817.

DEAR SIR :

If my memory does not deceive me you made me a sort of promise last winter to give Mr. Wood a sitting for me.* Will you pardon the reminding you of this engagement, by one who is too sensible of the kindness & countenance he received from you not to wish for a Memorial of him, by whom it was shewn. Your portrait will make a most suitable companion for that of the Chief Justice who was good enough to sit for me & I mention this to show you that you will not be in company that would disgrace you. On public affairs I dare not touch, lest I should subject myself to the imputation cast on the Coxcomb, who presumed to address Hannibal on the art of war.

Wishing you an agreeable Session of Congress, I am with the most profound respect, Dear Sir,

Your obiged & obedient Servant,

JOHN RANDOLPH OF ROANOKE.

DEWITT CLINTON TO R. KING.

Private.

ALBANY, Dec. 13, 1817.

DR. SIR :

I feel greatly obliged by your letter of the 5th. I have taken measures to ascertain the state of our claims against the United

* There is no evidence that this request was complied with, unless the reference in Mr. Randolph's letter of Dec. 29th, p. 88, relates to it.—ED.

States, but I am apprehensive that they have been greatly if not totally neglected. As soon as I obtain the necessary information, it is probable that I shall write to you and your colleague at large on this subject. The Canal Commissoners have recently had a meeting at this place. The Western Canal will be contracted for "in toto" before spring and some work has been already done on it. Sixty miles of the western end have been contracted for to be finished by the first of December 1818. And work to the extent of twenty miles has been already effected. And all these arrangements have been made within the estimates of the Commissioners. My great regard for the President and my anxiety to extend navigable communications, induce me to regret exceedingly his scruples about the right of Congress to promote internal improvements. And I perceive a total interruption of the interposition of the national government in favor of roads and canals. The probability is that no amendment removing the difficulty will be sanctioned by the States. Some will oppose because they believe that the power is already vested in Congress and others will object because they think that it ought not to be deposited in that body. After swallowing the National Bank and the Cumberland Road &c. it was not to be supposed that Mr. Madison would strain at Canals. But so it is, and the gallantry of his successor in protecting him with his Telamonian Shield is more to be admired for its spirit than its prudence. We shall go on without any expectation of extraneous aid and in the course of ten years, I hope, if Providence spares our lives, to have the pleasure of a Canal Voyage with you from Lake Erie to Albany.

I am very respectfully,
Your most obed. Sevt.
DEWITT CLINTON.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 14, 1817.

MY DEAR SIR:

You will observe that the internal Taxes are swept by the board. We have no controvercy with any power but Spain, and she is hardly worth attention; hence we are to enjoy perpetual Peace. The consideration that we have settled not a single point

concerning maritime Law, as asserted by Eng. & denied by us, goes for nothing ; nor is it regarded as a circumstance of any influence in the question of Peace, that we have come out of the late war with opinions, and just ones too, of our prowess and capacity to contend even with England, which will not increase our patience under what we may deem English aggression. Instead of its being probable that we may enjoy a long Peace, I cannot but apprehend, that the first maritime war in which England is engaged, will be almost sure to involve us in it. Hence I shd. have much preferred to have preserved some of the internal taxes, as a resource by which the pub. credit could be sustained, in the event, and at the commencement, of another war : and to meet the objection that we should have had a surplus of money in the treasury, I wd. have remodified and lessened the import and tonnage duties. This arrangement of the taxes wd. have had the effect to equalize in a greater degree their operations, and further to have imparted some relief, and protection, to Merchants & Shipowners, the class which more than any other feels the distress of the times. I have broken off to read & thank you for yours of the 9th ; your views correspond with my own—the expedition agt. Amelia, is a pretty bold, not to say contemptuous, measure. There is a temper in a portion of the House which indicates opposition, perhaps censure ; but its force is not ascertained. The motion to inquire into the right to their seats of some 10 or 12 members, who held executive offices at the time of their election, and in some instances continued to exercise them afterwards, is said to excite the sensibility of your Mr. Holmes ; who, *patriotic man*, forgetting objects worthy of his attention at & near home, has moved for information &c. respecting the opening of a Canal from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi & from the Tennessee to the Tombigbee River. This is said to be with the view of conciliating the southern & western members to Mass ; not to their Militia claim, but to a royal one, at present not openly preferred. New York will think that her pretensions are not allowed, and perhaps Kentucky also, may look upon him whom they mean to honor.

Farewell my Dr. Friend.

R. K.

R. KING TO EDWARD KING.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 20, 1817.

MY DEAR EDWARD:

Lessons in money making I do not think myself very competent to render; but as regards many ways in which money is lost, I have not been an inattentive looker on, and can therefore speak from experience. Men who have skill and will personally employ it in superintending and directing manufactures may draw profit from them; but those who are without such skill and who are to employ, depend on and pay for agents, who are to superintend manufactures, will be disappointed if they expect profit. This has been proved over and over again in this country, as well as in every other. I am therefore decisive in my advice to you to take no share in any manufacturing establishment; you would not only not make profit, but probably as I have done lose your capital.

As to your views respecting the admn. of the Branch Bk., I caution you against any course, that shall be exclusive, or that shall bring your institution into collision with any of your State Banks of solid credit. It is a mistaken policy to attempt to abridge or impair the business of other Banks that are in good credit. The object with you should be not to monopolize or attempt to monopolize the business of banking in your sphere of operations: do the good business that is offered, refuse the doubtful and the ascertained bad paper. Your principals will be better satisfied with small earnings and safe dealing than with large ones and bad debts.

Besides from the number of State Banks, your Branch will be watched with jealousy; and unless all who are concerned in its management are prudent, and as respects others liberal, (I mean in the manner of doing business, not in their loans) they will meet individually much popular and public disfavor. Now while I would disregard popularity in things which duty requires, I would respect it in questions such as those to which you allude, which are mere affairs of prudence. I will resume this subject hereafter; at present I caution you against enlisting yourself as a partizan of the Bk. of the U. S. Do your duty, but take care not to incur the hostility of the State Banks unnecessarily; indeed, as with my views of the policy of administering the Br. Bank, you

will have no occasion to advise any measure that will be justly offensive to the State Bks.

Affectionately yrs.

R. K.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, Dec. 21, 1817.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . I perceive by the Papers that Mr. Monroe is sending a Mission to S. America. To what Part & for what Purpose I do not conjecture. Neither have I altered my opinion as to the Construction of the Constitution, on the Subject of originating a Mission by the President's sole Authority. It is not impossible, that this Mission may show the Inconvenience of his assuming the power exclusively. Such a step may lead directly to war, with some of the most important Powers of Europe, and it is questionable, when the Right of declaring war is reserved to the whole Congress, that the Power of doing that which may appear to lead directly to such a Measure should be given unnecessarily to the President.

. . . . . .

Your faithful Friend,

C. GORE.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, Dec. 27, 1817.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I cannot think Mr. Monroe has a very fortunate Defender. He seems only to prove that the several Predecessors have varied in their modes of receiving & returning Visits. Notwithstanding this, our Sovereign, the Mob, whether in Breeches or Petticoats, will assume the exclusive Right to judge on Subjects of Etiquette, as well as others—& they, who have so long & so constantly asserted the Supremacy of its Judgment, will have little Right to expect Sympathy at its Denunciations. . . .

Yours faithfully

C. GORE.

J. Randolph to R. King.

Roanoke, Dec. 29, 1817.

My dear Sir:

You have complied with my request in a manner so obliging that I can not deny myself the pleasure of returning my best thanks, altho' perhaps you would gladly dispense with them. They are due also for the information you have been so good as to give me of what is passing with you at Washington. No person of the least observation can have failed to remark that Mr. Speaker has been long bent on making himself a conspicuous person in this Government. What the grounds of his hostility to the administration are it cannot be difficult to discover. For my part I have something of the feeling of the fox towards the flies—altho it is by no means undesirable that our government should exhibit some instances of successful opposition to the Ministry. If things go on in the present strain many years longer a despotism of opinion will be established as uncontrollable as that of Turkey. No man will dare to differ from the Executive, except perhaps on points of no importance, to keep up a sorry show of independence. I read the report you were so good as to send me with much attention. The appeal from the doctrine to the practice of the President is provoking enough & might make a person swear. I expect it will raise a great clamour, for in politics as in religion the nicest distinctions create the greatest differences. The symptoms which you describe of the extinction of parties had not escaped me. I had hoped that the fair opportunity which offers itself for putting an end to party names—for the names only were left—would be cordially embraced by the P. & his friends; but when I saw the wretched creatures selected for office (in too many instances) I gave up my expectations that the abilities & character of the country would be called to its government. I thank Mrs. King for remembering me. Pray present me to her in the most respectful terms. I very much regret that I cannot take a cup of her black tea this evening.

So far our winter has proved favorable. Most of my time has been passed in the field, where the dearth of game is the subject of general complaint. Woodcock excepted—which are plentiful & uncommonly large & fat—we have scarcely anything to exercise our skill upon. Knowing your fondness for shooting I

shall make no apology for this trivial subject ; a striking contrast to the grave matters presented to your attention in the Senate.

I am with the most profound respect, my dear Sir,
your obliged & most obedient Servant
JOHN RANDOLPH OF ROANOKE.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 31, 1817.

MY DEAR SIR :

Tomorrow being gala Day at the Palace, the Senate have adjourned over until Friday, and all the world will appear, dressed, or not dressed, as may happen, to pay their compliments and New Year's congratulations to the Pr. and Mrs. M.—the house has not been opened to receive Company since its repairs, and the putting up of the new furniture.—the gentlemen of Congress have called as they arrived to see the Presidt., and the ladies have also called to visit Mrs. M. : but without seeing her ; she has been sick, and the house not furnished. Mrs Hay, Mrs Monroe's daughter, has returned her mother's visits, apologizing for her mother's inability, being sick, to do this herself. It is said that some new regulations are to be established ; but it will be difficult to support them. There are to be weekly Drawing Rooms, whether as formerly, for every one, is not known. Mrs. M. will, or will not return visits ; if not, she will meet with censure, and perhaps a combination agt. her Drawing Room ; if she returns them to some and not to others, equally will she be censured ; and it is said she is unable on a/c of health to return all visits. Perhaps she will confine herself to the for. Ladies, those of Congress, and the heads of Depts. All the foregoing is to be understood as from Mrs. K. to Mrs. G. We have nothing extraordinary to communicate : no news from Amelia : Gaines is ordered from the Creek Command to take charge of the expedition agt Amelia ; & Jackson directed to finish the Indn. War. Aury & Company have, as we are told, protested agt the proposed expedition but will make no opposition. What Mr. Monroe is to do with Amelia when he has taken it, I cannot say.—the further this business goes the more fully it manifests, that the measure shd. have been considered & sanctioned by Congress.

Farewell my dear friend yrs affectionately,

R. K.

CHAPTER VI.

Debate on the Suppression of the Slave Trade—King's Remarks—King to —— Opposition to the President may be started on different Questions—Claims of Leaders—Gore to King—Etiquette at Washington—King to Clinton—Hudson and Erie Canal—Strongly favors it—Claims against the United States—King to Lord Eldon, commending to him Mr. Gracie's Claims against the British Government—King to Lord Sydmouth—On the Same—J. A. King to King—Division in the Federal Ranks relative to Clinton—W. King to J. A. King—His Republican Friends desire Election of R. King as Senator—Wait to King—Publication of the Journals of the Old Congress and of the Convention—King—Interview with the President about Amelia Island—State of Affairs with England, France, and Spain relative to piratical Enterprises in the Caribbean Sea—Gore to King—Objects to the President's Justification of taking Amelia Island—King to Gore—Amelia Island and Don Onis's Protest—Should not interfere in South America except for our own Interests—King to E. King—Conduct of the United State Branch Bank in Chillicothe.

The name of Mr. King, besides being found on the Standing Committees of the Senate for Foreign Relations and of Finance, appears in many others relating to matters of great interest discussed in and passed by the 15th Congress. To all of these he gave faithful attention in their preparation, and being rarely absent from his seat he took an active part in the discussions they provoked. Among the measures brought forward was one to which the attention of Congress was invited by a petition from the Society of Friends in Baltimore, asking the Senate to take further means to bring about an entire suppression of the slave trade. This matter was brought up by a resolution, offered on December 31, 1817, by Mr. Burrill, to instruct the Committee to which the petition had been referred, to inquire into the expediency of

"So amending the laws of the United States as more effectually to prevent the said trade from being carried on by citizens of the United States under foreign flags, and also into the expediency of taking measures in concert with other nations for the entire abolition of the said trade."

An earnest debate on this resolution took place on January 2, 1818, the main objection being made against the last clause, as involving a questionable proceeding. Mr. King took a prominent part in the debate, his remarks being reported as below in the Annals of Congress.*

"In the outset of his remarks, he adverted to the delicacy of this question; and said that if, in approaching it, he could discover any danger of the present proposition, leading to that kind of connexion which was apprehended by Mr. Troup,† no one would more earnestly deprecate it than himself. But it was the boast of this nation, that it had the reputation of having been the first to begin the abolition of the African slave trade; the constitutional provision having reference to this subject certainly looked forward to a time when this country would be ready to use its best endeavours to put down this iniquitous traffic; and, he might add, there was no provision in the Constitution which had been looked to with more general approbation than that one. The example of this country had excited the emulation of other nations, and all of them having any connexion with this trade, except two, had come into the measures for its abolition. These two had taken time for further consideration, and so long as their decision was suspended, the regulations of other nations would be inefficient; an entire abolition of the traffic in slaves would never be effected until all united to suppress it. It seems to me, said Mr. K., that we are bound by our own principles, and the promise we have held out, to go a little further, if we can, to give effect to what we have undertaken. It was not important, in doing so, whether the necessary measures commenced with us or were entered into at the invitation of others. So long, however,

* 1817–1818, p. 75 *et seq.*

† "He could not separate from foreign alliances the idea of foreign politics and foreign wars."

as Spain and Portugal permitted this trade, and so long as any of our own people, to their disgrace, continued to pursue it under those flags, it was necessary to the honor and the interest of this country to concur in any proper measures for its suppression. He could not perceive how such a measure as this motion looked to, could lead to any entangling connexion as had been apprehended. What was proposed was an honest and moral concert to put an end to a traffic which is an abomination on the earth. He had no idea of its authorizing the slightest interference with the internal affairs of other nations, or of allowing them to interfere in ours; it could in his opinion only redound still more to the honor of our country. An arrangement of the nature suggested might be entered into without any great inconvenience and without any encouragement to that kind of connexion of interests, which had been very justly deprecated; and it was, if practicable, a measure which was demanded by a regard for the morals of the country, which our religion itself called for. He did not think, that it was a sound objection, though there was some force in it, that the proposition originated in this branch of Government, and not with the Executive. Any branch of the Government might express an opinion on any National question; the construction of legislative powers was not so strict as to forbid it; in proof of which he adverted to the practice in England, whence we took many of our political ideas, where the Parliament often expressed its opinion on subjects of public interest."

Mr. Troup having remarked that the Treaty of Ghent relative to this stipulated simply that each party would, with good faith, carry into effect its own statutes on the subject of this trade,*

"Mr. King rose to enter his dissent to the construction given to the article in the Treaty of Ghent, which had been quoted. Surely it would be much more offensive to admit that we would enter into a stipulation with a foreign Government to carry our own statutes into execution within our own territory, where our power is complete, than that we should engage in a concert to suppress a particular trade on the high seas. He would enter into

* Annals of Congress, 1817–18, p. 77.

no such stipulation with any Power on earth, even if it had been deemed necessary ; but in this case it was not. He thought the true intention of the article was that the parties would use their endeavors to put an end to the traffic."

At a later point in the debate Mr. King took occasion to say that it had taken a wider range than could have been anticipated. The question of the advantages or disadvantages of alliances offensive and defensive, though of weighty importance, it was not necessary to discuss in debating the motion.

"The concert which is alluded to, is not of the union of arms, but of opinion, of example, and of influence, for the purpose of prevailing on Spain and Portugal to accede to the compact already formed among the nations, to put an end to the African slave trade. Equally uncalled for on this occasion, and the more to be regretted, is a discussion of the justice and policy of the permitting the existence of slavery,* . . . at all times a subject alluded to, even in the Senate, with great reserve, and at this time without application to the motion under consideration, since no Senator approves of the traffic. . . .

That our Ministers abroad may be reminded of the very great interest which the United States take in the universal abolition of the Slave trade and instructed if they are not so already, to avail themselves of every occasion to promote this object. A long depending negotiation with Spain still exists. If we could prevail on Spain to add to the treaty settling our just claims, an article whereby she should engage herself to abolish the slave trade and cooperate with us in endeavoring to prevail on Portugal also to abolish the same, such an article would enhance the value of the treaty in the opinion of the American people, and would not fail to obtain the applause of foreign nations."

Mr. King then discusses the objection that this business belongs exclusively to the Executive, and after adverting to the respective powers of the President and the Senate in the making of treaties he says:

* Mr. Morrill of New Hampshire had made some remarks about it.

"In these concerns the Senate are the Constitutional and the only responsible counsellors of the President. And in this capacity the Senate may, and ought to, look into and watch over every branch of the foreign affairs of the nation; they may, therefore, at any time call for full and exact information respecting the foreign affairs, and express their opinion and advice to the President respecting the same, when, and under whatever other circumstances, they may think such advice expedient.

"There is a peculiar jealousy manifested in the Constitution concerning the power which shall manage the foreign affairs, and make treaties with foreign nations. Hence the provision which requires the consent of two thirds of the Senators to confirm any compact with a foreign nation that shall bind the United States; thus putting it in the power of a minority of the Senators or States, to control the President and a majority of the Senate; a check on the Executive powers to be found in no other case.

"To make a treaty includes all the proceedings by which it is made; and the advice and consent of the Senate being necessary in the making of treaties, must necessarily be so touching the measures employed in making the same. The Constitution does not say that treaties shall be concluded, but that they shall be made by and with the advice of the Senate: none therefore can be made without such advice and consent; and the objections against the agency of the Senate in making treaties, or in advising the President to make the same, cannot be sustained but by giving to the Constitution an interpretation different from its obvious and most salutary meaning.

"To support the objection this gloss must be given to the Constitution 'that the President shall make treaties, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate to ratify the same.' That this is or could have been intended to be the interpretation of the Constitution, one observation will disprove. If the President alone has power to make a treaty, and the same be made pursuant to the powers and instructions given to his Ministers, its ratification follows as a matter of course, and to refuse the same would be a violation of good faith; to call in the Senate to deliberate, to advise and to give consent to an act which it would be binding on them to approve and ratify, will, it is presumed, be too trivial to satisfy the extraordinary provision of the Constitu-

tion, that has been cited. On the whole there appearing to be no sufficient impediment in the way of the proposed inquiry, either as respects its expediency or the authority of the Senate to institute the same, I am in hopes that the motion to refer the subject to a Committee will prevail."

This was adopted after the rejection of a motion to strike out the latter part of the resolution.

R. KING TO ——

GEORGETOWN, D. C., Jany. 3, 1818.

DEAR SIR:

I recd. and am obliged to you for your letter. As yet nothing of interest has occurred in Congress. The apathy which appears to exist must not be regarded as evidence that no strong passions are concealed and waiting only for an occasion to show themselves. An opposition will arise. The Pr. has no zealous friends nor enemies; but as a sufficient number of Rivals may be pointed out, the quiet aspect of things will not continue.

Perhaps a difficulty is felt concerning the questions on which the for and against the Pr. are to shew themselves. I shall not be disappointed if the Report concerning Roads and Canals be the occasion, that will be used to form an opposition, at least in appearance. If, as is supposed a large majority disagree with the President in his construction of the Constitution and, after a debate of the question, shall vote accordingly, it will be a beginning; and the next debate, that may be on a question "to recommend to the President to receive a Minister from Buenos Ayres" (which the Pr. may do without such advice) may more clearly disclose personal views and political hostilities, and terminate in the more distinct appearance of a new opposition.

The South American question, just as I have stated it, is one in which great unamimity is said to exist among the men in the West, and therefore a favorable occasion for their leader to appear and to draw towards him the regard of those who may be willing to elevate and follow him.

Crawford, it is whispered, cannot support himself on his Salary, and talks of retirement. Whether this be the real motive,

or an unwillingness to figure in the approaching contest, or whether the whisper be correct, we know not. Mr. Clinton will be backed by the Mammoth State, as Mr. Giles called us, and his Canal is persuasive also in Ohio, Indiana, and among the back men of Pennsylvania. Mr. Adams is understood to have the favor of all the good Patriots of New England; and John Holmes at their head, is to be his Guy Warwick.

All these Competitors, whose numbers, by the by, lessen trouble to Mr. President, will make rare sport for the Amateurs; to be a little more sober, I think it quite impossible as yet to determine what new controversies or parties are likely to arise; so far as I can conjecture, the remnant of federalism here is disposed to look on.

Mr. Otis of Boston has been with us, but left the Senate a week ago or more, to hold his Court, which will continue the suits and allow the *General* to return. If he really expected anything, I fancy his hopes were not raised by the week he passed here.

With sincere esteem & Respect &c.

R. K.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, Jan. 4, 1818.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . I should suppose the Expectants of the future Crown would be apt to question Mr. Monroe's Conduct as to Amelia Island. Party appearing to be silent, there appears no adequate Motive for arraigning the Conduct of the Executive Government except from its Rivals. It appears that the Queen intends to set at Defiance the Examples of her Predecessors as to the Etiquette of Visiting. Time will show how far she is prudent. It seems a fearful odds to contend against the Multitude, Queen Dolly, the Dutchess of Braintree, as would say the Democracy, & the sainted Mrs Washington, against whom, being now dead, no objections can be made. I understand the Western Patriots were much offended at the Preference of Mr. Adams to Mr. Clay as Secretary of State. . . .

Yours affectionately

C. GORE.

(*In substance what I wrote to D. W. C.*) *R. K.*

(*Private.*)

Jan. 4, 1818.

I duly recd. your obliging letter of the 13th past. The progress made in the Canals is more considerable than I supposed it to be, and that the work which has been done should have been accomplished at an expense below the estimate, is an occurrence that rarely happens even in affairs more within the reach of exact calculation—Of the utility & political importance of these Canals, especially of that between Erie & the Hudson none can doubt; my knowledge in this branch of political economy is too defective to allow me to place confidence in my own vague opinion on any measure belonging to it; but I confess that looking at the distance between Erie & the Hudson, and taking into view the Hills, and Valleys & Rivers & Morasses, over which the canal must pass I have felt some doubts, whether the unaided resources of the State would be competent to its execution.

I have apprehended, moreover, that the people might become impatient from the continuance of the taxes, wh. may be laid to defray the expenses of the work, and that there was some risk lest the work after having been begun and partially executed might be abandoned—the confidence which the Directors early felt, and which the further surveys, and the execution of a portion of the work, have served to strengthen, is calculated to diminish these fears, and to encourage all to unite in promoting the great work.

It is certain that the western States, especially those N. W. of the Ohio, have a very deep interest in the opening of this great communication, and I think, that I discover an increasing solicitude on this subject as these States increase in people & cultivation.

If you can go on successfully with portions of the Canal for a few years, especially if the portions completed yield a toll, this solicitude will become stronger & stronger, and these States may cooperate in the completion of the great work.

No measure that I can imagine, will be more certain to promote the prosperity of the State; none to secure to it the weight and authority in the affairs of the Nation to which the State is on every consideration so well entitled. I presume that Genl. Tall-

madge and probably others give you information concerning the actual and probable state of things here ; there is much apparent apathy, which is however no proof that strong passions do not exist & which are waiting only for a fit occasion to shew themselves.

Subsequent to the receipt of your letter of —— Mr. S. and myself recd. your public letter of —— to which we have replied : in addition to the observations on the charge for repairing arms, contained in our joint letter, I take the liberty to remark that a discussion is now going on between Virginia & the accountant of the Treasury respecting the arms, which that State supplied to its militia called into the service of the U. S. There is something peculiar in this discussion. When the Virginia militia were discharged, their arms were detained by the Staff of the U. S., or rather such portions of the arms as were not purloined, or lost by the militia. The U. S. having no arms at Norfolk, are said to have detained these arms, to be put into the hands of future detachments of Militia who might be without arms. Many of these arms were damaged and have been repaired by the U. S. Virginia charges the U. S. for all the arms supplied to her Militia ; the U. S. credit such as they actually detained, and charge Virginia for the expense of repairing them : this last Charge is resisted, & for the lost arms, Virginia claims paymt., and the accountant refuses it.—Such I understand to be the points of controversy ; perhaps they are inaccurate ; I mention them therefore privately ; but if Virginia claims and is allowed, the first cost of her arms delivered to her Militia, the principle would cover our charge of repairs as well as a charge for arms lost by our militia, which must have been considerable.

Very respectfully I am Dr. Sir yr. most ob. Sr.

R. KING TO RT. HON. LORD ELDON.

WASHINGTON, January 6, 1818.

MY LORD :

Among the proofs of friendship and of a disposition to treat with liberality the subjects which it became my duty to discuss with your Government, during my residence in England, none are recollected with more satisfaction than the instances of your Lordship's interference in cases of intricacy and importance that

were committed to my charge, and the right decision of which could only be come at by the patient and impartial consideration, which your Lordship, as one of the King's Ministers was good enough to give them.

It is the examination of this sort, especially when relating only to private individuals, which public men in every Country, however upright and diligent, are, from the pressure of graver concerns, prone to postpone, or to refer to subordinate Departments; and hence it happens that the decision of these cases becomes matter of uncertainty, and sometimes of peculiar hardship. I am led to make these reflections, which I rely upon your Lordship's liberality to secure, by the case of my countrymen Archibald Gracie & Sons, which Mr. Gracie is gone to England for the purpose of submitting to the consideration of the King's Privy Council.* There may be an objection, in limine, to this application,

* The claim above alluded to arose from an arrangement made by the MM. Sampayo of Lisbon with the British Government to supply the allied army in the Peninsula with breadstuffs from America. They were to be paid for by bills of exchange drawn by the Ambassador Charles Stuart (at Lisbon) upon the British Treasury, and shipped "for account & risk of the Government," as witnessed and certified by the British consul in America. Among the agents employed by MM. Sampayo were Messrs. A. Gracie & Sons, who in 1811 and 1812 made many shipments which were paid for as above noted. Upon the declaration of war with Great Britain, these shipments would have been discontinued, but by the agency of M. Sampayo, Mr. Foster, the British Minister at Washington, issued licenses to carry them on, the only change being that the invoices stated that they were made "to the account and risk of H. T. Sampayo" instead of the British Government; the bills were still paid by bills drawn upon the British Treasury. After a time these remittances were exhausted, but private enterprises carried on the shipments, the parties being protected by passports authorizing them, and the Portuguese Government agreeing with M. Sampayo at Lisbon to take the breadstuffs that he might receive within six months of October 12, 1812, at a fair price. He promised to his correspondents in America prompt payment, sending them at the same time a package of licenses, issued by the Privy Council and signed by Lord Sydmouth in September, 1812.

Relying upon these Messrs. Gracie & Sons bought flour in the Delaware and Chesapeake, sending it from the former in their own and chartered vessels to Lisbon, where it arrived in the spring of 1813 and was paid for by bills on the British Treasury. In February, 1813, several vessels were loaded, and cleared from Baltimore and proceeded down the Chesapeake, with licenses from the Privy Council issued in September, 1812, and good for nine months. In the

because it does not go through the ordinary channel; if your Lordship shall, which is the special object of this letter to request you will, examine the Memorial that Mr. Gracie presents, I think that the reason of the departure from the usual form and channel of application will be well understood and allowed.

The Memorialists, as I have abundant reason to know, entertained full confidence that the business of sending supplies to the Peninsula, would be protected from the hostile molestation of England. Being a commercial House of good standing, both as regards solidity and prudence, they engaged under peculiar circumstances in the furnishing of these supplies, with full reliance on the efficacy of the Licenses which promised their protection against acts of British hostility; without such confidence, as prudent Merchants they could not have embarked in the business; what has already happened has impaired their fortunes; what is still depending is therefore of greater, indeed of the greatest, consequence to them. A partner of this House, being a near Relative * of mine will account to your Lordship, how I have

meantime a blockade had been established at the mouth of the Chesapeake, and the shippers were told they could not go out. Believing that their passports protected them from "any molestation" notwithstanding the war, and "that the naval forces would not be authorized to act in violation of the public faith," Messrs. Gracie & Sons ordered their ships to pursue their voyage. But being informed that other ships in the same situation had been ordered back they suspended their voyage. Several months passed; they then learned that the British Admiral had permitted several vessels, neutral and American, to pass out with their cargoes, and they ordered their ships to proceed to sea, if permitted. Without being turned back, they were captured, and the *Rolla* and cargo were sent to Bermuda and acquitted, and the *Protectress* to Halifax and condemned. Messrs. Gracie & Sons claimed that they had gone out relying upon their licenses "under which they might safely be where they were, when seized by the Eng. Squadron," though otherwise they might lawfully be captured as enemy's goods. As the flour was perishable they claimed payment also on that on two vessels loaded under the same circumstances which were lying at Norfolk.

Mr. Charles King, one of the house of A. Gracie & Sons, had gone to England to present these claims in the summer of 1813. On the 9th of July, 1813, the Privy Council for Trade refused to recognize the claim on the ground that a license granted by any Government could not have "the effect of authorizing such vessels in any future war in which that Government might be engaged to violate a blockade" (The war was declared in *June* 18, 1812—the licenses were dated *September*, 1812).

*His son Charles King.

become accquainted with these affairs, and, as I hope, will likewise serve as an apology for the solicitude, which I take the liberty to express concerning the issue of this memorial.

With distinguished consideration I have the honor to be

yr. Ldp. Most obt. and very humble sevt.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD SYDMOUTH.

(*Copy.*)

October, 1817.

MY LORD:

Nothing but the injurious consequences to the house of A. Gracie & Sons, that may follow the condemnation of their Ships Rolla and Protectress with their cargoes could have induced me again to address your Lordship on this subject. My son, who is known to your Lordship, being a partner of this house, I take an interest in their concerns, that otherwise I might not do. Although this consideration is altogether irrelative to the merits of the memorial* which they will present to his Majesty's Privy Council, it will nevertheless as I hope be received by your Lordship as an apology for my interference.

After spending two years in England to solicit a favorable decision of their claims, my son has returned home, leaving the claims where he found them depending in the High Court of Appeals. Mr. Gracie, the principal of this house, is with reluctance constrained to go himself to England to look after this important concern, and I take the liberty to give him this letter to your Lordship, and of recommending him and his claim to your Lordship's consideration and protection. Mr. G. is an upright and respectable man, and no person among us sustains a better reputation.

I am aware of the arduous business that calls for the time and attention of public men, and how necessary it often is that lesser concerns should give place to greater ones; but individual cases are sometimes of such peculiar hardship, that these considerations cannot be postponed without the appearance of injustice. Your Lordship will pardon my making this observation, as well as ex-

* This memorial was drawn up by Mr. King, and presents a clear statement of the facts and of the justness of the claim.

pressing my full persuasion, if the claim of A. Gracie & Sons be fully considered and understood by his Majesty's Privy Council the result will be a decision in their favor.

J. A. KING TO R. KING.

ALBANY, Jan'y 8, 1818.

DEAR SIR:

. . . The assembly met on Tuesday but adjourned without choosing a speaker—the next day after a short struggle Mr German was chosen by the aid of some of the federalists—I regret to say that there are some of the federal gentlemen and influential ones too, who are deeply pledged to support the waning fortunes of Mr Clinton. On this point the federal party must, if it has not already, divide. Once separated there can be no middle course, a neutrality party in politics, if not an absurdity, at least is evidence of indecision. We are not yet declared enemies, but if I mistake not, the question of the Council and the choice of a Senator, must, if these gentlemen persist, decide the matter irrevocably. Mr W. Duer, Van Vechten, Bunner, Hoffman, who is here, and who sacrifices in this instance all hopes of advancement here, and myself are opposed to Mr W. Van Ness, Oakley and J. Van Rensselaer. Mr Clinton has found means to flatter these gentlemen with the prospect of attaining their utmost wishes by adhering to and supporting his administration. I write thus freely to you that nothing may be concealed as regards my own or the sentiments of those with whom I act, or the choice of proceeding of those who differ from us. What will be your views I can only conjecture. If you should feel disposed to communicate them to me, I should be gratified in receiving them.

I remain

Yours Affectionately

JOHN A. KING.

W. KING TO J. A. KING.

WASHINGTON, Jan'y 8, 1818.

DEAR SIR:

I find on enquiry here considerable solicitude even on the part of my Republican friends that your Father should be again re-

turned to the Senate from your State ; from his great experience the interest of the Country will be essentially promoted by the measure. I have this day written Mr. Bowne on the subject. Col. Connor of Albany, who leaves Washington this day, will aid this measure, and your friends can converse with him freely on the subject ; he has long been an acquaintance of mine and will do everything in his power to unite the party opposed to Mr. Clinton with that of yours, (this must be confidential). Col. Connor states to me that the fedl. party with you are not organized ; on this occasion they ought to be, so far as to act with uniformity ; in which case he assures me there will be no doubt of the result. The Col. Connor is a particular friend of Mr. Crawford ; your father, I find, thinks well of him also—so that there is nothing wrong in that. . . .

Your friend

W. KING.

THOMAS B. WAIT TO R. KING.

BOSTON, Jany. 9, 1818.

SIR :

Owing to the irregularity of the mails, your letter of the 1st inst. was not received till yesterday. I am greatly obliged to you for the information relative to the publication of the Journals of the Old Congress and of the Convention.* I am preparing for the journey and shall proceed immediately to Washington. The Natl. Intelligencer which arrived to day contains Mr. Sanford's introduction of a joint resolution and the appointment of a Committee on the part of the Senate. Of this Committee I am extremely happy to find you are one. Should no report be made till I arrive, and I think from the importance of the subject, that none can be prepared by that time, there can be no reason to doubt that my application for the printing will be in season. Before the arrival of the N. Intelligencer, I conjectured that the publication would probably be made under the direction of the Secretary of State, and yesterday called on President Adams for a letter to his son.

* The publication of these Journals was ordered by Congress by a bill for the purpose, which originated in the Senate, was amended by the House of Representatives, and was finally passed in the Senate as amended on March 19, 1818.

Confidential. I happened to mention, when in conversation with Mr. Adams, that you had, two years ago, proposed to the Senate to print the private journal of the old Congress, but that Mr. Madison was not then prepared to give his consent, "*and should the publication of the Journals of the Convention,*" said he "*depend on the consent of Mr. M. they would probably never see the light.*"

I am, Sir, with great respect your most obliged and very humb. Servt.

THOMAS B. WAIT.

Notes in handwriting of R. King. Marked Notes &c Secret.

Jany. 14, 1818.

Made the Pr. a visit at 3 P.M. The conversation quickly commenced on his part respecting ye condition of So. America; he said that it was with great reluctance he engaged to authorize the suppression of the banditti at Amelia & Galveston; that he had become persuaded that they were unauthorized by the Govr. of the Sp. Colonies; that he was assailed by the Span. Min. on the charge that these Rovers were Amer. citizens and their vessels and munitions of war derived from the U. S.; besides that the introduction of slaves, and the practice of smuggling had become alarming, and seemed likely to increase, and that, such were the temptations, no small danger existed lest our people might be seduced by them, and at an early day, a body might be assembled, that wd. be formidable, & perhaps difficult to disperse; that the Govt. of Venezuela was dispersed or broken up, & that of Mexico no longer existed; that Herrera of Venezuela admitted that they, the assemblage at Amelia, had no power from that quarter; and if Avery had any commission it was one granted by Agents from Venezuela or Mexico, residing in this Country, and not proceeding from these principals, if even they any longer could be found.

That Don Onis demanded whether we meant to hold Amelia? In return he was asked if Spain could defend it, if restored by us? He would write to the Gov. of the Havannah to send 400 men to occupy & defend it. But was he sure that the Gov. had 400 men to spare? this he could not absolutely determine, but if we wd. keep it until he could write and receive an answer, it wd. be satis-

factory. But this he was told seemed needless, since we knew that Spain had not the men and was unable to defend Amelia. Would he request us to evacuate Amelia, and leave it open to Banditti to return? perhaps not, but wd. desire to have time to write to the Govr. of the Havannah, for men to receive the possession from us. Such is the state of the subject of Amelia.

The Govr. or Commander of Pensacola has written to Judge Talman denouncing a plan of the Seminole Indians in concert with certain Amer. Citizens to attack him and take possession of Pensacola, and desiring the Judge's interference to stop the Americans. Talman answers the Govr. that he will take measures to restrain the Amer. Citizens; and the correspondence between the Pensacola Govr. & Talman has just been communicated to D. O., in proof of the inability of Spain to protect Pensacola.

Bagot has not heretofore meddled about So. America; but after the arrest of the British officers at Phila., who were going to aid the Patriots, he applied verbally for their discharge: was told that he must make his application in writing, wh. he did, and so embarrassed himself & compromitted his Govt,; he therefore at present is quiet.

Neuville, on the part of France, desires to take measures in concert with us, or with our concurrence, or approbation, to suppress the piratical or privateer enterprises in the Bay of Mexico, & on our seas; the allies may be urged to measures on this subject: the subject is under yr. consideration. France dislikes the project of Indep. of Sp. Amer: but what would France have the U. S. do? They have acted with impartiality towards Spain, and are now taking measures to remove these Cruisers, claiming to act under authority of the Sp. Colonies, from our Neighbourhood. What would France wish to do with our privity or consent? Neuville answered that She wd. Station Frigates off our coasts; but as France opposes ye. views of ye. Span. Colonies, a measure of this sort, with our consent, would be repugnant to our system of neutrality between Sp. & her colonies.

D. O. of Spain urges more vigorous measures agt. the Cruisers all of which directly or indirectly proceed from the resources & are navigated by the Citizens of the U. S.—a fact so undeniable that Spain must and does hold the U. S. responsible for the injuries wh. they commit on Spain & her Commerce.

He also professes to have powers to treat with the U. S., respecting ye. Floridas ; his powers have been changed, or recalled, modified and renewed three times in the last three months. The dilatory and indecisive policy & diplomacy of Spain make doubtful the declaration whether D. O. has powers ; but we, the U. S., shall ascertain that fact in a week. Among the for. Powers, who have been sounded, France is agt. the Indep. of ye. Sp. Cols.—tho' shd. Spain be unable to regain her Dominion, Fr desires that the U. S. may take the lead in consolidating their Ind. G. B. employs an ambiguous Language ; she does not consent that the U. S. shall aggrandize themselves at the exp. of Spain, and will adhere herself to a system of neutrality. Russia, who manifests the least disinclination to ye. Ind. of the Sp. Colonies, is unwilling that any thing shd. be now done in favor of it—as it may disturb the repose of Europe &c.

In the mean time, the agent here of Buenos Ayres has delivered within a short time, three notes, of like tenor, demanding our recognition of their Independence. Mr. Adams has conferred with him, professed our good wishes, suggested considerations why there shd. be no precipitancy on our part ; and plainly stated that there was no right on theirs to demand that we shd. acknowledge their Independence ; that the question was one, in the decision of wh. we must look to our own interest & policy, and be effectively governed by them. Notwithstanding this explanation, a second and a third note to the same purpose had been recd., "*the measure being urged on by persons here.*" We have not ansd., sd. the President, Mr. Robinson's * call for Papers. We have statements of all sorts, and very contradictory ones, respecting So. America. We desire to see So. America independent ; we want no favours of her, but desire only to be on an equal footing in our intercourse. In the actual posture of Europe & with such knowledge as we possess of their views respecting So. America, we are unwilling to take any step at this time which will absolutely commit the Country, a step wh. we cannot recall without dishonor ; such seems to us to be the true Policy of the nation.

Some conversation took place respecting his pub. Dinners &

* Roberts ?

Mrs. M.'s Drawing Rooms ; concerning wh., having before expressed to me a hope that we (Mrs. K. and myself) wd. support them, their plan being a little different from those of the last Presidt., I told him that on the question of Mrs. M. returning visits, perhaps the best course wd. be, as her health and other circumstances wd. not permit her to return all, to return none ; and for the same reason that, in ill health, a Drawing Room once a fortnight we thought wd. suffice &c. &c. I observed to him, as probably several Individuals were laying their Plans already relative to ye future Presidency, and as agents or connexions here of ye several Competitors were watching every word and action having relation to their wishes, every thing wh. he might say or insinuate concerning their interests, wd. be seized upon and employed to promote their views.

RUFUS KING.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, Jan. 15, 1818.

MY DEAR FRIEND :

. . . After reading the Laws brought forward by Mr. M. to justify the taking Possession of Amelia Island, I do not perceive the Solidity of the Justification. The Crisis apprehended, or existing in 1811 would appear to me different from that of 1817, and if the two Cases, there supposed as likely to occur, make the Crisis, these do not seem to have taken place ; viz the presumed occupation of a foreign Govt. & the voluntary transfer by the local Authorities. You may recollect in 1814 or 1815 I moved a Call on the Executive Department to know if any thing had been done in consequence of these Laws & was about to propose a Repeal of them, but was restrained, as I think, by the observation, that they were now considered as a mere dead Letter. However this may be, or whatever may be the just Construction of them, I entertain no doubt, that such is the reigning disposition in Massachusetts, that if, by chance, any hesitation should arise as to the Constitutionality of the President's Conduct, this will be considered as a complete Authority. . . .

Yours affectionately,

C. GORE.

WASHINGTON, Sunday, Jany. 18, 1818.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

As yet, with the exception of Amelia Island, and John Anderson, nothing of importance, or that has been treated as such, has occurred in Congress.

You will see the message of the Pr. respecting Amelia; but as the old practice of answering communications from the Executive, no longer exists, the message will be regarded as mere information, and not as calling for the expression of any opinion, or the provision of any measure relative thereto.

It is understood, that *now* it is intended to retain the possession of Amelia I. Don Onis protested most manfully agt. the occupation of it, by Auey & Company, charging them to be, both men & resources, from the U. S. and declaring that his Master must hold the U. S. answerable for all losses that his People might suffer by reason of their Piracies. Now he without doubt remonstrates against our occupation of the Island as an invasion of ye territory of Spain, tho' such possession is necessary to keep Aury and Company, who are turned out, from returning again.

What wd. be his answer, if it were proposed to him, to receive back Amelia, in other words, to evacuate it, can hardly be doubted. Since neither from Augustine nor Havanna could he draw fifty men to defend Amelia, if restored to its owner.

It is said, D. Onis himself says, that he has powers to negotiate about Florida &c. &c.; if so he will probably be soon tried; and if they will sell Florida for money, or exchange it for territory in West Louisiana, the negotiation so long depending may come to a close. I however doubt D. O's powers. As regards S. American Independence there does not appear to be any of the Span. Colonies except Buenos Ayres, & perhaps Chili, which can pretend to Independence, and in Chili even the Spanish forces are said to have partial possession, and when they have it not, the Country is under the rule of the Buenos Ayrean forces.

I presume that a portion, tho' I believe a minor portion, of Congress desire some act to be done equivalent to the recognition of the Inde. of Buenos Ayres.

So far as I can fathom the system of the Executive—they mean to act with caution and to take no step, which they may not qualify or retract, if found to be expedient. They will do nothing

agt. ye views of the Sp. Colonies—and so long as the controversy is confined to Spain & the Colonies, they will not, at least things continuing as they are, take any part in their favor. Such indeed are my own views concerning this question—whether we will, and when we will, acknowledge ye. Indep. of any of these Colonies, are questions to be determined by a reference, not to their interests but to our own—when it shall be therefore plainly our interest to take a part we ought to do so, & not before. You will not suppose that I have changed any of my former opinions respecting the advantage to this Country that will arise out of ye Indep. of ye Span. Colonies, but it is a serious question, and I shd. regard it as an unfortunate decision of it, that we shd. in the actual posture of the world plunge into a war for the deliverance of these Colonies, whose incapacity to manage their own affairs, must for a time be the cause of great confusion & disorder.

Yrs R. K.

R. King to Edward King.

Washington, Jany. 18, 1818.

My dear Edward:

. . . Your Legislature, it seems, intend taxing the U. S. Branches, that are placed in the State of Ohio. I am not clear that they have, or have not, such a power; indeed I have never examined the question. This disposition of the Legislature may however be regarded as evidence of the public temper and feeling respecting the interference of these Branches with the State Banks. As large sums of money are collected in your State for the sale of lands of the U. S., and as these sums will be deposited in the Branches, the Branches will have a power over the Specie in the State Banks, in the proportion in which the payments for the public lands are made in the notes of the State Banks. Unless this power be used with moderation the Branches will be regarded by all who are interested in the State Banks, with stronger feelings than jealousy.

I suggest this view to you in order that you may give to it the proper influence wh. it shd. have upon your opinions as a Branch Director. It is very desirable that harmony should be promoted between the Branches and State Banks. The heavy sums collected for lands and balances for goods purchased in our larger

cities will together create an aggregate remittance to the Treasury here and to our merchants in our Seaports, which must make the exchanges constantly against you, & may have the inconvenient effects that will create dissatisfaction. These are additional considerations recommendatory of conciliation and harmony between the Branches and State Banks; if by the ordinary operations & agency of the U. S. Branches these remittances are to be effected, especially the public remittances, this fact will become connected with the real or supposed disadvantages which the draining the State of so much specie may be supposed to occasion. The dissatisfaction of the State Banks, arising from the harsh and intemperate administration of the U. S. Branches, united with such opinions of disadvantage, may create an unpleasant state of public opinion, respecting the U. S. Branches, which may extend its unfavorable influence to the Directors. These are things to be thought of and considered, and are justly entitled to be estimated for their worth in the adoption of such measures as affect the State Banks.

You will perceive from the frequency of my recurrence to this subject, that I feel some solicitude that your opinions and conduct as a Director of the U. S. Bank at Chillicothe should be well considered, should be moderate, should not disregard the interests and good opinion of those with whom you live and whose kindness and good will are of so much importance to your welfare and prosperity.

Farewell, my dear Son,

R. K.

CHAPTER VII.

Gore to King—Massachusetts Politics—Gore to King—Approves his South American Views—J. A. King to King—Senatorial Candidates—King with Secretary of State—Bagot informs latter England asked by Spain to mediate—Would decline this—J. A. King to King—Clinton's Council chosen—Wolcott to King—Spain could not establish her ancient System in America—King to E. King—McArthur's Treaty with Indians—King to Gore—Would let South America alone—Does not like Methods of Massachusetts in pressing her Claims—W. King to King—Criticises the Report of Commission on Colonial Trade—Gore to King—Justifies the Claims of Massachusetts, but is disgusted with Manner of making them—Bust of J. Adams—King to Gore—Spanish Claims and Spanish Colonies—King to——; Political Affairs in Washington.

C. Gore to R. King.

Waltham, Jan. 19, 1818.

My dear Sir:

You will perceive by Governor Brooks' Message that although he says nothing relative to the Militia Claim, nor the Seminole War, he has been induced to join in the Hosannas to the present admin. It will be told, as is the fact, to all whom it may concern, that this tribute has flowed from the Exertions of the President's friend at Washington, & here it is wisely augured to be a master Stroke of Policy, which will soften the obdurate Hearts of those, who have hitherto opposed the demands of Massachusetts for Reimbursements of the Sums advanced by her in the late war. It is further said here, that Monroe & Crawford both declare their Regret they ever suffered the Claim to go out of the Hands of the Executive. Some objections may, by unknowing ones, be made to the passing by every federal Candidate for office, but then it is perfectly well understood that Monroe intends, so soon as his hands are a little stronger, to follow his Inclinations, and appoint the distinguished federaists of New England to office. . . .

Faithfully your C. Gore.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, Jan. 26, 1818.

MY DEAR SIR:

You will have seen before this, that my Sentiments perfectly correspond with yours relative to South America. A War with Spain would hardly fail to bring on the same with England—and even without that Combination, our trade would be deeply affected by the Swarms of Privateers, which under one of the flags would infest our whole Coast; and hitherto we have not had the smallest Evidence of a Capacity in the South Americans or their ability to govern themselves either in Peace or War. . . .

Your affectionate Friend

C. GORE.

Notes in R. King's Handwriting.

Feby. 2, 1818.

The Secretary of State—Mr. Bagot has been instructed to state that England had been desired by Spain to mediate between them & the U. S., had answered that she could not do so, unless likewise desired by the U. S., that if so requested she would become the mediator. That she had also at the request of Spain signified her willingness to become a mediator between Spain & her Colonies; that her views were* to secure to the Colonies a freedom of Commerce and to Spain their political dependence—on the latter head that she wd. make a further communication and at an early day.

That the answer to Mr. Bagot wd. decline this mediation; that the questions in discussion were such, as with a reasonable temper on the side of Spain, we would bring to a satisfactory decision; that moreover we were unwilling to risk the bad effect of the mediation of Eng. on the increasing good harmony between Eng. & the U. S.; if the result of ye mediation shd. be unfavorable to the U. S. it wd. awaken old animosities and disserve the mutual interests of the two Countries; that from what had already occurred, we were not altogether uninformed of the sentiments of

* If this be correct, Eng. seeks only for an occasion to abandon Spain; as the political depend. of the Colonies would be useless, with their commercial freedom, Spain would therefore refuse the counsel, & England wd. countenance & perhaps assist the Colonies.

Engd., and were therefore the more unwilling to concur in a mediation, wh., by disappointing our just expectations, wd. neither promote the adjustment of our disputes with Spain, nor serve to confirm the harmony between Eng. & the U. S.

That Don Onis had recently resumed the discussion of our Spanish claims; that he had sent three despatches, precisely those of Cavallos in 1804; that they had been answered by a reference to the answers given by us in 1805.

That France was not unfavorably disposed, but at present France is bound hand and foot; that according to Pinkney's accounts Russia cares & knows nothing about the Spanish Colonies; that she has sold some ships of the line & frigates to Spain, to be paid for by Eng. out of the money to be given to Spain concerning the Slave Trade; that Erving's account was the same respecting these Ships & their payment.

The remarks respecting Russia & France were in reply to the observation that Russia & France wd. not see with satisfaction any mediation between Sp. & the Colonies, whereby the Commerce & Navigation of Engd. shd. be promoted in any exclusive manner or degree.

Saturday, Feby. 7th.

Dined at Crawford's—mixed company. Crawford told us that Eng. had offered & been refused as a mediator between U. S. and Spain.

Oliver Wolcott to R. King.

Litchfield, Feby. 4, 1818.

My dear Sir:

. . . I think it impossible for Spain to reestablish her antient system in America: at the same time I perceive no tendency to the establishment of a reasonable government among the colonists. The present race of men seem to be destined to destroy each other and sincerely as I know we both have wished for their independence, I do not perceive how the U. States can take a part in their affairs with advantage to either party. The suppression of the Pirates, Smugglers and Slave traders on our Frontiers was I think absolutely necessary, and this measure, instead of being considered as an hostile act on the part of the

government, ought in candour to be deemed a prudent precaution for maintaining Peace.

Perhaps the Revenue System might be improved by rendering the duties more specific and insuring a more exact collection. The great difficulty is that the duties are evaded. The Smugglers and the Auctioneers (who though perhaps not directly connected, in effect cooperate with each other) menace our manufacturies and commercial cities with ruin. Remedies for these evils can be easily imagined ; but whether public opinion will permit them to be applied, is deserving of consideration. The manufactures of Cotton, Wool, and Iron are great national interests, which ought, if possible, to be preserved, and it is unpleasant to perceive so much of the business of our cities, accumulating into a few hands, in a manner subversive of the interests of fair traders.

with sincere esteem & respect.

OLIVR. WOLCOTT.

R. KING TO EDWARD KING.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 12, 1818.

MY DEAR EDWARD :

I have read with a good deal of satisfaction what is here called Genl. McArthur's argument against the proposed Tax of the U. S. Branches. I will read it again and return it to you. The Treaty with the Indians negotiated by Genls. McArthur & Cass, is sent back to be renegotiated : of course it will be necessary to bring the Indians together again, which cannot be done until late in the Spring, a circumstance to be regretted, as it will unavoidably postpone the conclusion of the Treaty until the next session of the Senate, and the sale of the lands until the next year.

For many years before the Revolution, the Crown prohibited all purchases from the Indians by individuals ; whenever the progress of settlement required, and the Indians were willing to sell, lands, the same were ceded by the Indians to the Crown, which in its turn, protected the Indians in the possession of their unceded Lands. The U. S. have pursued the same Policy ; they have forbidden the purchase of Indian Lands by Individu-

als, and claiming the Right of preemption, have from time to time obtained cessions of Indian Lands, protecting the Indians as the Crown did, in their reserved or unceded Lands—these cessions have been sold and the money paid into the public Treasury.

Instead of pursuing this ancient, expedient and advantageous mode of making Indian Treaties, the late commissioners departed from all former examples. They required the Indians to cede their whole territory to the U. S., and then by an article for that purpose, the U. S. are made to *retrocede* or grant in fee simple a portion of these lands to the Indians ; the effect of such measure is to deprive the U. S. of their preemptive Right to obtain a future grant of these lands, so conveyed to the Indians. Other parts of the Treaty, which confirmed to the individuals of the Indian Tribes such grants in severalty as the chiefs of the Tribes might make to them, with authority or power to such individual Indians to sell their shares, or several grants to any person, Indian or white man, is reprehensible ; is inserting our Laws relative to property so as to effect the Indians and their regulations. Our policy has been to leave the Indians to manage these lands as they pleased ; to assign portions of it to portions, or individuals, of their Tribes, and not to meddle with these dispositions & regulations. Under the proposed Treaty, Ohio would have been embarrassed with ejectments, trespasses, covenants, and all sorts of real Contracts, between Indians & whites, and confusion, as well as fraud, would have been the consequence, had the Senate confirmed the Treaty. It is as true in managing Indian affairs, as in attending to those of the Church, that we shd. be careful "stare (supra) vias antiquas."

Before this Treaty had reached the Senate, a Deputation of Cherokee Indians, whose tribe have lately made a cession of Lands to the U. S., having heard of this Treaty, applied to have the Treaty made with their Tribe, reformed and settled on the Plan of Genl. McArthur's and Cass' Treaty.

The halfbreeds among the Tribes would all prefer the new project, as it wd. enable them to make money out of it ; and the novelty of the U. S. granting *in fee*, instead of the Indian Tribes reserving their unceded lands, wd. have put an end to the preemptive Rights of the U. S., and not only been the means

of preventing their acquiring future and profitable cessions ; but would have opened a scene of fraud, speculation and Indian controversy of the most immoral and dangerous character.

R. K.

P. S. As all Treaties, including Indian Treaties, are deemed State Secrets, until ratified and published, you must so far regard this communication as such, as not to publish the same.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

Feby. 13, 1818.

MY DEAR SIR :

. . . Here we are going on as usual ; nothing has occurred in debate of any importance. The South American question will when brought forward excite a good deal of attention. My own opinion is to let S. America alone, and so long as other Powers do not meddle, to leave the struggle to those who are engaged in it. There is no likelihood that Spain can reestablish her dominion, and the —— and experience in defending themselves will teach those who are so employed how to manage and govern their affairs. England has lately been requested by Spain to mediate between us & them, and Mr. Bagot has enquired whether we also desire their mediation and received a civil answer in the negative. The discussion between Don Onis and Mr. Adams is going on and as I understand the Correspondence is voluminous, and nearly a literal transcript of the Correspondence between Cavallos & Mr. Monroe in the year 1805.

There has been no appearance in the course of the Session of the old parties. What the Massachusetts claim, which Mason in the H. and Otis in the Senate have referred without debate to the Comrs. will produce, I don't know : but I conjecture that it will not be paid at present. I do not like the coaxing and importuning course which seems to be pursued in the business ; and I am disposed to believe that a tone of decision and moderation with a great show of dignity and firmness would do more than the opposite one which is adopted. It grieves me to see that want of dignity which the rank and great actions of Massachusetts give her a title to maintain ; and to observe a spirit of submission, I had almost said humiliation, in her conduct, as well in relation to

this claim, as in respect to the arrogance and authority with which some of the other States are encouraged to treat and consider her. To be sure, I do think that her policy and decisions during the late war were unfortunate, if not incorrect; but it was a new case, perhaps as regards the casus federis, one concerning which, she may naturally enough have formed an erroneous opinion; but I have the greatest aversion to see a State, and especially such a State, supplicating the Genl. Govt. to listen to their explanations and to grant their petitions. I would rather lose forever the money, and twice, nay ten times its amount, than whine and coax and bow to receive it.

But enough on this head; don't think it too much, for I feel too some imperfect right to express an opinion concerning a Community that possesses so much of, and will always possess, my dutiful & affectionate regards.

The Executive meets as yet with no opposition; but never has there been one with so few personal friends; what may be the consequence of this new condition of things remains to be seen. . . .

With affectionate Regards, I am etc. R. K.

Wm. King to R. King.

Bath, Feby. 24, 1818.

The Report of the Committee on Colonial trade I duly recd. The reasoning of the Committee is generally well. One view, however, does not appear to have been taken, which is in my opinion an important one. In England the duties on Rum, altho' the produce of their own Colonies, have always been so high, as to prevent its general use in that country. This is effected by the landed interest, as its general use would interfere with the cultivation of Barley, Hops, &c. Now, in this country, if we could prevent the importation of Rum from the Br. W. India Islands, it would create a demand for grain here to make whiskey to a much larger amount than its present quantity, exported to those Islands. There is no doubt the landed interest here would be equally benefitted.

I regret that the Committee did not report in favor of a total prohibition, as it is the only mode likely to have the desired effect

while Mr. Crawford is Secretary of the Treasury, as he has repealed your restrictive acts about as fast as you have enacted them. I really am inclined to think some of his decisions should be made a subject of enquiry. A ship lately came to this place, after having landed a full cargo of Troops & military Stores at Halifax, on which she made a very good freight from London to that place. The Collector as he should have done on entry, made the ship pay the extra tonnage &c. A statement was made to the Secretary, who decided that the original intention of the voyage being to the U. States, he considered it a direct one, notwithstanding her touching at Halifax & directed the extra dues to be refunded.

Another vessel left a port in England for the West Indies, discharged all her cargo there excepting a quantity of coal for ballast. She arrived and entered as from her port in England : evidence is furnished of her having landed most of her cargo in the W. I. Islands. This voyage is also considered by the Secry. a direct one from England here, on which the short dues are to be recd. and the return was ordered in this case also. With a knowledge of these decisions, you will not be surprised at my want of faith in all those cases, where the constructive law of the Secry. can be applied. . . A proper regulation of the trade of the country is of the utmost importance. I am much pleased to find it receives your usual consideration. . . .

Your Brother W. KING.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, Feb. 24, 1818.

My DEAR SIR :

. . . I trust no time, nor occasion will ever occur, when you do not feel a deep interest in the Character and Conduct of Massachusetts, and I am sure no Event can occur, when that Interest will not be highly valued by all, who justly appreciate her actions and her Fame.

All our Plans & Projects are, at present, of the small & feeble cast, we court Democracy & Swear she is kind ; at the moment she disregards all our Interests, & treats our Reputation & our Citizens with marked Contumely & Neglect. And this nasty claim for Expenses, during the late war, is at the Bottom, & the

Motive of many of our Coaxers, not that they much regard the thing itself, but they hope to obtain Popularity with the State for their cunning address in having obtained Payment.

Mr. Gore then asserts that he considered the State of Massachusetts justified in making the claim for remuneration, approving of the conduct of the Governor in resisting the demands of the Government relative to the employment of the militia, and concludes:

The National Govt. neglected their Duty in defending us. They absolutely abdicated every Trust, in this Regard, which had been confided to them, & from Necessity we were compelled to provide for our Defence, and assume the Payment. This was done fairly and cheaply. I would never cease demanding Reimbursement as a Right, in mild & decent Language, but I would not crouch for it; and, if refused for any length of time, I should think the Representatives of the State justified in opposing every appropriation of money to any other Purpose. The Legislature refused money for a Bust of Mr. Adams. The Friends of this Gentleman opened a Subscription to raise the Sum at Mr. Wells' Office limiting each Subscription to 2. Dollars.

It remained for a Day or two with very few Names; at length Individuals, subscribed in their own & their Children's Names or Parents'. For instance Boylston put down his & the Name of his Sons & Daughters. The Tudors in like manner, young Mr. Otis for himself & his Father. Still it remained for 5 or 6 days with a Deficit of 100 Dollars, which however, will doubtless be subscribed—But I cannot help thinking if the old Couple at Quincy, or the Heir to the Throne at Washington were to read over the list of Subscribers, the Mortification would be extreme. . . .

Your faithful Friend

C. Gore.

R. King to C. Gore.

Mar. 1, 1818.

My dear Friend:

As you will have seen, and as perhaps I have already informed you, the Bkrupt bill has failed. The South and the West seem resolutely opposed to it; and yet neither are much concerned in

commerce, or affected by the provisions of a system of Bkruptcy. While we are bound to sustain the system of the South, in a matter repugnant to our own opinions of what is, as regards ourselves, expedient & politic, it is a little unreasonable to refuse to the commercial States a system of Laws that the commercial world seems to sanction as necessary to commercial prosperity. Perhaps at a future Session, this subject will be resumed and meet with a different reception.

The Executive & Legislature remain as they met. Tho' there are many whispers and insinuations, which serve to show that while there are as yet no open enemies, there do not appear to be any zealous friends of the Executive. The appearance of the former will doubtless bring forward the latter ; & the S. American question will exhibit some appearances of this sort.

A Report will be made in a few days from the Dep. of State, communicating the late correspondence with Don Onis. I understand that it exhibits nothing new ; and is in effect the same as the correspondence in 1805 ; Spain in nothing yields, the U. S. in nothing relaxes.

Spain would cede the Floridas & renew the Convention respecting spoliations, excepting such as were made by French Privateers, taking an equivalent on the West side of the Mississippi ; Viz. limiting the Boundary of Louisiana on the west, by a line corresponding with, & a few miles west of, the River Mississippi. This is declined, and Spain informed that the U. S. will not recede from her proposal, wh. is, I believe, the Sabine River as the W. Boundary. The note concludes by saying that when Spain offers a more reasonable proposal, the U. S. will receive & consider it In the meantime our people are extending themselves westward, and so fast, that what might this year be a line beyond their settlements, will next be one far on this side of them.

England has been desired to mediate between Spain & her Colonies. She has partially, & promises fully, to explain her views to the U. S. She at present will mediate only on the basis of the Span. Colonies being left a free commerce, not exclusive to any, but common to all nations. Such a mediation will be useless & worse to Spain.

Portugal and Spain are at variance about Monte Video. The allies, as you will recollect, delivered a pretty strong note to

Portugal last year on this subject. Since that date the views of Eng. have changed, and it is believed that England is now on the side of Portugal and disposed to support her in holding, at least temporarily Monte Video, and a Congress or Conference was held at Paris on this matter early in January.

Mexico is tranquillized or little disturbed ; so that large amounts of treasure, by the way of Jamaica & by other channels, have been received in and are going to Spain from this quarter.

Russia has sold 4 Ships of the Line & 3 or 4 frigates to Spain, which had arrived in England on their way to Cadiz. England has required at Petersburgh explanation on this point, and been told that it was merely a sale ; and to the question whether Russia was abt. to depart from her neutrality & to take any part with Spain agt. the Colonies, recd. an explicit answer in the negative. It is said, that Eng. is to grant four or five hundred thousand pounds (from pure humanity—amiable Nation !) to Spain to induce her to abolish the Afn. Slave trade in 1820 ; and that this money is to go to Russia for the Ships of war, which are to be manned and sent with an army to Buenos Ayres, so as to be there by September, which will be at the beginning of their Spring. This will be the great effort of Spain—if it be ever made.

There is nothing but general information from Buenos Ayres, where, on the East of the Mountains, no opposition has for a long time been recd. by the Revolutionists. In Chili a bloody and exterminating war rages between the Chilians and O'Higgins and Master, the Civil and Military chiefs of Buenos Ayres. An Expedition is supposed to have penetrated into Peru from Buenos Ayres, but as the Royalists had recd. reinforcements from Spain, the success of the Revolutionists seems to be uncertain. In Venezuela and New Granada, Morillo of late has made head beyond what was anticipated, and the actual condition of this Region is not understood.

With this map before us, it is not likely that Congress will take any decisive step concerning the Spanish Colonies. As however it is probable that some, nay all, of the Colonies will eventually establish their Independence, those who are on the watch for occasion, which may be used for personal promotion, must be expected to look to what is passing in the Spanish Colonies, and to make use of these things to assist their personal views. It

may therefore be good policy to be the first in a race that is likely to be crowned with favor & success. Nothing may be done at present, but to enter & show—this gives a title of possession and will exclude future competitors. I think it therefore probable that the Gentlemen who are most zealous do not expect that any thing will now be done—but at the next session, the information of the Commissioners will have been recd., and the issue of the great Span. effort may be known—and then a great question may be urged for our decision. I regard the change of views in Eng. respecting So. America (wh. is manifested by the basis of mediation that has been announced, and by the part now taking to sustain Portugal in Monte Video, wh. will be almost indispensable to Spain in her meditated expedition to Buenos Ayres) as favorable to the U. S. It looks to the breaking up of the great alliance in Europe, and to measures that may have the effect of conciliating the U. S. ; and so as to prevent their forming connexions with any new alliance on the European Continent which shall not include England.

Farewell, my dear friend. I have as you will perceive written without reserve or method. faithfully yrs.

R. K.

R. KING TO ——

GEORGETOWN, March, 1818.

DEAR SIR :

. . . I perceive no material difference in Congress now from what it was at the commencement of the Session. There is no party for & none against the Pr. Would the latter appear, it would probably create the former : there are whispers & sneers about too much formality, too rich furniture and a reserve somewhat beyond the plainness & simplicity of Republicanism. The Cabinet too is said to be ill-assorted, its members mutually jealous of each other and not even often consulted. How these things may be, I am not able to tell you. I can well imagine that the Dept. of State & that of the Treas. are not very likely to be cordial or confidential. Rivals do not consult each other nor are they more likely than others to agree in opinions, in which they have no personal concern. The Secy. at War is a young man with honorable views, so far as I have understood them ; but at

present cannot be supposed to have much influence in any direction : and as to the Secy. of the Navy, his value must everywhere depend on his being placed so that he may count something. Of the Attorney Genl. I have heard very little ; personally I am not able to say anything ; the Virginians say, as our friend Lewis used to do, that he is a high minded man, tho' as a lawyer I have heard that Webster appeared with great advantage in opposition to him on the Boston question, turning on the point of State or U. S. jurisdiction.

The President continues that same course of professions which was so engaging in the course of his Eastern tour. This is more befitting a Sec. of State, who decides nothing, than a Pr. who decides all things. I think it cannot be continued without becoming insipid, unless he gratifies by performance, as well as by expressions of regard & good will. That he would do so, I am disposed to believe, if he dare ; but notwithstanding we are all federalists and all Reps., that means in the sense of the motto of the Prince of Wales, we may all support, but only a part be rewarded. If Mr. A. or Mr. B. have believed by broad avowals of fidelity and support, that the past would be forgotten and that they would be permitted to share the children's bread, they will find themselves, at least for a time, and I cannot tell for how long, disappointed.

That New England is ready to serve & support, I do not doubt ; but yet for a time, the Govt. will be critically situated if it can be supported only by a majority that would not exist without New England.

CHAPTER VIII.

King to C. King—Navigation Bill passes the Senate—King; Extracts from his Speech; A Navy his Object—King to C. King—South American Revolution—United States may have to take a conspicuous Part—W. King to King—Condition of Affairs in the Maine District—King to Gore—Little done in Congress—President's Position—Foreign Relations—King to E. King—Branch Bank of U. S.—Financial Suggestions—King to Gore—Passage of Navigation Bill in the Senate—The United States must be a naval Power—King to C. King—Navigation Law and Effects—King to Gore—Navigation Law passed both Houses—Meets England manfully—King to C. King—Navigation Law passed—If England is wise she will accept it as meant—W. King to King—Navigation Law causes entire Satisfaction in Maine—King to J. Mason—Navigation Law—King to Worthington—Tariff—Manufacturing in the West.

R. King to C. King.

Saturday, Mar. 4, 1818.

Dear Charles:

. . . Here we have to day taken a measure in the Senate of no ordinary character, to the accomplishment of which I have given all my strength. The Senate have passed to a third reading by all the votes, on the call of yeas & nays, except one, a Bill excluding from an entry, in our Ports, all Br. vessels coming or arriving from a Port or Place in any Br. Colony or territory, which is closed by the ordinary laws of navigation & Trade agt. American vessels, and obliging all Br. vessels that have duly entered our Ports and there laden any article of American Growth, Produce or Manufacture, before receiving a clearance outward, to give bond with sureties to the satisfaction of ye Collector in double the value of such articles, that the same shall be landed in some Port or Place, other than a Port or Place in a Colony or territory of Gr. B., from wh. Amer. vessels are excluded as aforesaid.

This applies to Canada, by the St. Lawrence, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick & Newfoundland in the North, and all the Br. Islands except Bermuda & the Bahamas in the W. I. The law to commence on the 1st Oct. next. We have proved that the U. S. are wholly independent of them for supplies of Sugar, Coffee, Rum, &c., &c. ; and as to the supplies we furnished to them, Breadstuffs, Provisions, Live Stock & Lumber, we believe that they are dependent on us ; and tho' perhaps those who furnished these supplies, may for a time find some inconvenience for a market, the measure will be advantageous to the navigation of the Country ; and between trade & navigation, a preference is due to the latter. We shall adjourn on the 20th and I hope to be at home by the 1. May. . . . yrs.

R. K.

In the above letter Mr. King announces to his son the passage of the Navigation Bill in the Senate. It was reported by Mr. Barbour, the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and its provisions were clearly explained by him. Mr. King followed him in a speech which is reported in the *Annals of Congress*, 1817–1818, and covers pp. 324–339. Its length prevents its being fully reproduced here ; but extracts are given, showing the purpose of the bill and the objects he sought to attain,—a commercial regulation with England by which the United States might be able to develop its own resources, instead of increasing hers, and to defend the country by a strong navy, manned by seamen educated in our own vessels ; as the ocean was the only point from which danger might be expected in the future.

"To defend ourselves, our houses, our harbors and our commerce a navy is acknowledged to be necessary. From the land side we are safe—against dangers from the ocean, a navy will prove to be our cheap, our sure and most efficient defence. . . . An efficient navy never has existed, and cannot exist, without a commercial marine ; and the maritime history of Europe, which abounds in instruction on this subject, demonstrates this political truth, that the naval power of every nation is in proportion to its commercial shipping. Money may build ships, but the navigation

of the great ocean only can make seamen, and it is in connexion with this view of the subject, that the exclusion of our shipping and seamen from the navigation between the United States and the colonies of England, derives its chief importance. The prosperity and safety of nations are promoted and established by institutious early and easily adapted to these ends. A navy being such an institution, and our experience having proved its importance, it has become the duty of Congress to adopt and enforce those regulations that are necessary to its efficient establishment. None more efficacious can be devised, than such as encourage and increase the shipping and the mariners of the country, and for this purpose, exclude those of a foreign Power from a principal branch of our own navigation ; a branch that now educates and holds ready for service in the navy of England and which would educate and hold ready for service in our own navy were the United States, instead of England, in the prosecution thereof, a body of several thousand seamen." *

After showing the restrictions placed upon our commerce by the British Navigation Law, and the advantages to be derived to the commerce of the United States by demanding our rights, Mr. King says:

" This further disappointment (in the failure of making, under the old Congress, a commercial treaty with Engand), with the depreciating condition of our navigation and trade, joined to the embarrassment of the public finances, produced what no inferior pressure could have done; it produced the General Convention of 1787, that formed the Constitution of the United States. Had England entered into a liberal treaty of Commerce with the United States, this Convention would not have been assembled. Without so intending it, the adherence of England to her unequal and exclusive system of trade and navigation gave to this country a Constitution ; and the countervailing and equalizing bill now before the Senate, arising from the same cause, may assist us in establishing those great branches of national wealth and power, which we have such constant and urgent motives to encourage.†

* *Annals of Congress* 1817, 1818, p. 329.

† *Ibid.*, p. 335.

. . . The bill before the Senate is in nothing unfriendly towards England—it is merely a commercial regulation, to which we are even invited; a measure strictly of self-defence, and intended to protect the legitimate resources of our own country from being any longer made use of, not as they should be, but to increase and strengthen the resources and power of a foreign nation. . . . We are the powerful descendants of England, desiring perpetual friendship and the uninterrupted interchange in kind offices and reciprocal benefits with her. We have demonstrated, in circumstances the most critical, constant and persevering evidence of this disposition. We still desire the impartial adjustment of our mutual intercourse, and the establishment of some equitable regulations by which our personal and maritime rights may be secure from arbitrary violation. A settlement that, instead of endless collision and dispute, may be productive of concord, good humor and friendship; and it depends on England whether such is to be the relation subsisting between us." *

R. KING TO CHARLES KING.

15 Mar., 1818.

DEAR SIR:

. . . Our public affairs so far as I am able to discover are not likely to suffer any change at present. Mr. Clay is desirous of doing something encouraging and advantageous to certain of the Sp. Colonies; but as we know but little of the actual condition of any of them, except Buenos Ayres, he will be obliged to confine his favors to this quarter. Mexico to all appearance is quiet, & the royal Govt. is truly reestablished; and in Venezuela, except upon the River Orinoco, the royal forces seem to prevail.

Altho' our hopes are that these Colonies may be separated, we cannot risk the embarrassment which a premature interference may create. Perhaps things are silently advancing and circumstances likely to arise which may authorize the U. S. to act a conspicuous part in this great Revolution; next to the influence upon the old World, created by the Discovery of America, will be, in point of importance, that which the full Independence of this quarter will accomplish.

* *Annals of Congress*, 1817, 1818, p. 338.

If England adheres to what appears to be her present policy, on the subject, our course will be a plain and prosperous one; Shd. she, however, relapse into her former system, we shall have to pursue our own course, when, and as well as, circumstances will permit.

I do not know how, but there seems to be a good deal of trade not only between Jamaica and the Spanish continental Colonies, but likewise between N. Orleans & Vera Cruz. What this trade consists of & how it is carried on and protected, I do not understand. . . . Farewell with affec. regards.

R. K.

WM. KING TO R. KING.

BATH, March 22, 1818.

DEAR SIR:

Your letter under date 8th inst. came duly to hand. I regret the indisposition of Congress in relation to the Colonial trade. Although you may not have much company or support at this time, I hope you will not relax in your exertions. The period cannot be very distant when this subject must engage the serious attention of Congress, as it now does that of the people generally of this section of the Country.

I notice what you say of the persons associated with you in the legislative business of the Country: you are not alone in the opinions you express to me: they are such as generally prevail in this section of the Country. The parties have been so long equally balanced in all our Districts, and the first object having been to select a partisan, the enquiry is who will run the best; the man therefore who has the longest legs, disregarding every other qualification, had usually been the person selected: this will account for the deficiency you complain of. As the evil is now acknowledged by all, it is to be presumed that some measures will be adopted, if possible, to remedy it. I confess to you I think this will be attended with difficulty; the attempt, notwithstanding, in this State will be made the present year.

You will no doubt be told that there is less of party in this State at this time than has been the case for several years, and the result of our Election this Spring may induce you to suppose the information correct; but you may be assured it is not the case;

the present majority is considerable, because a large number have retired from the contest, believing that neither their own interest, that of the State, nor the Country's will be promoted by it. These men are convinced that the conduct of the federalists of this State during the war, and particularly in relation to the Hartford Convention, will place out of their power to rule the State: and even should they do this, they could not extend in influence beyond the State; as the interests and influence in the country are getting to be sectional, it is therefore desirable that New England shd. act together: this cannot be effected on the old party ground according to my apprehension in any view of it.

An attempt will be made the present year to induce men in this State to act together, whose interest cannot fail to be promoted by it; if this union is effected on correct & proper grounds, you will find a very considerable change in our next delegation to Congress. The State cannot fail to be benefited by it; this must be pursued in the other New England States and will have its influence.

It has been many years since I have had any direct concern with the political arrangements of this State; the present year if my friends so direct I shall take a seat in the Senate Board; my object is particularly to effect the arrangement before alluded to; I am aware of the difficulties, and shall feel much obliged if you will state to me (as you can do confidentially) what in your opinion will be the best mode of effecting this object. It is several years since I named to you, that should it ever be in my power to aid in putting down the party business of this section of the country, it would be particularly my wish to do so. That time has now arrived; the new party will be formed with some reference to yourself, altho' it will not at present be avowed. . . .

Your affectionate Brother

W. KING.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

WASHINGTON, Mar. 22, 1818.

MY DEAR SIR:

I hesitate whether I ought to break in upon your repose, and the more so, as I have little to communicate, and perhaps nothing, that you may think worth attention. The session of Congress up

to this date has been uncommonly dull. The topics of discussion have been without novelty, or much interest, in themselves, and in the manner in which they have been treated.

We are not of the Species of Animals "that can sleep away life on a sunny Bank"; as has been said, "one of the most constant characteristics of man, is a sense of uneasiness; we are wretched in the absence of excitement, and are not satisfied or content, except as we become engaged in some earnest pursuit." The state of political repose throughout the Country, the discontinuance of the high excitement, that arose from the collision of parties, have their effect on Congress; which is one of the most insipid bodies, if we may judge from their yawning and lounging appearance, that was ever assembled. Nobody is content, and yet nobody explains the reasons why they are not so. Altho' this temper may appear to be a favorable one for those who are charged with the public administration, still it is not so; for while none censure, none approve; and as respects the Executive every thing, under the most favorable view, is flat and gloomy. Little things, unimportant deviations in the household of the Pr. from the course of his Predecessors, are dwelt upon by many, as grave exceptions to the administration of the chief Magistrate. The splendor of his furniture, which is no better than that of other gentlemen, the order and sobriety of his dinners, the infrequency and decorum of the drawing Rooms, the omission of Mrs. M. to return visits, and other and similar charges are circulated in whispers & thro' the post office, far and near. The Candidates for the succession are not inattentive to this state of things, and in the H. of R. combinations, having relation to the future, are beginning to show themselves.

It is believed that the Speaker, who manifests little liking of this passive scene, will attempt to rouse the House by a project concerning So. America or some of its Districts—Who will offer himself as the champion of the administration, unless it be Mr. Lowndes, I cannot conjecture. I have given to this subject some consideration, and have persuaded myself, that our safe, and most politic course under present circumstances, is to adhere to an impartial neutrality. Mexico is quiet; the insurrection apparently put down; Venezuela in a dubious condition, and the Revolutionists confined to the Borders of the Orinoco; so that

with the exception of La Plata, which also rules over Chili, we have no information that any of the Spanish Provinces are in a condition to support their Independence.

During the last summer, England with the other allied powers delivered a note, of a high tone, to Portugal, requiring that the King shd. withdraw his forces from Monte Video, which they had taken possession of. Since that period, a very strong and increasing manifestation of the politics of the continental powers, towards English commerce & manufactures has occurred. 'Tho' not the Napoleon exclusion, one equally mischievous will probably be attempted. It is natural that Eng. shd. look elsewhere for markets, that may be lost in her neighbourhood, and she can look nowhere but to S. America. Hence we conjecture her motives for a change, that is said to have taken place, on the subject of the joint note delivered to Portugal. Monte Video has not been restored to Spain, and England is supposed to have recently discovered that Portugal ought not to be urged to restore it—inasmuch as the restoration wd. be just cause of offence to Buenos Ayres, or the United Provinces of La Plata ; which might make war on the Brazils. A discussion on this subject was opened at Paris in Decr., Russia supporting the pretensions of Spain & England against those of Portugal or of the Provinces of La Plata.

In the mean time England announces to the U. S., the request of Spain, that she would mediate between her & the U. S., and her answer to Spain, that unless also requested by the U. S., she should not consent. The President has declined this overture, and England has opened herself to a certain extent, respecting her own policy concerning the war between Spain & her Colonies. Her definitive purpose is not disclosed ; probably not resolved upon ; but the insinuation is very significant of the inclination of England to pursue a course, that can terminate only in the separation of the Span. Colonies, and to do this by a concert of counsels with the U. S.

The conduct of Russia concerning the American controversy has excited a good deal of attention—not only the interference in respect to Monte Video, but another proceeding must have attracted the notice of England. Several ships of the line & stout frigates have been furnished by Russia to Spain. The service in which they are to be employed, that of the war between

Spain & her Colonies, has given to this transfer an importance, which in different circumstances it would not have possessed. The secrecy with which the measure was accomplished added something to the significance of it ; and the unknown consideration that Russia recd. added mystery to the transaction. Whether it be correct or not, it is reported that the Eng. Ambassadors at Madrid & at St. Petersburgh were wholly unapprized of the measure, until it was made public as a measure already decided. On demand of an explanation at St. Petersburgh, Russia declared that her neutral policy had undergone no change, that she took no part in the Spanish controversy, that her interference so far as to have united with the allies in the delivery of the note to Portugal was with the sole view of preserving peace and restraining the revival or spread of war ; that she wanted money, & had no service for ships, that Spain wanted ships more than money ; that she had merely converted what she did not want for what she greatly needed ; and that such only were her motives for selling these Ships to Spain.

It has been said that Eng. has given to Spain a sum of money, to hasten her abolition of the Slave Trade, and that this money has been, or is to be, paid to Russia for these Ships of war. The finances of Spain are recruited in some degree ; her domestic system is said to be improved & so much so as to be productive. Mexico during the last year has yielded a considerable supply of money, &, according to present appearances, will during the current year yield to Spain still greater supplies.

Such is the view that is perhaps not far from being correct respecting the actual condition of Spain, the Colonies and certain of the great powers of Europe. If the U. S. adhere to the course hitherto followed, they will be in a condition to watch and to adjust their policy so as to take advantage of the progress of the controversy between Spain & her Colonies. The overture from England may lead to measures of the highest importance to the power & prosperity of the U. S.; it may contribute to the reversal and overthrow of the exclusive and monopolizing system of commerce that has been the cause of so many wars, and source of so much misery ; it may introduce and establish the more rational and just principle of an open trade, in which profit must depend on economy, enterprise & skill—a competition in which none

would engage with higher expectations than the citizen of the U. S. Such may be the result of a patient and prudent policy at the present time.

Should the U. S. involve themselves in war for the purpose of assisting the Sp. Colonies in establishing their Independence, England wd. or wd. not take part with Spain : if she shd., however uncertain its effect might be on the Colonies and their Independence, the effect upon the navigation & com. of the U. S. wd. be most injurious ; again the internal taxes must be imposed and greatly increased, to defray pub. expenses & to support the pub. credit. Altho' the nation fought gallantly both on the land and the ocean during the late war, and would repeat these examples of courage & victory, yet we shd. be burthened with heavy taxes ; our agriculture would be without encouragement & profit, our navigation wd. be crippled and our commerce greatly abridged ; and all this wd. happen in a war for others, and in which our own honor and our peculiar interest wd. be wholly unconcerned. But England might take no part & probably this wd. be her policy.

The war with Spain, wh. wd. be inevitable, wd. be followed by the whole or greater part of the commerce of the U. S. & of Spain passing into the hands of England, who wd. not only prosecute unimpaired all her own commerce, but likewise the commerce of Spain & the U. S., and acquire every where such a footing in trade, as on the return of Peace, we shd. find it difficult to disturb or break up. (*Not signed.*)

R. KING TO EDWARD KING.

5 Apr., 1818.

MY DEAR EDWARD :

. . . There seems to be, as I have intimated to you, the probability that there wd. be an extensive jealousy, that, without great discretion, moderation and wisdom, on the part of the Bk. of the U. S. and its Branches, shall become active hostility agt. the Bk. of U. S. One important measure in the administration of *your* Branch, as well as of others, is not to do too much. The idea that you can become popular and useful by great issues of Paper, will be injurious because, do what you will to prevent it, the excess will come back on you, and throw you into difficulty.

Banks, more than others, should be moderate in their plans: when so many of these institutions exist, greater moderation than elsewhere is requisite. We have numerous Petitions from Ohio to postpone for a year the instalments payable to the U. S. for Lands. The impossibility of obtaining money is the plea. My difficulty is, will it be better a year hence? I am unable to see from whence the relief is to come.

The real, and apparently the insurmountable cause, why money cannot be had, is that adding to the purchase of for. supplies, the purchase of the public Lands, the articles which Ohio sells are of much less value than those she buys: and as money comes in only by selling articles which go abroad, and the sum so recd. is less than that required to be remitted from the State to pay for forn. supplies and for public Lands; neither now, nor next year, if the balances continue the same, will the State be able to make these remittances, unless they anticipate their future means, by borrowing.

The Br. Bk. may afford some assistance; and if they cd. make a permanent loan, *wh. they cannot*, they might afford an important Relief. But if they attempt to issue their Paper, upon Landed security, except for a very limited amount, they will throw themselves into great embarrassment. The only and true theory of a bank of discount, or, as yours is, a commercial bank, is this; the security they take must be such as at the period of payment will certainly replace, if required, the loan they shall have made. Now Land is not of this character, and cannot promptly and adequately be converted into money; notes with sufficient endorsers are, or ought to be, such; notes wh. when due, cannot be collected are no security. I do not mean that the whole mass of discounted Paper could without great distress and even loss, be so converted in any hour. But there is no safety to a Bk. which cannot rely with entire confidence, that such a proportion of its Debts may at all times be collected, as may be requisite to enable the Bk. to meet its own engagements, or to pay on demand its own Notes. Now no Bank, in the great towns even, where the resources are greater, can be sure of doing this, unless it is cautious not to make too great issues; for if a very large excess suddenly returns on the Bank, neither the cash in its vaults, nor the ability of its Debtors, may be sufficient to enable it to meet the demand.

There is no doubt much, and a more complicated, difficulty in conducting a bank like that where you are, and in wh. you are a Director, than in managing the affairs of a Bk. in a different time. The very circumstance, alluded to, of your Payments abroad for Goods and Lands, constitutes a difference in your situation, that calls for constant consideration & which must constantly put you on your guard agt. attempting to do too much business. If with the view of enabling your customers to pay their foreign Debts, or in order to make a large contribution to the mother bank, as evidence of your diligence & zeal, you issue more Paper than you shd. do, you will do two mischievous things : you will distress and half ruin your punctual customers, that you may unexpectedly press upon for repayments ; you will instead of sending to the mother Bk. a large sum of earnings, diminish or destroy not only such earnings, but a portion of the Bk. Capital, in consequence of the losses of bad Debts, which must happen in your scene, where lands are not convertible into money, & where indeed the money sufficient to meet a great diminution of Bk. accommodation could not be found.

On the whole yr. Bank with caution and prudence, will do good, but, if you mean like Atlas to bear the world on your shoulders, you will be crushed in the attempt. You will be pressed for more loans ; the difficulties of the other and State Bks. will be ascribed to you, and you will be told that you ought to afford a remedy for the mischiefs wh. you have created. To all this you must only listen ; you wld. not say, tho' it is hard, that these Banks have brought the mischief on themselves, or perhaps more correctly, that the State has brought it on the community, the evil of a depreciated Bk. currency.

If the mass of the Bk. paper were convertible into money, it wd. be of equal value to yr. Branch notes ; but this is impossible ; for if there be money sufficient to restore the State Bk. notes to par, there is not sufficient to enable the State Bks. to throw into circulation such a quantity of notes as wd. be wanted. If you annually coined in Ohio, as in Mexico, seven millions of Dollars, or a sum equal to the differences between the import and export, into and from Ohio, the Banks would without difficulty keep out a large circulation of their notes ; but under the unfavorable balance that exists in Ohio, no Bank can do so ; and I do not think,

therefore, that your Branch can or ought to attempt to satisfy the public expectation and demand for loans. You must act cautiously and within conferred limits, and as respects a large proportion of your Debts, you must act on the rigorous principles of commercial credit, viz, that payment can and will be made when demanded. Farewell,

R. K.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

April 5, 1818.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

We are going on rapidly as usual with business, being near the end of the Session. The Senate have passed a Bill, in which I have assisted, closing the ports of the U. S. against Brit. Vessels coming from any port or place in a Colony or Territory of G. Br. that is by the ordinary laws of navigation & trade, closed agt. vessels of the U. S., and obliging all Br. Vessels, on board of which any article of the produce, growth, or manufacture of the U. S. have been laden in our ports for exportation to give bond in double the value thereof, that the same shall be landed in some port or place other than a port or place in a Colony or Territory of G. Br. from wh. Amer. Vessels are excluded. This is a strong measure. We have for more than 20 years been begging G. Br. to allow us a participation in the navigation affected by this Bill. She has refused, continues to do so, & finally tells us that she cannot & does not object to our making any law on this subject, wh. we may think expedient—in other words, being in possession of this entire navigation, & supposing that the articles supplied by her are necessary to us, and that those wh. we furnish have no other market, she still supposes that we shall continue to acquiesce.

In the examination of the subject, it is proved that for Sugar, Coffee & Rum, we are independent of her; the last article she can sell no where but in the U. S., and so far is dependent on us; for 20 years past we have exported more Sugar & Coffee, annually, than we have recd. from the British Dominions. We are therefore independent of her for our own consumption.

My own persuasion is, that the W. Ind, as well as Newfoundland, tho' the latter less constantly, are dependt. on the U. S.

Provisions salted may be obtained elsewhere, tho' not as good, nor frequently supplied, as from the U. S. Live Stock cannot be had in any quantity elsewhere. Breadstuffs likewise must be had from the U. S. & timber, lumber and naval stores cannot be had from any other quarter. If we have sufficient sugar from other quarters, likewise coffee, the rum may be supplied from other Colonies, or made from grain at home. If the 5 mill. gal. of foreign rum, & 7 * mill. gal. of molasses, wh. we import, were even excluded making 12 mil. of gal. of spirits, the grain or breadstuff necessary to supply its place in our consumption wd. exceed the quantity annually supplied to the whole of the W. Indies.

If our lumber men are not encouraged in their occupation, it wd. be beneficial that they shd. become cultivators of the ground; it would be better for them and for the public that they shd. do so. Besides timber and lumber are becoming more scarce; and the Nation wd. be no loser, were we to send abroad less than we have done of the woods of the Country. The Bill has passed the Senate by almost unanimity. It will meet with opposition in the House, and I am unable to say whether it will now pass there.

I have understood that in Boston it will probably be disapproved, perhaps likewise in N. York—notwithstanding which, it may be an expedient measure.

The Navigation Law was made in the infancy of Colonies and Trade. For a long time after the Colonial system began, the Colonies were open like the Mother Country to the Trade o foreigners. The Colonies were small, few & commercially insignificant in their commencement and even at the date of the Br. Navigation Law. Now England possesses 43 principal Colonies, exclusive of the E. Indies, spread through all the quarters of the world and selected as military stations in every sea. The exclusive navigation comprehends too great a proportion of the whole, and other navigating powers must desire to see this immoderate pretension lessened.

The U. S. are & must be a naval power: navigation is one of the indispensable elements of her wealth & strength. They must assert their claims, and I am convinced that they can make them good only by a reliance on themselves; and by ex parte regula-

* Chiefly from Cuba; very little from the Br. W. Indies.

tions; since being a new power, and the older powers being in possession of the chief points of commerce, and naturally unwilling to share them with us, we can hope for nothing by Treaties.

It is the commencement of a struggle, that will call for firmness, prudence, temperance and wisdom. You & I shall see but little of it, but no Nation can rise to the elevation to which I feel confident that this nation will do, without a correspondent depression of others, & this will not be submitted to without the utmost exertions to prevent it. . . . Here the willow is green, the poplar in blossom and the field covered with returning freshness and verdure. It will however be four weeks nearly before your Spring is as far advanced.

Affectionately yrs.

R. K.

R. KING TO C. KING.

April 5, 1818.

. . . . . .

In this letter Mr. King writes, as in that to Mr. Gore of the same date, that the Navigation Bill has passed the Senate, and details the particulars of and reasons for its provisions, and closes as follows:

By this good course agriculture would be benefitted.

If the lumber makers were converted into agriculturists, it wd. be individually and politically an advantageous change. Besides lumber of all sorts is becoming more and more scarce, and if we are obliged to husband our stock, politically it wd. be an advantage. But as no great measure, especially of a general character, can be adopted without some inconvenience and partial suffering, any measure that affects & disturbs the settled course of occupations, bears harder on some than others; and this inconvenience is one arising out of the nature of government, which looking to the general good, must necessarily disregard the small and inferior sacrifices that must be made to attain the greater advantage of the nation.

The time is favorable: other Nations are moving in order to abridge the advantages of Eng. Monopoly; and this co-operation will increase the probability of success. There is nothing hostile,

or unjust in the measure; it is doing towards Gr. Br. what we have suffered her to persist in as respects us for more than thirty years. It is of the utmost importance to the navigating and naval interest of the country; it is, to use the words, of the Eng. Navigation Law, "an act for the encouraging and increase of shipping & seamen, wherein, under the good providence and protection of God, the wealth, strength and safety of the nation is so much interested."

If this Bill passes, which is perhaps somewhat uncertain, it will constitute an Epoch in our navigation; and by adhering to its Principle, we shall accelerate the period of that Dominion on the Ocean, that we are hereafter to attain.

I write currente calamo and cannot stop to revise—you have a mere careless effusion.

farewell. R. K.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

SUNDAY, Apr. 12, 1818.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . Our Navigation Law, of which I think I have sent you a copy, has passed both Houses, the minority in the Senate two, and the House, sixteen. It is a strong measure; and the highest proof that Congress could give of their opinion in favor of navigation & shipping, in preference not only to trade, but to other great branches of the public industry. The Bill closes the Ports of the U. S. agt. Br. vessels coming from Ports closed agt. the vessels of the U. S., and obliges the Consignees of all Br. vessels on board of wh. shall be laden in our Ports any article of Amer. growth, produce, or manufacture for exportation, to give bond that the same shall be landed in some port or place, other than a port or place closed agt. Amer. vessels.

The project good or bad is my own; and as our old political friends have united with me in this important measure without change of views or principles, we have led off in a business, more important in every direction in respect to our navigation and naval power, and of consequence as regards England, than any other that has been, or as I believe, could be devised. This measure w'd have been impolitic at any preceding time; in the beginning we expected to make an arrangement by Treaty. Mr. Jay's mis-

sion in this particular failed. The long war which ensued broke down, during its continuance, the colonial laws of trade, and we entered into the advantages of a most extensive neutral commerce during the continuance of this war. Since its conclusion our efforts have been renewed without success, to adjust the navigation between the U. S. and the Eng. Colonies, particularly in the W. Indies.

The period had arrived, when we were to decide whether we wd. acquiesce forever in the Eng. monopoly of this great branch of navigation & trade, or meet their exclusion of us, by the exclusion of them. Being as is proved wholly independent of them for supplies of sugar, coffee & rum, and they being, as we believe, not independent of us for the supplies heretofore recd. from the first planting of Colonies, the experiment may be now fairly made. The time is a favorable one. There is no matter of irritation that interposes itself to disturb a fair consideration of the question. It is not on our part the fruit of anger, or of unreasonable jealousy ; but a measure relative to, and as we suppose, intimately connected with a great national interest, that calls for, and stands much in need of this protection. It meets England manfully, plainly, temperately, and says to them, as they said to Holland, by inserting yourself into the navigation of all the Regions of the world, by multiplying your Colonies, so that you hold the keys to every sea & to every trading nation, and by applying your navigation Laws throughout this immense connexion and extension of dominion, you do exclude us from our reasonable portion of the navigation & trade with others : we now, as you did in the case of the Dutch, enact a law, tho' inferior in its comprehension, wh. will, as we hope, secure to us our fair share of what you have thus monopolized. The like temper in other States concurs to give importance to this measure.

I am not certain that England will yield ; but I am persuaded that she will encounter great difficulty in persisting. I wish that you, instead of that soft and empty pedant Rush were in London. An able & conciliatory man could do great things there at this crisis. . . .

faithfully yrs.

R. K.

R. KING TO C. KING.

April 12, 1818.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . The navigation law has passed with an extraordinary majority. It is a very strong and important measure; it marks a character in the Country, or rather an opinion of the importance & policy of promoting navigation & even at the expense of agriculture, that is very satisfactory; and which cannot but make a strong impression in England, as it shows a decision of character, and a readiness to forego valuable branches of trade, proceeding from the industry & agriculture of our Country, in order to encourage and increase the shipping and seamen of the nation.

This was the great and noble principle of the Eng. navigation law of the 17th century; and I do consider the law now passed by Congress, to be no less important as respects our future navigation & power upon the Ocean, than the navigation law of England was in respect to the shipping, seamen and naval power of that country.

It is with a great nation we are now to contend; one that moves in these matters with caution and firmness. How England will take the measure is doubtful. Pride and confidence may administer false counsel. If her Statesmen be really able, and can raise themselves above the vulgar prejudices of their countrymen, they will take the measure as it ought to be taken, and considered; they will look to the principle it asserts; to the people, their condition, resources and increase, whence it proceeds; they will perceive that it will be persisted in; and instead of its being suffered to become the occasion of a long & fruitless struggle on their side, they will modify the ancient principles of navigation & commerce, which are no longer applicable to the existing condition, and the relative power and pretensions of the respective nations, and consent to such arrangements with us as may perpetuate a long and necessarily beneficial intercourse & friendship,

. . . The bill has passed, with all the votes of the Senate, except two, & of the H. of R. except sixteen. It will immediately be signed by the Pr.

farewell yrs. R. K.

W. KING TO R. KING.

BATH, April 13, 1818.

DEAR SIR:

Your letter enclosing the Navigation Bill came duly to hand. This Bill is precisely what is wanted. It is creditable to the Senate that it should have been passed with so much unanimity and particularly so to yourself, with whom it gives me great pleasure to learn it originated.

The more this subject is agitated, the more will its importance be observed by the People. Our Representatives from this District have been written to on the subject and have generally answered that their minds were not made up, particularly Holmes, who will, if I am not very much mistaken, end his political career from this section of country with the expiration of his present term in Congress.

Such men as Holmes from our party, with the Hartford Convention people of yours, will probably unite with Clay and Clinton. It will be doing no injustice to any portion of them to say their motives are about the same: the sooner this union is formed the better for the country; the residue will get on with fewer difficulties than either of the parties experience at the present time.

It gives me great pleasure to observe in relation to yourself but one opinion expressed in this section of the country, and still more that it is so uniformly well deserved.

your brother

W. KING.

R. KING TO JEREMIAH MASON.

CRAWFORDS, 21 Apr. 1818.

DEAR SIR:

I yesterday received your obliging letter of ——, in which you acknowledge the receipt of one from me without date. Congress adjourned last evening. Except laws that will require the payment of a good deal of money out of the Treasury, we have done nothing that is mischievious. As a great many private money bills did not pass by reason of the delay in getting them sufficiently forward, this evil is not as great as a longer session would have made it. The pensions to our Revolutionary

Officers & Soldiers will, as I suspect, turn out much greater than was anticipated ; the comprehension of all who served for the term of nine months or more was imprudent.

I was inclined to have confined the provision to the officers, but could meet with no support. The soldiers were paid high bounties & clothed & fed, not so the officers. I would have gone as far as to include all the soldiers who were in the continental army, when it was discharged ; but this was discriminisation, and it was with difficulty that the militia was shut out. The sailors go in notwithstanding their prize money.

For manufactures, we have raised the import duty on Iron in bars from 9. to 15 dollars per ton, with a correspondent increase of the imposts on nails, spikes & iron castings : the 25 pr. cent on cotton & woolen goods, which was limited to 1819, has been extended to 1826 : by that time, with this encouragement, our own manufactures will, or ought to, be so established that coarse cottons & fine woolens may perhaps be prohibited from abroad.

We have morever passed a Navigation Law, that, after September, closes our ports against Brit. vessels coming from British ports, closed against Amer. Vessels. This is a strong measure, but called for, as I believe, by a just regard for Amer. Navigation. It must be made effectual so far as to secure to us an equal share at least of the navigation. If England should continue to say, we have nothing to give her for admitting our money & ships in her East Indies, we might say in return, be it so ; if you think so. But if you will not allow us to go and buy your East India fabrics, we will not allow them to be brought by you to our country, nor indeed will we allow them to be used or consumed by our people. In a word, the letter & spirit of the law (which passed with great unanimity & which never at any former time could have passed at all) closes our ports agt. Gr. Br. Vessels from any Br. ports or place closed against Amer. Vessels. I gave all my heart and all my strength, with all my hopes of success to this measure ; which in principle is incomparably the most important law ever passed on this or perhaps on any subject. Engd. at this day, by the extension of her commercial stations throughout the world and the application of her navigation law to this extension of dominion has effectually monopolized a great

portion of the navigation necessary to carry on the commerce of the world.

As respects others, she is now more disproportionately in possession of the general commerce of nations, than the Dutch were, in the middle of the 17th century; and our law must check her, as her navigation laws checked & broke down the Dutch. Don't understand me that I expect or desire any breaking down of Engd.; but I do hope, if faithful to ourselves, we shall oblige Engd. to let us in for a fair share of the general trade carried on between the Nations of the World.

Farewell yrs.

R. K.

R. KING TO GOV. WORTHINGTON.

WASHINGTON, April 21, 1818.

DEAR SIR:

. . . Our session is just closed, leaving a good deal of unfinished business; chiefly however of a private nature, and which if completed would have drawn money from the Treasury. To encourage manufactures, we have raised the Duty on imported iron from 9 to 15 dol. per ton—with a correspondent increase on nails, brads, spikes, and iron-castings hereafter imported.

The 25 pr. cent on woollen and cotton goods, which were to continue for three years, that expire in 1819, are continued till 1826; by which date, if these manufactures prosper as I hope they may, we may go further and as so I stated to the Senate, prohibit coarse cottons and perhaps fine woollens. I regard the prolongation of the encouraging Duties on imported woollens & cottons, as satisfactory evidence of a determination in Congress to build up and establish domestic manufactures; on which subject I have a very decided opinion, founded on a good deal of consideration, that the Western country is to become the great manufacturing region of the U. S. Subsistence will be in abundance and cheap in this region, which moreover abounds everywhere with coal mines that, in my conviction, are richer and more desirable than those of gold and silver.

Running a diagonal line from the north to the south of England, the coal and manufactures are on the West and the agriculture on the East side thereof—it being more economical

to carry food to the fuel than fuel to the food. Fire and the Steam Engine are the true means of carrying on manufactures by machinery. A water power, especially in the northern States, is stopped in the winter; the abundance of provisions and of coals will therefore decide the question where the great manufacturies of this country will be established.

Our Spanish dispute is where it was, when Congress assembled. With other powers we have no dispute. *Your friend G. W. Campbell* is appointed to succeed Mr. Pinkney at St. Petersburgh, and I have heard that young Mr. Astor will accompany him as Secy. of Legation. The President, as I hear, does not make an extensive tour this season; he will accompany the Engineers who are to survey Hampton Roads, and the waters of the lower Chesapeake, to select a station for an Arsenal Port.

The Chiefs of Kentucky are not satisfied, find fault with the Anti-republican furniture, manners & ceremonials of the Palace; tho' the Congress have appropriated 30,000 dol. to furnish the Hall of the House & its offices, and 20,000 to furnish those of the Senate. We are not like the ox, who when his belly is full lies down on the green bank, and is quiet until more food is wanted. Men are unhappy without excitement and impatient when everything is quiet and stationary. They want change and strive to make it.

Very truly yr. ob. Sr.

R. King.

Mary King to E. King.

Georgetown, 21st April, 1818.

It was with great pleasure, my dear Edward that I received your letter of 22nd February, accompanied by an affectionate postscript from your wife, for which I thank you both; and also for the kind invitation to make you a visit. I have every possible inducement to comply with the request. The gratification of meeting you comfortably settled in your own house, being made personally acquainted with your good wife and seeing and kissing my dear little Rufus, would surmount any common obstacle; but the want of health and strength forbids the attempt. I have no doubt that the ride and change of air would be salutary, if it could

be performed without great fatigue, but as I know that a journey across the Alleghany Mountains cannot be made without some exposure to cold as well as fatigue, I must enjoy by anticipation what I otherwise should have had great pleasure in realizing. Now, as there are none of these impediments with regard to you and your wife, I would propose that you both with the little boy should come and make us a visit, either in the summer or fall, whichever season suits your business best, and there should be no other objection to your leaving home.

Your pleasantest route would be to come to Baltimore and proceed from thence by the steamboat route to New York. I wrote a few lines by Colonel Dougherty, who was so kind as to take charge of a small parcel for you ; but as you say nothing about it in your letter of the 10th, received to day, I conclude it may not have been to hand. The only regret I have is, that if you had wished any thing from here, it is now too late, as all the Gentlemen from Ohio left us this morning, Congress having adjourned at a late hour last night. If the weather is good we shall set out tomorrow, and hope to reach home by the first of May.

You will lament with me the death of our good & excellent friend Mrs. Low ; she died on the 11th inst. after a very rapid decay ; to her aged husband and family her loss is irreparable and by her friends in general it will be severely felt.

I am sorry to observe by your letter that the Governor [Worthington] has had another attack of bilious colic : but long before this I trust he is relieved and again enjoying his usual health. I am glad to hear so good an account of Mrs. Worthington's health as your wife gave me and hope it may long continue. Present me kindly to them both, and with love to Sarah, and kisses to little "Duffy" as Charles calls his boy,

I remain your affectionate mother,

MARY KING.

CHAPTER IX.

King to Gore—Estimate of Otis and Holmes—King to Mason—Will neither decline nor solicit Reappointment—Navigation Law may require further Provisions—Ingersoll to King—Complimentary on King's Speech—King to Gore—Massachusetts deeply interested in the Navigation Legislation—The Navy is the End or Object of it—Want an able Minister in England—King to J. Adams—Sends a Copy of his Speech—Admission of new States strengthens the old ones—Regrets that Representatives from Massachusetts show less Zeal in Navigation Law—Dawes to King—Approval of his Speech—Mrs. Dawes—Monroe to King—Speech on Navigation Act honorable to him—Pensacola Affair not free from Difficulty—Sought to give no Cause for War with Spain and sustained Jackson—King to Coleman—Will not answer Criticisms of Speeches in the Senate—Time will justify him—Barbour to King—His Speech will be read on both Sides of the Water—Should have free Intercourse with England everywhere or none—Bulfinch to King—Purchase of Books for Library of Congress—King to Smith—Maps and Charts bought for War Department—King to E. King—Contrasts Navigation Law with Jefferson's restrictive Regulations.

R. King to C. Gore.

Elkton, 26 Apl., 1818.

My dear friend:

We left Georgetown on Friday. . . . Mr. Otis and wife were off the last day of the Session. He it seems has given up his Judgeship, and embarks his fortune on his success in the Senate. As I owe him neither good nor ill will, I am sufficiently indifferent to form an impartial opinion and as La Fontaine says, altho' I am not a great prophet, I sometimes consult the stars, and they deceive me, or they promise this gentleman no success in his new adventures. He cannot succeed in the Senate. The desire to please all, pleases none, and general and promiscuous civility is insipid and of very little value. He will not succeed better at

headquarters. Not knowing his resources, I was unable to measure his force and the value of his materials,—as now I rate both very low, and pronounce without hesitation that he cannot succeed in the Senate. He lacks both manner, I mean decision of character, and matter likewise, being as I conjecture ill furnished with the knowledge necessary for distinction in the Senate. So be it. . . .

We have had no one debate that has brought into view our old parties, and why should they be brought into view? Since federalism is sunk, and we are, as it seems, happy in being forgotten; and so far as any station in the Government. (*Cetera desunt*—Ed.)

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA, May 5, 1818.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

. . . Of your militia claim I omitted to say to you what was my advice to Mr. Ashman. Without at all speaking of its merits, I became convinced of two things: one, that ultimately the claim will be allowed; the other, that at present there is no chance of such allowance, & hence that it was expedient not to urge the claim at this time. *Yr. Senator's* universal civility, & courteous & complimentary language, were often sneered at as being intended only for the purpose of promoting your Militia Claim.

Of Holmes I know little; my impression is that he has totally failed. His fame was considerable, but his performance disappointed the House. It was then said that he was not able in Congress, but great in his profession, as cd. be proved by his appearance in the Supreme Court. Unfortunately for him, it was the case of Dartmouth College, in which he was to make his appearance, and Webster was his opponent.

Webster acquitted himself with the highest credit & produced the strongest sentiments of respect and admiration. Mr. H. fell below mediocrity, and, as I conceive from the current reports, lost all pretensions to the character of a man of distinguished talents. He was looked to, on his arrival, as a leader, and as the support of the Executive: he was one of the select party, at the

President's first dinner; but his reputation lessened as the session advanced, and as Clay's So. American question was anti-administration, Holmes by joining him must have lost the favor of the Chief, who certainly did not invite him to his last dinner, consisting principally of those who were invited to the first.

Adieu. R. K.

R. KING TO JEREMIAH MASON.

JAMAICA, L. I., May 19, 1818.

MY DEAR SIR:

I received this evening your obliging letter of the 15th, and as my frank will expire tomorrow, I avail myself of it, to make you my acknowledgements, and to say a few words on the subject of my continuance in the Senate. I am not informed, nor curious to be so, whether there is a disposition in our Legislature to reappoint me. I shall neither decline nor solicit a reappointment, and should that event happen, would continue to take my seat so long as my own comfort and convenience would permit me to do so.

You are correct; ulterior provisions may & probably will be requisite to carry the Navigation Bill into effect. I with you regret that we are without an able man in England, and, the more so, as I have little or no expectation that Eng. will view this law in the light that they ought to consider it. They will be likely to look back to former Acts intended to disserve them, wh. we have revoked because we found that they disserved ourselves. The present measures rest upon this proposition. The Trade, or rather Navigation, must be reciprocal, or it must not be allowed to exist. The greatest difficulty that I anticipate is, in the regulation of the intercourse between our Frontiers and the contiguous Eng. Provinces. The question is wholly untouched at present. We shall be better able, hereafter, to examine it as well as the intercourse that will be carried on with the Colonial free-ports; our next Session may, & probably will, be an interesting one. . . .

I remain, my dear Sir, with great regard,

Yr. ob. & faith. Servt.

RUFUS KING.

C. J. Ingersoll to R. King.

Philadelphia, 27 June, 1818.

My dear Sir:

. . . I may say, without a compliment, that, as far as I have heard it mentioned, your late admirable Speech on the new Navigation Act, has been universally & highly commended for its information, liberality and method. I read it with uncommon pleasure as an excellent specimen of what a parliamentary discourse ought to be, and a most powerful argument on an important subject. If it should prove to be your valedictory, it is an enviable close to an elevated public life; it is the best testimonial that can be afforded that such a public life should end only with the close of life itself.

For the last three or four years a scene of professional occupation, which commands all my time, has deprived me of the occasion, and indeed almost the faculty, certainly the fondness, I used to feel for sociable correspondence; but of none of the fondness with which I shall never cease to cherish the recollections & proofs of your intercourse & eminence; and tho' unable to write you letters, in token of my respect and regard,

I am your faithful friend & respectful humble Servt.

C. J. Ingersoll.

R. King to Edward King.

Jamaica, L. I., June 28, 1818.

My dear Edward:

. . . As to the Bank & its Branches—I repeat my advice to you to withdraw from the Direction; the plea of your solicitorship will be a proper one to assign for your doing so. As a general Measure, calculated if well conducted to promote the public interest, we may allow it to have merit—as a Business that has, and will continue to interfere with, the State Banks; neither you nor I have any such concern, as to make it necessary that we shd. either of us be solicitous concerning it; while we abstain from censuring its proceedings, we are not obliged to incur the displeasure of its rivals, by defending its operations.

I will desire Charles or James to send you a Copy of the Speech that I made in the Senate on the Navigation Act. The subject

is one of a good deal of importance. The Act is, in its Principle, as well as provisions, of a character too vigorous to escape the attention of England, and perhaps other Powers, possessing Colonies. I observe that in reference to this Speech, a good deal has been said to show that it sanctions the restrictive Regulations adopted by Mr. Jefferson & Mr. Madison, and that it is a confirmation of those Regulations. This is not sound logic. The Regulation or Restriction is politic or otherwise in reference to the end wh. is aimed at. The same power is well or ill exercised, according to the ends that are aimed at by the Regulation. My object is ye. establishment of a navy; this was not the purpose of the former Restrictions. I make this observation, not to invite you to pursue or to engage in this disquisition, but as an explanation of my own views.

faithfully & affectionately yours

R. K.

R. King to C. Gore.

Jamaica, L. I., June 28, 1818.

My dear Sir:

I recd. this morning your kind letter of the 21st. Charles will send you a Copy of my speech on the Navigation Act, which I revised & corrected in a few instances, preparatory to its being printed in a pamphlet form. As I had anticipated some disapprobation in Boston on this subject, I am glad to learn from you that the measure has been generally well recd. there.

I think that I have some pretensions to know the special interests of Massachusetts; and it seems to me that if any section more than another is concerned in the adoption of the proposed law, it is Massachusetts, including Maine; and if any great public measure, affecting the general welfare, and constituting a great national establishment, connected with the power, and the pride and the glory of the Nation, can be imagined, that will be likely to raise up & restore Massachusetts to her ancient authority and influence in the Nation, it is, as it seems to me, a Navy; with the manning and commanding of wh. Mass. must at all times have so great a share.

The real purpose of the speech, is the Navy; and the end or object discriminates this measure from all former restrictive

regulations. Mr. Madison's Resolutions wh. embraced a *Regulation* of the Eng. colonial trade (not its prohibition, unless we equally shared in it) had for their purpose to constitute a fund to indemnify our Citizens, whose vessels were taken under the Novr. orders of Council, and were in fact a measure of reprisal, that wd., as it was intended they shd., lead to war.

The late embargoes and restrictions were coercive, or so intended, on Eng.—not succeeding, they were ingloriously revoked.

The present project, whether Eng. yields or not, will contribute to and serve to promote the establishment of a navy, and, as I believe, will encourage & extend our navigation, fisheries & manufactures.

The measure is undoubtedly one of great importance; how England will receive it is a matter of great uncertainty—probably she will not yield. Never did we want an able man in London more than at present. Never, as I believe, have we had a less able one there than now; you will excuse this remark, as it includes myself; it hardly becomes me thus to speak even to a friend. . . . Yrs. R. K.

R. KING TO JOHN ADAMS.

JAMAICA, L. I., 12 July, 1818.

DEAR SIR:

As none of the eminent Statesmen of the Country was more early and deeply impressed by the great importance of our National fisheries and navigation, & as no one has made more constant exertions than you have done to establish these rights, I take the liberty to send you a copy of a speech I delivered in the Senate during the last Session of Congress, upon an occasion in which the examination of our past efforts to adjust a mutually beneficial intercourse with England & to provide for the security of our maritime rights became necessary.

In making this examination I was obliged to abridge the view I took of the subject, & to allude, which I endeavoured to do with much caution, to the influences of the differences that have existed between our political parties. The sketch, tho' an imperfect one, will suffice with you, who, better than any one, can determine how far my recollections are correct, & whether my views of national

policy are such as the circumstances of the times & the irresistible progress of our national affairs will justify.

Having for many years, a part of them during your administration, in public affairs abroad been withdrawn from the knowledge of public men & measures, which is most advantageously acquired by personal association with them, it has afforded me great satisfaction since my return to the Senate, where under your eye, I passed the seven eventful years that immediately followed its organization, to perceive the abundant evidence, which exists, of the progress that has been made in the formation & diffusion of national opinions, national attachments & national character, a progress so absolute that apprehensions concerning the division of the States may be safely dismissed ; no nation being more homogeneous, or more firmly united.

The admission of new States into the Union in the West, varies the geographical balance of power between the States ; but as these new States are composed of inhabitants proceeding out from the old ones, & are thus connected with and tied to them, as this connexion is moreover strengthened by common habits, manners & usages & frequent intermarriages, the whole are becoming fast bound together by a band "stronger than hooks of steel." That there is no error in this confident opinion may be inferred, were other proofs wanting, from the unanimity with which our maritime rights & the establishment of a Navy are assisted and supported by the Western States. These dispositions must be regarded as generous tokens of national attachment, as well as distinguished proofs of the prevalence of a sound and enlightened national policy.

With this temper in the West, which is equally felt & expressed in the South, it has been with disappointment as well as regret, that I have observed some of the representatives of Massachusetts to show less zeal on the subject of navigation, in which she holds the first rank, than would have been imputed, balancing other & doubtful & merely local interests against this infallible means of national security & dominion. Independent of these motives, other & powerful considerations may be supposed to have influence with the representatives of a State, which whether in council or the field was behind none of her associates in the memorable struggle that established our freedom.

It is by dominion on the ocean that not only national safety, but national glory are to be attained, & it is by this power chiefly that the Eastern States will be enabled to retain that influence & authority in the national councils, which with so much public advantage they have formerly possessed. Cicero said of Pompey, at the last crisis of the Republic "omne consilium Themistocleum est; existimet enim qui mare teneat, eum necesse rerum potiri; itaque navalis apparatus ei semper antiquissima cura fuit." And is it Massachusetts that calls this opinion into question?

But I must return from this digression, into which early attachments may have drawn me; my purpose was to submit to your correction the speech which I have the honor to send you & to avail myself of the opportunity of renewing to you the assurance of the high respect & esteem with which I have the honor to be &c RUFUS KING.

THEO. DAWES TO R. KING.

BOSTON, July 16, 1818.

MY DEAR SIR:

Accept my thanks for the pamphlet you sent me, and the affectionate expressions in your handwriting. The Speech had been tolerably well printed in our newspapers, but I was glad to have a copy of it in a type more worthy of the production. Much was told me about it by competent judges who heard it; and I was prepared to enjoy it. The political information and reasons in support of its principles must satisfy all parties. The Democrats say it accords with Mr. Madison's celebrated resolutions; and we Federalists are willing they should be pleased, so long as *we* are gratified. Until I read the speech I had not been sufficiently aware that England had acted so much as she has done upon the false maxim that *might is right.* Time was when it might not have been so expedient as it is now to proclaim the whole truth. Your patriotic sentiments may now be safely & successfully diffused and enforced by measures, which you have so ably advocated. Mrs. Dawes, who never meddles in political speculations, told me that seeing your name at the head of your speech she was induced to learn what it was about and she found the introduction so plain that she was led from sentence to sen-

tence until she had read the whole. She was not obliged to stop and unriddle a glittering and involved phraseology as she says she is obliged to when reading Counsellor Phillip's Irish Speeches. I only mention this as evidence that you spoke to be understood. Excuse interlineations, the symptoms, perhaps, of impaired memory. Gore was at my house this morning and is better. We agreed that your speech would run & be glorified.

With unabated affections

your old friend,

THEO. DAWES.

JAMES MONROE TO R. KING.

(*Confidential.*)

WASHINGTON, July 22, 1818.

DEAR SIR:

Your favor of the 29 ulto. was received in the country, whither I had retired, to attend the report of General Jackson's operations in Florida & in the expectation, that our commissionrs. from Buenos Ayres would like wise soon arrive. Of both these events I had notice shortly after the receit of your letter, in consequence of which I preferred answering it from this place. I thank you for a copy of your speech on the navigation act. It is honorable to you, has thrown much light on the subject, & will be useful to our country. Our force will be strengthened along the Southern Coast, & in the Pacific we shall give all possible protection to our commerce in those seas, and countenance to the revolutionary movement, that we can, without compromitting the peace of the country. The affair of Pensacola has, as you anticipated, not been free from difficulty. The General had no orders to take it & has acted on his own responsibility ; but the conduct of the Spanish officers in Florida, on which he rests for his justification, in aiding the Indians & embarrassing his operations, affords him powerful support. Nevertheless as to retain the posts might be deemed an act of war, & would be so considered, if war followed, to which the power of the Executive does not extend, the minister will be informed in reply to his note [in character with all the others] that the posts will be delivered up, to the proper authority ; that is, to an order from the Govr. of Cuba ; but that the attack of the posts is imputable to the misconduct of the Spanish officers,

and that their surrender will be made, in confidence that Spain will place & keep a power sufficient to enable her to fulfill the obligations of her treaty with us. She is further informed, that the evidence, evincing the misconduct of the Spanish officers, will be embodied & laid before the govt., as the ground on which to demand their banishment. There were two modes of acting in this case, which naturally claimed consideration, 1st, to disavow the measures & bring the General to trial. The 2nd to hold them for the reasons assumed by him & meet the consequence. To the first, I mean as to the latter feature in it, it was objectionable in many views : 1st that he had reasons for his conduct, unknown to the gov.t when his orders were issued, which indeed in some material circumstances occurred afterwards, of great force. 2d that Spain has no claim on the U. States considering her ill treatment of them for a very long time & they no other terms to observe, than simply, not to afford her just cause of war. 3rd that the trial of a General, who had rendered important services in other instances, and in suppressing the Seminole tribe, in this, at the demand of Spain, who at least merits what she has received, would exhibit a strange spectacle to our own country & the world ; that of a Govr., who had committed great injuries & aggressions, triumphing over a General, who had vindicated the cause of his own country, in which his own govt. was made the instrument. Such a step would tend to confirm Spain in the opinion, that they had nothing to apprehend from us, let her do what she would, and would be likely to prevent the cession of Florida. Our object on the contrary, has been, to afford no cause for war, but to sustain Jackson, as far as was consistent with what was done to his own Govt. & to turn the incident to the best account possible. Spain must see by this occurrence, as by others, that she cannot retain Florida, and will, I hope, avoid a greater extremity. Our comrs. from Buenos Ayres will require some time to digest their report, so that nothing presses for the present, on that head ; they agree in the opinion that Spain, by her own force, can never reduce the colonies, but that there (is) still a great want of accord among even those, engaged in pursuit of Independance.

With great respect & esteem I am dear Sir yours.

James Monroe.

ENDORSED : " *To Coleman—unwilling to make newspaper explanations of speeches in the Senate.*"

R. KING TO T. COLEMAN.

It would not be correct to explain in the newspaper, speeches made in the Senate,—I endeavoured to assign the reasons, with as much particularity as seemed to me expedient, why the navigation Act had not been sooner adopted. I shall do no more for this purpose at present, nor any thing in the newspapers at any time.

I have considered our party struggle as at an end, and am not inclined anywhere, or on any occasion, in the discussion of measures concerning the general welfare, to introduce our party divisions ; being persuaded that no public benefit would be promoted by doing so.

My speech will not please those, who may think that I have not treated the pretensions of England with sufficient liberality, or who may be unable to comprehend how measures may be approved and deemed politick now & in reference to a great national interest, that formerly and under different circumstances, and intended for different ends, were disapproved and opposed.

These are ephemeral censures to which public men must submit, at least so far as not to enter into a newspaper vindication of themselves, or to wish that the same shd. be done by others. Time will justify them if their conduct deserve to be justified.

Perhaps a fit occasion may occur, and circumstances may require, that I should touch upon the subject in some future speech ; and go further in vindicating the policy of our political friends, than I have hitherto thought either prudent or necessary to do, tho' I freely confess that I can scarcely discern the benefit that wd. be gained in so doing.

The Resolutions of Mr. Madison, had they been adopted, I then thought and I still believe, wd. have involved the Country in the wars of the Fr. Revolution ; I therefore did disapprove of them in 1794—their object coercion of Eng., indemnity for losses &c.

One of the measures then proposed, I now approve, and because without the dangers that wd. have accompanied its adoption in 1794, it will now contribute to the establishment of a navy, a measure not in the contemplation of the Resolution of 1794—but

one that was then, and for many years afterwards, condemned by the friends of the Resolution of 1794.

I am perfectly willing to leave to future times the decision of which party was faithful & intelligent, and wh. best consulted the true interest of the Country. No present discussion can affect this decision; now therefore is not the fit time to do more, by way of explanation, than has been done. Personally I am as unconcerned as any one; for I have nothing to hope for, or to fear; I want nothing & cannot therefore be disappointed. I wd. not hold my present station for even the remnant of its duration unless I thought that the pub. welfare wd. be promoted by my doing so.

Sensible as I am of yr. friendship, and the partiality that you have so disinterestedly manifested in my behalf, I have thought it due from me to you to enter thus far into the explanation of my views and wishes: from our known connexions, whatever is said in yr. Paper affecting me, will be supposed to be with my privity, and so considered, may show a temper and solicitude a little different from what I actually possess. Hence I am disposed to let the speech alone believing that it will justify itself and me.

The Advocate & the Chronicle, of that class, and other names of the other , may, if it be deemed expedient, discuss and canvass this proceeding as they like—I repeat it that I shall not reply, and have no wish that any one shd. do so in my behalf.

As the old Party no longer exists, it is desirable that the country be reunited as far as possible—not for the sake of such men as I am, for our day is past;—but for the sake of the Country, whose destinies are daily unfolding themselves, and to appreciate and direct them correctly and wisely, requires all the talents of the Nation.

Jn. Barbour to R. King.

Barboursville, July 30, 1818.

Dear Sir:

I beg leave to present you my very sincere thanks for the friendly regard you have manifested towards me, in forwarding your remarks in the Senate on the Act concerning navigation. I cannot for a moment doubt (judging from my own impressions) but that they will be read, with great interest & effect on both

sides of the water. I most sincerely congratulate you on the unanimity with which this measure has been received thro' the nation. I have not heard, in my quarter, a murmur against it. May we not hail this unanimity as an earnest of the return of our first loves; and constituting an epoch, from which we are to commence a new career of happiness and glory? our counsels no longer distracted by the influence of foreign politics, our people no longer divided by foreign partialities or prejudices, but both united in the only legitimate pursuit—the welfare of our beloved country, would constitute a sure guarantee to the realization of all the hopes which the friends of freedom and the happiness of man have indulged in regard to the future destinies of America.

The recent attempts of G. Britain to counteract the effects of our measure, sufficiently bespeak its wisdom. It is most palpable we have touched a tender nerve. The course adopted by G. Britain is unworthy a great nation, and must be met with firmness; we have her in our power, and interest and honor demand, at our hands, that we fulfill our promise and hold out to the end. Should she not treat, before the next session, on equal ground, and any other than that should be scouted, if no one else attempts it, I will submit a proposition going the length of declaring, that we shall have free intercourse with all parts of the British empire, or with none; and leaving it with her to decide, whether for the benefit of an exclusive navigation to the West Indies, she is content to be excluded from every port in America; whether she is willing to see the commercial cities on the Continent become the depots of our rich products, instead of the monopoly she has heretofore enjoyed in this regard. These at least are my present impressions. Should you have a leisure moment, I should be glad to learn your sentiments upon the subject.

I beg you to accept a tender of my regards & respect,

JN. BARBOUR.

CHARLES BULFINCH TO R. KING.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 4, 1818.

SIR:

In conversing with Mr. Waterston, the Librarian of Congress, he informs me that the Library Committee requested you to make such purchases and importations of Books before the next Session,

as you should think proper to be added to the present collection. As this Library will probably be for many years the most important collection of books for general reference in the Southern division of the country, it is of consequence to make it as complete as the appropriation will allow. I take the liberty respectfully to mention some books in the Science which I profess & a few others of more general nature, and if they meet your approbation, wish they may be added to the National library.* . . . I could easily extend the list, but fear I have already exceeded what will be allowed to subjects of this nature.

The work on the Capitol has proceeded well; with some occasional interruptions; but I despair of having the principal rooms ready for use next winter. The suite of rooms in the 2nd Story will be ready for the accommodation of the Library in a few weeks—and the books may be removed there before the commencement of the Session, if you think proper to order it to be done. I would very readily give all my aid to the Librarian, that you might find this arrangement complete at your next visit.

Very respectfully your obedt. Servant,

CHARLES BULFINCH.

Endorsed: "Architectural Books." "Ansd. that I wd. revise the list given to the Bookseller to ascertain if any funds remain, &c. Offered Plan of the building at Edinburgh for Preservation of pub. Records."

R. KING TO GENL. SMITH.

JAMAICA, L. I., Sept. 3, 1818.

SIR:

I received in due course your letter of the 5th of Aug., together with a letter from the Secy.of War, † and according to the directions

* The list of books.

† J. C. CALHOUN TO R. KING.

WAR DEPT., 5th Aug., 1818.

SIR:

I have decided to purchase the Maps and Charts which you have offered to the Department of War.

Genl. Smith will communicate to you the arrangements to be made for the payment and delivery.

I have the honor to be your most obedt. Servt.

J. C. CALHOUN.

Answer to letter of R. King, Sept. 9, 1816—Ed.

which they contain I have had the Charts, and Maps and the Case in which they have been placed, carefully packed in two large packing cases . . and sent them to John Bidel, Brookline, conformably to the desire of Mr. Barron A. D. Q. M. General.

To the collection I have added a Vol. containing plans of the Battles during the Revoly. War ; also Des Baizes' Atlantic Neptune, and Alcedos Geographical Dictionary, the last being valuable in the examination of the large Sp. Maps of Spanh. America.

I have also taken the liberty to put into one of the Map Cases, a folio volume, respecting the pub. Records of G. B., and a vol. containing parallel Drawings or plans of Ancient & Modern Buildings. These two vols. I request may be delivered to Mr. Bulfinch, Architect in the pub. Service at Washington.

Enclosed I send Faden's List of the Charts & Maps, as well as his account of their cost ; articles marked with a x being duplicates, are not contained in the collection now sent.

I also enclose a note of the price of these Articles, taken as you will perceive from Faden's account, with the addition of the cost of the packing Cases, and cartage. * I have not fixed a price for the Charts of Des Baizes' Atlantic Neptune, leaving their valuation to you ; and thinking them worth 200 dollars or 45 £s.

I am respectfully, Dear Sir,

yr. obedt. Servant.

RUFUS KING.

* Amounting to $1132, exclusive of Des Baizes' Charts.

CHAPTER X.

Hanson to King—Wants a Freeborn Plough—Oliver and Pinkney—Randolph to King—Wants Plants and Trees from Prince's Nursery—Jay to King—Mrs. Hamilton wishes him to write Life of General Hamilton—Urges him to write it—Gardiner and Others to King—Consecration of Bishop Chase—Randolph to King—Complimentary—Instructions to Ministers should not be narrow—King to Gore—Journey to Washington—Want of Money—Bank of the United States has not done its Duty—Speculators control it—Monroe to King—Fortification Works at New York should belong to the U. S.—Delaplaine to King—Portrait in *Repository*—King to Gore—Invasion of Florida capable of Justification—King on England's Position—Spain and Portugal—Spanish Negotiation—Finley to King—Thanks of Officers of Revolutionary Army—King to J. A. King—Overissue of bank Notes Cause of present Embarrassment—King: Jackson had Right and Power for his Action in Florida—Arbuthnot and Ambrister had identified themselves with the Indians—Conferences in Europe relative to Spanish Colonies' Interest in the U. States—Spain must come to a Conclusion with us—King to Gore—English Treaty—Bank of United States—King to ——Will not seek Re-election to Senate.

A. C. Hanson to R. King.

Belmont, Septr. 9th, 1818.

My dear Sir:

A Virginia farmer of some eminence who lately visited this neighbourhood recommended, in the most extravagant terms a plough made in your State, called the Freeborn plough, I believe after the name of the maker. He said they had lately been imported from the City of N. York into Virginia in great numbers, and represented the work done by them as surpassing in quantity and quality any thing that had been before witnessed by the farmers in this quarter. He advised me by all means to obtain one, and succeeded in raising in my mind a great desire to see and try these ploughs. He said that one mould-board would

wear out three sets of irons, which were always sent with each plough ; the price for the whole, I think, being less than $20. The implements of agriculture are so indifferent in this quarter, that I have generally got mine from a great distance, sending to Frederick and Lancaster for plows, and to Salem for rakes, hoes and scythes. Those sent me by Col. Pickering have been in use two years and are still good. What we get here rarely last more than a season. If you know anything of the Freeborn plow and can without much trouble have one shipped for me to the care of Mr. Oliver, I shall esteem it a great favor, and will remit the money for it by the first mail after its arrival.

I fully participate in the indignation excited by the proceedings in the case of the Neapolitan Embassy. The name of Mr. O. [liver] brought the matter to my recollection. Goldsborough acted in that affair, I am sure, from the purest motives, but he could not have foreseen the very serious injury he would do his character by giving up his own opinion, to embrace the views of Mr. O. which a little enquiry would have informed him were altogether selfish and sordid. He had bought up for a mere trifle millions of claims upon Murat's Govt., and for a fat fee Pinkney vouchsafed the success of the reclamation by this govt.* O. has had many severe hits on this subject, and is no doubt very sore and heartily sick of the business. He will do anything for money and has become the veriest Jew and Shylock on our exchange. Having abandoned commerce and turned Broker and Shaver, his income in this way, owing to the great distress which the operations of the New Bank has occasioned all classes, has become enormous. His gains are never short of 20 prcent, and often exceed it, and $500,000, employed in this way, yield him more than he knows what to do with. He is far from being the man he has long passed for at home and abroad, so that you will not be much the loser by his withholding the visits he used to pay you

* Mr. J. Q. Adams, in his *Memoirs*, vol. iv., p. 347, says, April 20, 1819: "I had been told that Mr. Pinkney, upon his last mission to Naples, was to have received compensation from the merchants whose claims he was sent to assert and negotiate for, a percentage upon the whole amount that he might have obtained. So I had heard at the time of the mission. I had then thought and still think it improper."

See also, in continuation, his accounts of the appointment of Mr. Pinkney to that mission.—ED.

on your route homewards. I am not certain that he has not prejudiced several good friends against you, for he has become a mere tool of Pinkney, who thinks Mr. *King* "an old woman out of fashion." Pinkney's family has been living with him and is to occupy the fine house next door, built for his son-in-law Colt, who has never been considered a gentleman since he came from N. York to live amongst us.

My health has been worse than usual the past year and I have little hope of being with you next winter. The Doctors advise me to spend the winter in New Orleans. Our most affectionate regards to Mrs. King and

believe me Most Sincerely & faithfully yrs.

A. C. HANSON.

J. RANDOLPH TO R. KING.

ROANOKE, Sept. 26, 1818.

DEAR SIR:

My letters, altho' they have been neither prolix nor numerous, may perhaps remind you of the parody,* humourously ascribed to Lord Mount Morris, in the once famous probationary Ode of the Rolliad. Our intercourse has been indeed on terms of "Hibernian reciprocity." A favour is asked and not only graciously accorded, but enhanced by the very valuable information, which it is kindly, as well as obligingly, made the occasion of communicating to one no longer in the world, or connected with affairs, or with public men, (even by relations of hostility). But you, my dear Sir, have too long & deep experience of man & his nature, not to know that this is the very way in which a "*pauvre honteux*" may be converted into a sturdy beggar. To release you however from my importunity, let me cut short my tale. You have in your neighbourhood two nursery-men of the name of Prince—Benjamin & William, I think. Now, at this distance it is very difficult to know the real Simon Pure. May I ask the favor of you to order for me about 100 or 200 dollars of his (the true Prince) best fruit? say 50 apple trees (eating apples†), 50 peach trees, white Heath, a favorite; 25 Pears, Vergolese, Bon Chretien & Bergamot; 25 Plums, Magnum Bonum &c; 50 cherry trees (May Dukes &

* Milton's *L'Allegro*.

† Chiefly Newtown Pippins.

Carnations); 12 Nectarines, 12 Apricots. I also want some of his *rare pinus* tribes; among these I do not reckon Pinus Strobus or Weymouth pine, which abounds in our mountains; but the Larch, silver fir, & Scotch fir; the two first especially.

If my order be too large for my money, let the curtailment fall on the Peach & Apple trees. . . .

With the most entire respect yr. obed. Servt.

JOHN RANDOLPH of Roanoke.

JOHN JAY TO R. KING.

BEDFORD, WESTCHESTER COUNTY,
STATE OF NEW YORK, 8th Oct., 1818.

DEAR SIR:

On Friday last, Mrs. Hamilton favored us with a visit. Speaking of Doctr. Mason, she observed that the state of his health not permitting him to write the Life of General Hamilton, she had recd. from him the papers which had been put into his hands for the purpose.

She expressed the desire to have the Life written, and remarked in substance, that she knew of no Person, who was both so well circumstanced and qualified for it, as yourself. I concurred in this opinion, and at her request promised to write to you on the subject. I should have done it by the mail of this week, but was prevented by company.

On the proposed work, viewed in any point of light, I can make no observation, that would be new to you. I will therefore only suggest, that your long and familiar acquaintance and intercourse with the General, and your comprehensive and accurate knowledge of public affairs, and particularly of those in which he was engaged, afford facilities for it, which you only possess in so high a Degree.

Permit me to add; that the work, being biographical, would derive no inconsiderable advantage from the character of the author. I am persuaded that Mrs. Hamilton would consider herself greatly obliged by your undertaking it. . . .

With great Respect and Regard I am,

Dear Sir, your faithful and obt. Servt.

JOHN JAY.

B. Gardiner and Chester Griswold, etc., to R. K.

Worthington, Oct. 19, 1818.

Sir:

Unable by reason of much business to accompany our Bishop Elect, the Rev. Philander Chase, on his long journey to the Eastward for *Consecration* and yet wishing that nothing may be omitted to give him honorable attention, we beg leave, in the absence of our Revd. Associates in the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Ohio, to commend him to you; and to solicit your able and polite exertions duly to accomplish the great errand on which he leaves us. Few men could be more respected than he is among us; and when you are told that he was elected by a unanimous vote of our Convention, you will not only excuse but applaud our anxiety that all things may be done to accomplish our prayers for his prosperity in the good work of building up the Church in this Western Country. We are apprised of the opposition existing in New Jersey against his being consecrated; but we confidently believe there is no just cause therefor. Wherever he has been known the best, thence have his testimonials, both canonical & private, been transmitted to us; till the number required by the Canon is complete. These he carries with him and we wish his Consecration to take place in New York, where all know him & where the Standing Committee were so affectionately and unanimously in his favour, as by the papers to be laid before the Right Rev. the Bishops will appear.

We write also a similar letter to the Revd. Doctor Harris, Prest. of Columbia College. Will you have the goodness, Sir, to confer with him on the subject, that nothing may be wanted to accomplish the ardent wish of our Diocese in having the Consecration of our Bishop Elect take place without delay and with honor to him & this Diocese. Pray therefore to condescend to be one of our Agents in this important affair, and afford your counsel and kind endeavours accordingly. Our prayers and those of our whole Diocese are much engaged and constantly offered up to the Throne of Grace to bless this work so evidently for the good of the Church in the West. Tho' we are personally unknown to you, yet your honorable character, your zeal for the Church, and the importance of our cause, afford a sufficient apology for our thus

addressing you. With sentiments of the highest respect we have the honor to be, Sir, your most obdt. humb. Servts.

B. GARDINER, CHESTER GRISWOLD, } *Members of the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Ohio.*

JNO. RANDOLPH TO R. KING.

ROANOKE, Nov. 5, 1818.

MY DEAR SIR:

On my return home a few days ago from the falls of the Roanoke, I was most agreeably saluted by your letter of the 20th of October, which arrived a few minutes before me. The desire to thank you for it—to express somewhat of my sense of your kindness (I can find no other word), & to keep myself alive in the memory of one, who has distinguished me by attentions that I can never forget, dictate this reply; for I can readily conceive, having in such matters "some shallow spirit of judgement," that immersed as you are in affairs, you could most readily dispense with letters of compliment, written sometimes out of mere idleness, but oftener from sheer vanity; as silly people pester great folks with Cards, taking care to make a prompt display of such as they may receive from the aforesaid greatfolks, & with equal care keeping out of sight the names of humbler visitors. But indeed I do myself injustice to term mine letters of compliment. They are something better in design, altho' they may be worse in the execution.

I have oft times thought it a weakness in Government to restrain their envoys &c, within such narrow limits as their instructions commonly afford. Sure I am, that in private life this mode of management will not do. If they would be more particular in selecting the agent, and less so in drawing the instruction, I am inclined to think matters would go on better. This jealousy must arise from a fear that the foreign court will gain over the Minister, or from that ridiculous passion "for too much regulation," against which a certain acquaintance of ours declaims in his writings, whilst his practice affords only examples to the contrary. It is the misfortune of this "illustrious man," that his public conduct should invariably * run counter to his avowed principles. This itch for

* Manufactures, Navies, Embargo, War &c.

regulating everything, this passion for details is one of those weaknesses from which great minds are not always exempt, & in which little ones can always imitate them. The great Frederic was not entirely free from this infirmity, & I have been sometimes led to think that when Paul of Russia was regulating knee-buckles & shoeties, & Mr. Jefferson every detail of the streets & public buildings at Washington from the ornaments of the Senate chamber * to the cells in the county jail, each flattered himself that he was walking in the footsteps of Frederic, because that wise man chose *occasionally* to play the fool. It seems to me that the various administrations of the British Government fell into the errors of supposing that narrow instructions would cure the defect of narrow understandings, when they sent us such men as Merry, & Erskine & Foster, who altho' a good fellow was no Solomon, you know, and they have seen & we have felt some of the effects of it.

After this Tirade on the subject of instructions give me leave to say that I should not have presumed to fetter Mr. King with any; neither did I intend it, for I thought the Princes, whose rival advertisements have stared me in the face this twelve month, were your only nursery-men &c. . . . It gives me great satisfaction to hear that Mrs. King's health will enable her to accompany you to Washington; where, after all, I suspect, is the best winter society on this continent. I wish you both a pleasant season & should be well pleased to enjoy the pleasure of joining some of your parties this winter; but I have been gadding abroad all Autumn & must look, or pretend to look, a little at affairs at home.

On my excursion to the falls of Roanoke, I fell in with Macon, whom you will shortly see. His conversation put me in mind of public measures which had long since gone out of my mind; but I did not pick up enough from him to enable me to add a line upon their subject; under such circumstances, I am not without hope of obtaining a draught from the fountain Head. . . .

Your faithful humble Servt

JOHN RANDOLPH of Roanoke.

* Corn-Stalk Columns & Corn-Cob Capitals.

R. King to C. Gore.

Trenton, Nov. 6, 1818.

My dear Friend:

Here we are at Thompson's, formerly Herbert's; came in, tho' at an early hour, not soon enough to secure a choice of beds; so (such are the miseries of life, as sensibility calls it) we are thrown into a back room, with not the best bed in the house. We have got a fire at last in the bed-room—the wood laid on bricks; but we are promised a pair of andirons—some talk of another bed or a cot—doubtful whether either can be had. Mrs. K. a good deal fatigued, for altho' we have no mire, such is the draught that every stone in the swamp is touched by the wheels, and the passage is rough and very fatiguing. To increase our solicitude, one of my horses is taken sick; I have just been to look at him, find him very restless, and the coachman thinks him very bad—so much for this eveg. I will resume the pen in the morning.

Philadelphia, Sunday 8 Nov., 1818.

Our night at Trenton was better than we had anticipated. We obtained an additional bed, put curtains or blankets up at our windows, and with the aid of a good fire, which lasted well, we passed a comfortable night. It commenced raining at abt. 8. o'clock and continued thro' the night. Our horse was restored by a pint of gin, and the morning being cool and clear, tho' the ground was drenched, and the roads quite muddy by the rain, we resumed our journey and arrived here yesterday afternoon. . . . We have concluded to stay where we are at Renshaw's until tomorrow.

I have not been abroad, nor seen any of the good Citizens, except Majr. Jackson who has passed an hour with me, to initiate me in the business (that of the claim of the surviving revolutionary officers) which he is charged with the management of at W. this winter. The papers inform us of the loss of the Exchange Coffee house by fire, and that Mr. Clay lost a part of his baggage. The fire is said to have commenced in the billiard room—it is to be hoped that the Speaker had not been among the negligent players.

I see Duane's paper here, who is open-mouthed agt. the Bank U. S., the President and his Ministers. The strife for the direc-

tion of the good people of Pennsylvania, so far as this is to be effected by the Press, lies between the two Colonels Binns and Duane, one of whom has been the tenant of a score of Engh. gaols, and the other scourged out of Br. India.

A very great pressure exists both here and at New York, doubtless also at Baltimore, for money; and as usual Jupiter is invoked for succour. I, however think that Congress will look on, will not be misled, in any event will not be prevailed on to attempt, by a Paper emission, to correct the mischief of an excess of paper. The Bank U. S. has not done its duty; it was impossible it shd. do it, so long as it was controled by mere selfish speculators. I conceive the fact to have been, that altho' a minor portion of the Capital of the Bank only has been in the hands of speculators, who have borrowed of the Bank, on the credit of their stock, the money to pay for their shares, yet those shares have been so distributed as to give to their proprietors a majority of the Votes, whereby they have been enabled to manage the Bank, not with prudence and according to the pub. welfare, but by immoderate issues of paper and loans, for the purpose of swelling their dividends and raising the stock. This excess of paper returns on the Bank, and occasions the return of a like surplus of State Bank paper on the State Bks. This demand for specie creates alarm and the curtailment of Bk. Discts. creates embarrassment and pressure for money among Bk. Debtors.

In its nature this distress is temporary, and will be chiefly felt by those who have borrowed more than, having reference to their ability, they should have done. One effect is the cheapness of all articles, by the sale of wh. money can be raised—a state of things that always exists, when from any cause money is scarce. So far as regards men in useful and honest business, one regrets the sacrifices, or the loss that this condition of the circulating medium obliges them to make. In regard to the Speculators in Stocks, they have no claim to the public sympathy. No general or public interest was a motive with these Persons to speculate in the Funds, or Bk. Stock; it was not only purely selfish motives, but self, as it might or might not be at the expense of the public, that induced them to embark in this speculation.

The public therefore feel little interest in their disappointments

but actually have an interest in their being compelled to pay up their debts to the Bk, wh. they can only do by selling their Bk. stock. If four millions of the Bank Capital is in the hands of these speculators, the bank to that extent is crippled in its Capital ; and its payment wd. remove this disability, and what would be far more important, as the stock wd. pass into the hands of those who wd. purchase it on acct. of the annuity, the Direction of the bank wd. of course fall into the hands of men, whose best interest wd. be promoted by the most prudent administration of the Bk. This result wd. contribute to a more stable condition of the money Concerns of the Country. Difficulties will be experienced from the improvident administration of the numerous State Bks. ; but if the Bk. of the U. S. be prudently managed, and the right of converting Bank Notes into coin be maintained, all will go right. Men without capital will be compelled to move into a narrower sphere. There will be a strong effort to employ some nostrum to correct or cure our present disorder. I hope that Congress will stand firm, in which case the remedy will have its true effect, and, altho' some will suffer, the credit and prosperity of the Country will be preserved & protected.

Money is scarce, say the multitude, therefore create a substitute ; as well might it be said, bread is scarce, therefore furnish a substitute. Money like wheat is a merchandize, and as such, its exchangeable value varies ; and this proceeds from a Law as immutable as the Law of Fate. If money becomes scarce and dear, it will come to us instead of going from us, in like manner as any other article in similar circumstances wd. come. But enough. . . . R. K.

James Monroe to R. King.

Washington, Nov. 7th, 1818.

Dear Friend :

The board of Commissrs. were instructed to report their opinion relative to the fortifications, at the Narrows at N. York, which it was wished to possess before any definitive measures could be taken, or proposition made to the State, respecting the transfer of them to the U. States. Their report has been expected sometime,

but will not I presume be made in time for me to answer your letter on the subject before you set out, as they are now on the Chesapeake. I can therefore assure you at this time only, that the best disposition exists, if approv'd by professional men, of which no doubt is entertained, to take those works of the State, on the sound principle suggested by you, that all the great points of defense should be in the hands of the Union, & to do it on fair & just terms. I communicate this for your information, on the presumption, that it may be agreeable to you to possess it, before you leave home. By the time you reach this, the Commissrs. will have completed their business below & returned to the City, when we will confer further on the Subject.

With great respect & Esteem, I am, Dear Sir, sincerely yrs

JAMES MONROE.

The Macedonian, with whose destination you were acquainted, was, unfortunately, much in peril, in a storm & compelled to return to Norfolk, to be refitted. The repairs are almost finished, so that she will sail again in a short time for the Pacific.

JOSEPH DELAPLAINE TO R. KING.

PHILAD., Nov. 15, 1818.

DEAR SIR:

Last winter you were kind enough to promise me your portrait for my National Gallery, which I flatter myself does much credit to our Country.

I have paid for your portrait by Wood, in small size, water colours, your engraving and printing your life, which is contained in the Repository &c. &c., eleven hundred Dollars. With your biography I took much pains & I hope it gives you satisfaction.*

. . . With highest respect your obed. humb. Servt.

JOSEPH DELAPLAINE.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 18, 1818.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . I yesterday sent you the President's Message. I have not read it since hearing it read. The prolonging of the Eng.

* See Coleman's letter to King, Feb. 5, 1817, and King's answer.

Coml. Convention for a term of 8 years, will probably be all on the subject wh. Eng. will do. The enormous amt. of the military and revolutionary Pensions does not disappoint me, tho' it surprizes others. I dislike the project; was willing to have given half pay to the surviving officers of the revolutionary army, amounting perhaps to 200, and whose half-pay would not have exceeded 50,000 Dollars. This was said to be unjust and partial, and aristocratic; and indeed was so little relished that I was almost alone, and therefore abandoned the project.

The portion of the Message that treats of Pensacola, Jackson's campaign &c, may give satisfaction; but I do not think that its justification, if made out, is placed on the correct ground. My views are somewhat different and I think the invasion of Florida, &c, is capable, on a state of facts belived to be true, of entire justification, and moreover that Pensacola might, in such case, have been provisionally retained.

Faithfully & affectionately yr. friend

R. K.

(In R. King's handwriting.)

INFORMATION OF ENGLAND, NOV. 25, 1818.

Whether Eng. will consent to put our trade in India on the footing of Nations owning settlements in Ind., doubtful. A fr. vessel may proceed from Calcutta or Bombay to ye. fr. settlement & thence to China. If the U. S. vessels could do the same, the freight would greatly increase the capital invested in China.

Eng. agreed to treat on all points before Gallatin was called from Paris. At first the Act. of Impressment was peremptorily rejected. After some time Lord Castlereagh intimated that taking the Law of 1813, excluding Br. Subs. from our navigation as a basis, they might consent to an Article not to impress from Amer. vessels on two conditions: 1st that either party on 6 mos. notice, like the arrangement concerning armaments on the Lakes, shd. be at liberty to discontinue the article; 2d that Amer. ships being visited, the visiting offr. shd. have authority to muster the crew, and in case he found a Br. seaman, shd. be at liberty to make proces verbal thereof. Both these conditions were rejected;

and immediately before Castlereagh left for Aix-la-Chapelle, he informed Rush that the Cabinet receded as to the 2nd Condn. It is not improbable that an Act on the basis of the Law of 1813 will be agreed on, limited to three or 4 years.

Owing to the difficulty of enacting the law of 1815 (questionable as a measure of policy, as well as respects the Constitution, inasmuch as it rejects the services of, and excludes British seamen alone from employment in the U. S., and forbids Amer. Citizens to enter into the Brit. service), a late Instruction has been given to make the Regulation a distinct article and independt. of the Coml. Treaty; so that one may be approved and the other disapproved, if in deliberation it shall be deemed expedient.*

Eng. interfered to prevent the Dutch from agreeing to allow us to trade from yr. possessions in the E. Ind. except directly. Also to dissuade Spain from ceding the Floridas;—has apologized for not following up the promised Communications respecting her mediation between Spain & her Colonies, and has recently confidentially fully explained herself on this head. The letter we have never seen from the Span. Court to the allied Sovereigns, disclosed the Eng. Basis. Pardon for the past——Equal capacity in So. Amer. for pub. office, commerce between So. Amer., and for. Powers, under regulations securing a preference to Spain, &c. Eng. also makes it a point that the allies shall not use force to upset the claims of Spain, &c.

Prussia averse to mediate unless the two Amer. Powers of U. S. & Brazil are parties—France vague and ambiguous—Russia in favour of the employment of the moral force of the Allies in favour of Spain, &c., as well in respect to the reestablishment of the Sp. domin. over her provinces in So. America, as touching the restoration by Portugal—Portugal ready to give up M. V. when Spain appears with a force to receive and defend it, to pay the expences of Portugal in keeping it & guarantying the Portuguese Secretary agt. the Patriots. Spain consents to this proposition, but requires that for security of the Portuguese & Span.

*Maury's returns of Amer. & Eng. vessels employed in ye. Amer. trade, shew the effect of our Nav. Law. The Eng. Shps. direct for the U. S. being much diminished, the circuitous trade being cut off, few Eng. vessels will be employed. Amer. Shps. preferred in Liverpool, also in America.

authority, Portugal or the Brasils, shd. make common cause with Spain hereafter agt. the Patriots. This Russia approves, and Eng. most explicitly disapproves, declaring that in such event, she shall withdraw from all mediation. So that this is the case between Spain & Portugal at Aix la Chapelle.

The agents of New Grenada & of Buenos Ayres both delivered to Lord Castlereagh protest agt. the Eng. Mediation ; the former stating the impossibility of returning under the dominion of Spain after the massacres & cruelties committed by Spain, the other refusing to do so on the solid ground, that, as Sp. was unable to protect them, they wd. not submit to, and ought not to be required to obey her.

Of Spanish Negotiation—Onis now refers the offer to cede Florida, we taking on ourselves to compensate the claims for spoliations &c., and to take the Sabine to its source, and thence due North to the Missouri, and up the same to the Rocky Mountains as the boundary of Louisiana. We accede respecting Florida—also the Sabine to its source, and thence noh. to the Red River & up the same to the Rocky Mountains, thence north to 41°, and on that parallel to the Pacific, including the whole Valley of the Columbia. Onis disagrees, we insist ; Onis varies his proposition, and offers to admit an oblique line from the head of the Sabine to the Missouri,—say a line running N.W. This is the present state of the negotiation, Nov. 25, 1818. It is probable that it will stop here for another year. Spain appears to act on this policy, that so long as the U. S. are in hopes of gaining Florida & its western boundary, they will forbear to recognize Buenos Ayres—that if these objects are obtained they shall forthwith see an Amer. Minister at Buenos Ayres.

N.B.—She has demanded the punishment anew—We in return, have demanded the punishment of the Govr. of Pensacola, and Commander of St. Marks, sustaining our demand by a body of documents proving their delinquency.

Though a little out of date, the following will be of interest here.

A cabinet discussion, at the close of October, 1818, upon the renewal of the commercial convention with Great Britain, which would expire in the following July, and especially in

regard to a stipulation relative to impressment, suggested by Lord Castlereagh, is fully reported by Mr. J. Quincy Adams, in his *Memoirs*, vol. iv., page 146 *et seq.;* and on page 150 he enforces his own opinions by saying:

"I had found, upon conversation with Mr. King, when I passed through New York, that he was averse to the renewal of the Convention in its present form, and his influence in the Senate was so considerable, and his knowledge on commercial subjects so extensive, that I thought his opposition alone would operate strongly against the ratification. The stipulation to exclude all British seamen from our ships, which would have an immediate and certain injurious effect upon our commerce for the distant, possible but very uncertain boon of exemption from impressment in the next maritime war in which Great Britain shall be engaged and we neutral, will be so far from satisfying our people, that the general impression will be that we have been overreached in negotiation and probably the ratification in the Senate will fail."

JAMES E. B. FINLEY TO R. KING.

CHARLESTON, So. Ca., Nov. 28, 1818.

SIR:

In behalf of the few surviving officers of the revolutionary army now living in this State, I have the gratification of conveying to you the deep sense they entertain of your valuable endeavours in the Senate of the United States, to procure for them that remuneration which they deemed justly due for former services.

You yourself, Sir, remember the high opinion which the Congress under the confederation possessed as to those services. Your knowledge of the wishes of this respectable body to do entire justice to the defenders of our Country, impelled you with a generous ardor and grateful recollection of former times to become their advocate at the present day—We beg you then to accept our warmest thanks for conduct so consistent and so honorable.

At the same time permit us to ask of you a continuance of those valuable services, in aid of our renewed application to the

National Legislature. We conceive the Report of a Committee of Congress in February 1810 contains statements in our favor, which are irrefragable. Our Agent Maj. Jackson can, however, throw new lights on this subject; and we trust that the National justice will be shewn in rendering more comfortable the latter days of their former defenders.*

Yr. most obedt. Servant

JAMES E. B. FINLEY
formerly a Regimental surgeon in the
Massachusetts Line.

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

Sunday, 5th December, 1818.

DEAR SIR:

. . . Pork, Beef, &c., are more plenty than money and therefore of reduced value, the large cities are much pressed in making their payments, and the country likewise, especially the new States, which have large payments to make for lands purchased and for goods imported, are equally embarrassed with, and contribute to increase the difficulties of, the merchants. As of old, in great distress, the sufferers cry out for help to Jupiter, and the answer now, as formerly, admonishes them to exert their own strength and ingenuity to help themselves. The over issue, and excess, of Bank Notes is the true cause of the present difficulty. There is no practical check of this excess except the converti-

* Early in the first session of the 15th Congress a bill passed the House of Representatives to "provide for certain surviving officers & soldiers of the Revolutionary Army," and was sent to the Senate for concurrence. After considerable debate and amendments the bill was passed and sent to the House, which returned it with a farther amendment. The Senate finally postponed action upon it and the bill was lost.

In a letter to his friend, Mr. Gore, of February 26th, Mr. King says:

"The bill respecting the Revolutionary Army, after undergoing many alterations, is about to pass the Senate and go back to the House. Its provisions embrace only those, who, from their reduced circumstances, stand in need of public support. It will relieve the Alms and Poor houses, but the officers who have been able to bear up against adversity, and to hold their standing in society, will with much reluctance avail themselves of this provision, and these are the persons who stand in most need of help."

bility of these notes into specie, and the necessity of doing this at present produces the existing embarrassment. The popular persuasion inculpates especially the Bk. of the U. S., and this is not extraordinary, as by way of justification in regard to the change of opinion on a constitutional question, the bad state of the currency, at the close of the war was urged as a reason for establishing the Bank, wh. it was confidently said, & probably by many erroneously believed, would bring about and render permanent specie payments.

Hence you observe that the H. of Reps. have deputed a committee to examine into the proceedings of the Bk; and many persons, especially of those who are concerned in Bks, as well as of those who are their debtors, are clamorous that Congress shd. do something to relieve the public embarrassment—in other words, should countenance the suspension of specie payments. If three years after the war, in a time of Peace and general prosperity, a situation if one can be imagined, when the country can bear the pressure and even sacrifice necessary to re-establish a safe and the only sound currency, we resort to a paper money system, when & in what circumstances may we hope to correct and put down the system of fraud & dishonesty?

If Congress stand firm, as I think they will do, all will settle down right; much inconvenience will be felt; disappointments and even sacrifices will happen; every one will regret them, but they are partial misfortunes that take place in a march that leads to public good. . . . Affectly.

RUFUS KING.

(In R. King's Handwriting.)

Dec. 17, 1818.

Jackson had no other orders than those which were last year communicated to Congress, which afterwards appropriated money to defray the Exps. of the campaign. Orders to Gaines, who was superseded by Jackson, were orders to Jackson. For all that was done by Jackson concerning which he had no orders, or orders which he disregarded, on the principle that a different state of things existed, from the state that was supposed, & on which his instructions were founded, Jackson alone is responsible.

The occupation of the Spanish Ports, contrary to his instructions, is justified by Jackson on what he deemed satisfactory evidence that, from inability in the Sp. authority, it was not only unable to restrain the Indians in their hostility agt. the U. S., but was itself restrained & controlled by the Indians ; that the fortresses of Spain & its authority in Florida were used by the Indians in their war agt. the U. S. not only as stations from which they marched, but as places of refuge when pursued. In these circumstances he could not put an end to the war, which wd. be resumed from these fortresses the moment he returned into the U. S.

That as respects Arbuthnot & Ambrister, the proofs were complete that they had identified themselves with the Indians. Like other Indian traders they had excited the war, and that Ambrister led the Indians to battle ; that as Commander in Chief, Jackson possessed power to punish these Indian associates in the same manner as he might have punished the savages themselves. The Indians massacred their prisoners and Jackson might by way of retaliation have executed such numbers of the Indians as wd. be likely to restrain them in their future conduct. If on taking Arbuthnot and Ambrister, he had forthwith ordered them to be executed, the legal power of the General could not have been contested. The ordering of a Court Martl. and the sentence of the Court, and consequent Execn. of these men, however, cannot change the character of this proceeding. Allowing that the Court Martial possessed no competent authority to pass a sentence of death, this does not affect the General's power ; if the punishment might have been inflicted by the Genl. in virtue of his office, the irregularity of the previous process, which he established, or the military trial which was ordered, cannot change the nature of the transaction ; the rights & power of the Genl. remained the same.

The cases of André, of Asgyl, & of Genl. Lee are somewhat analogous, and may illustrate this case. In any event the transaction is one for wh. the Ex. is not answerable, but for wh. the Genl. alone is responsible.

The Motive for the Exn. of these men was a strong one. If they had been sent prisoners into the U. S., they wd. probably have been discharged on habeas corpus—an event that wd. have oper-

ated to encourage instead of restraining the Indian Traders in exciting the Indians to war. Having fallen into our hands, their liberation would have had the like effect ; their punishment only wd. serve to check their practices and deter others from the like proceedings in future.

Nicholl, since the Treaty of Ghent, has formed an offensive & defensive Treaty in behalf of Eng. with the Seminole & Creek Indians. He went with it and one of the chiefs to Eng. where he was discovered. Castlereagh has taken pains since the knowledge of the Execn. of A. & A. (to say) that they had no authority or encouragement to do what they have done with the Indians ; in short completely disavowed them & their conduct. Bajot has asked for information & for copies of the Treaty &c. which have been furnished to him ; he also has officially disavowed these men.

South America.

That instructions had (been) given to our Minrs. at London, Paris & St. Petersburgh to state that while we had no complaint to make of the course adopted by the Allies respecting Sp. & her Colonies, from neighbourhood and the most important considerations arising out of the condition of the Colonies, we were solicitous respecting them, attentive to whatever occurred & wh. might affect them, and would not conceal our surprize that so much reserve was observed by the Allies towards us on this subject. If, in consequence of these intimations, any proposal shd. be made that we shd. join in the discussions at Aix la Chapelle, that an explicit refusal shd. be given ; if the question shd. be asked whether we wd. approve of the project of Eng. for the restoration of the Colonies to Sp. on any terms, that our answer shd. be in the negative and explicitly to declare that we considered their indep. as unavoidable, and every project to postpone the same by commercial & other concessions as neither politic, efficient nor admissible.

That Conferences had been held in London with Castlereagh ; at Paris with the Fr. Min. & Russian Ambassador ; that these instructions had been executed ; that Ld. Castlereagh said to Rush, that it was important to know explicitly the views of the Amer. Gov. on this subject ; that it wd. have great influence at Aix la Chapelle, and insinuated (after enquiring whether nothing

short of Sp. indep. wd. satisfy our view) *nothing could be done without us* or agt. our determination ; that after the news of the occupation of Pensacola and the Manifesto of Pizarro, the order to restore Pensacola had been recd., that Conferences at Paris between Gallatin, the Fr. Min. & Russian Ambassador had composed the sentiments that the seizure of Florida & Pizarro's manifesto had excited ; and that a courier was immediately dispatched to Madrid, as it was believed, for the purpose of allaying angry feelings and advising pacific measures.

That Neuville had been instructed to promote here a settlement between us & Spain ; that he had offered his good offices & been told that they would be well received ; that he had endeavoured to promote an adjustment ; and his letters explanatory of the decision of the Govt. to restore Pensacola had been recd. at Paris, delivered by the for. Min. to the Russ. ambassador, by wh. they were communicated to Gallatin. These letters are believed to have contributed to allay the dissatisfaction on acc. of the occupation of Pensacola and to the dispatch of a pacific courier to Madrid.

The Russian sale of Sps. to Spain, the interchange of Ribbons and Titles and Orders were displeasing to Eng, who perhaps has contributed to the overthrow of the late Span. Ministry. Ad-interim Secy. of State may be succeeded by Dr. Carlos, ambassador to England and wholly under English influence. In this case our differences with Spain will be kept open, for Eng. certainly is unwilling that we shd. have Florida, and short of war will be likely to oppose us as far as she can.

If the Allies take no encouraging course, altho' Eng. may discourage the cession of Florida, such will be the disorganized and embarrassed condition of Spain, she may be disposed to come to a settlement with us ; and tho' at present no new ground of expectation exists, still Onis has resumed his communications, and tho' his intimations are of no importance, it is not wholly improbable that he may before Cong. adjourns receive instructions to conclude our long negotiation by acceding to our terms.

P. S. An answer has just been sent to Erving, to be delivered at Madrid, to Pizarro's note—vindicatory of the proceedings of Jackson, repeating that we would restore St. M. & P. to Sp., in confidence that she wd. fulfil her Treaty in restraining the Ind ;

in failure whereof we should reoccupy these Posts and retain them until Sp. shd. manifest a disposition and ability to fulfil her treaty by effectually restraining the Indians from making war on our frontiers.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 31, 1818.

DEAR SIR:

We have received, but not yet considered the new commercial convention with Eng, which is limited to ten years from the signature (20th Oct., 1818). It is essentially such as I have before understood and informed you it wd. be, a continuation of the existing convention with provisions respecting the Fishery, the No. Boundary of Louisiana, the North West Coast on the Pacific, and the negroes carried away at the close of the War. Nothing settled concerning Impressment and Colonial Trade.

The National Intelligencer of yesterday contains a long letter from Mr. Secy. Adams to Mr. Erving, Madrid, purporting to be an instruction, or an answer to Pizarro's manifest or letter to Erving relative to Jackson's invasion of Florida and the execution of Arbuthnot & Ambrister. You will perceive, when you read it, that it is certainly as much calculated for domestic as for foreign readers. All those who are delighted with Indian wars, including the Frontier Inhabts, will receive this diplomatic specimen as worthy of the highest admiration & the effusions of the highest order of patriotism.

Tho' the Speaker, who claims dominion over all the West, considers *the performance as little creditable to the Country and of a character as a Diplomatic Paper without example*, the reason for this criticism is not misunderstood. . . .

Affectionately & truly yrs

R. K.

. . . The Bk. Comtee. have returned, tho' their Report will not be ready in less than a week. The members agreed to make no particular communications, but to be silent until the Report is made. The Pr. nominated Jones and three of the actual Directors, as Govt. Directors for the next year. Their present term expires on the first Monday of January, when the Stock Holders

choose twenty Directors for the next year. The Senate have postponed the decision on the nominations until Thursday next, three days after the new election ; and will postpone it further unless they shall have recd. the Report of the Comtee. of Enquiry. By the Charter the Gov. Directors will hold over until a new appointment be made, and Jones may be lawfully chosen President again. Indeed the postponement authorizes no opinion disadvantageous to these Directors and has proceeded from the circumstance of the enquiry respecting the management of the Bk. by the H. R. I have no reason to believe that any illegal proceedings have taken place on the part of the Bk, tho' there may have been injudicious tho' not criminal management. It is doubtful whether the Bks of any one State, can show a better state of their affairs than the Bk. U. S.

R. King in 1818.

In the *National Register*, July 4th, 1818, there is an account of Mr. King in one of a series of letters by a correspondent, signing himself S., to Lord B. He asks him to follow him into the Senate, and selects for his portraits "characters well known to the American people" and one of them in particular, with whom he thinks Lord B. "is personally acquainted."

"Mr. R. King is a senator from the State of New York, and was once, you will recollect, minister resident at the Court of St. James. He is now about 60 years of age, above the middle size, and somewhat inclined to corpulency. His countenance, when serious and thoughtful, possesses a great deal of austerity and rigor, but at other moments it is marked with placidity and benevolence. Among his friends he is facetious and easy ; but when with strangers, reserved and distant—apparently indisposed to conversation and inclined to taciturnity, but when called out his colloquial powers are of no ordinary character, and his conversation becomes peculiarly instructive, fascinating and humorous. Mr. King has read and reflected much, and though long in public life, his attention has not been exclusively devoted to the political sciences, for his information on other subjects is equally matured and extensive. His resources are numerous and multiplied, and can easily be called into operation. In his par-

liamentary addresses he always displays a deep and intimate knowledge of the subject under discussion, and never fails to edify and instruct, if he sometimes ceases to delight. He has read history to become a statesman, and not for the mere gratification it affords. He applies the experience of ages which the historical muse exhibits to the general purposes of government, and thus reduces to practice the mass of knowledge with which his mind is fraught and embellished. As a legislator he is perhaps inferior to no man in his country. The faculty of close and accurate observation, by which he is distinguished, has enabled him to remark and treasure up every fact of political importance that has occurred since the organization of the American government, and the citizen, as well as the stranger, is often surprised at the minuteness of his historical details, the facility with which they are recalled, and the correctness and accuracy with which they are applied. With the various subjects immediately connected with politics he has made himself well acquainted, and such is the strength of his memory and the extent of his information, that the accuracy of his statements is never disputed. Mr. King, however, is somewhat of an enthusiast and his feelings sometimes propel him to do what his judgment cannot sanction. When parties existed in this country, he belonged to and was considered the leader of what was denominated the Federal phalanx, and has often, I suspect, been induced from the influence of party feeling and the violence of party animosity to countenance measures that must have wounded his moral sensibilities, and that now, when reason is suffered to dictate, cannot but be deeply regretted. I am disposed to think from a rapid survey of his political and parliamentary career, that the fury of party has betrayed him into the expression of sentiments, and the defence and support of measures, that were in their character revolting to his feelings, and that whatever he may have been charged with, his intentions were pure, and his exertions, as he conceived, calculated for the public good. He was, indeed, *cried down* by the emigrants of a portion of our country, who have, I fear, too great a sway in the political transactions of the United States,* and though unquestionably an ornament to the nation which has given him birth, his countrymen,

* This is quite the Englishman.

averse to him from party considerations, joined in the cry, and he became a victim to the duty he owed and the love he bore his country.*

"Prejudice, however, does not always continue, and the American people, with that good sense which forms so prominent a feature of their character, are beginning justly to appreciate those virtues and talents they once so much decried. Mr. King has a sound and discriminating mind, a memory uncommonly tenacious, and a judgment vigorous, prompt and decisive. He either wants imagination, or is unwilling to employ a faculty that he conceives only calculated to tickle and delight. His object is more to convince and persuade by the force of reason than to play upon the mind by the fantastic embroidery and gaudy festoonings of fancy. His style of eloquence is plain, but bold and manly; replete with argument and full of intelligence, neither impetuous nor vehement, but flowing and persuasive. His mind, like that of Fox, is *historical;* it embraces consequences the most remote without difficulty, and effects the most distant with rapidity and ease. Facts form the basis of his reasoning. Without these his analysis is defective and his combinations and deductions often incorrect. His logic is not artificial, but natural, he abandons the formal divisions, non-essentials, moods and figures of logic to weaker minds, and adheres to the substantials of natural reason.

"Of Mr. King's moral character I can say nothing from my own personal knowledge as my acquaintance with him has not been long and intimate enough to enable me to judge correctly. I have not, however, heard anything alleged against it calculated to lessen his reputation as an honorable statesman and virtuous member of society. He is wealthy, and has, no doubt, something of pride and hauteur in his manner offensive to the delicacy of republicanism, and inconsistent with the nature of equality; but as a father, husband and friend, I have not yet heard him charged with any dereliction of duty, or any violation of those principles which tend to harmonize society and to unite man to man by the bonds of affection and virtue."

The above is presented in full, with its notes, as exhibiting the writer's opinion of Mr. King.—Ed.

* He alludes, I imagine, to the affair of Mr. Sampson.

CHAPTER XI.

Gore to King—Policy adopted to applaud the Administration—Overton to King—Introduces General Jackson—Gore to King—Adams's Dispatch to Erving—Armstrong to King—Kosciusko's Will—Trumbull to King—Statue of General Washington—Willing to King—Bank of the United States—King to C. King relative to Senatorial Election—J. A. King to King—Senatorial Election—King to C. King—Bank of United States—Jackson Debate—King to Gore—Judiciary Bill—King to C. King—Bank of the United States; Report of the Committee—Clinton to King—Canal to be pushed—J. C. Fisher to King—Justice to Directors who were not Speculators not done in the Committee's Report—C. King to King—Proposes he should be nominated as Director of the Bank—King to C. King—Bank of United States—Would not consent to Nomination as Director—Gore to King—Hopes for his Re-election—Fisher to King—Speculators left out at Election of Bank Directors.

C. Gore to R. King.

Waltham, Jan. 1, 1819.

My dear Friend:

. . . The Proposal to impose an increased Duty on Cotton, and abolish the Drawback on Cotton is a Comment on the Letter in the Centinel from Washington which advises our public Speakers & Writers to approve & applaud the Doings of the National Gov't, especially as this Admon shows a marked attention to the Interests & Enterprizes of this Portion of the Country. This Letter accompanies Mr. Otis' Speech, and adopts and inculcates this Gentleman's Policy for obtaining a favourable Decision of Mass'ts Claim. With the same View, he has written as I learn a Letter of many Sheets to C. Justice Parker praying him to prevail on the Governor to insert in his next Communication to the Legislature a decided approbation of the Doings of the existing Government, and whatever may be necessary to obtain an admission of our

Claim. I am induced to believe this will be without Effect, and that this Proposal, like those before made by him and Mr. M. of the House, will not be much attended to. . . .

Yours faithfully

C. GORE.

J. OVERTON TO R. KING.

NASHVILLE, January 6, 1819.

SIR :

Maj Gen'l Jackson, who desires to be introduced to your notice, will hand you this letter. We commenced our career as lawyers in early life, and with his integrity, honor, and patriotism, I have had an intimate knowledge for thirty years.

He goes on to the City of Washington with a view of furnishing any explanations, growing out of his public transactions, in which the honor, safety and happiness of the Republic may be thought to be involved.

For this intrusion, sir, be so good as to accept as an apology the circumstance of a slight acquaintance before your Embassy to England in the days of Washington.

I have the honor to be with sent's of the high't resp't

Yr mo' ob't,

JNO OVERTON.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, Jan. 7, 1819.

MY DEAR FRIEND :

. . . I have just read over, in a hasty Manner, Secretary Adam's Sublime Dispatch, which is worthy of the wild man of Kentucky. I think it not unlikely to call forth the remarks of some of our Writers in Boston, where he certainly did not exalt his Reputation in his last Visit. He was complained of as unreasonable in his Prejudices, absurd in his opinions of men & Business, and outrageously dictatorial in his Declarations. . . .

Yours faithfully & ever,

C. GORE.

GEN. ARMSTRONG TO R. KING.

RED-HOOK, 9 Jan., 1819.

DEAR SIR:

Will you do me the favor of informing me, whether there is at the Secretary of State's office, any evidence, derived from the correspondence of our ministers at Paris, or otherwise, that *Genl. Kosciusko is dead?* When last in this country, he left behind him a will, leaving the bulk, perhaps the whole, of his property to some charitable institution here. But by an act, executed before our Consul at Paris, and of a date posterior to the will aforesaid, he so far altered this disposition, as to bequeath to my youngest son $3,700, payable by his Executor (Mr. Jefferson) on his (the General's) decease. This fact will show at once, the motive I have in instituting the enquiry and the only obstacle to my son's receiving the legacy intended for him, and will, I am sure, be a sufficient apology for the trouble I propose giving you. I am, dear Sir,

with the most friendly regards &c,

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

JNO. TRUMBULL TO R. KING.

PHILA., 10 Jany., 1819.

DEAR SIR:

I this moment receive yours of the 8th. When some years since there was an attempt to procure a statue of Genl. Washington in New York, I was one of the Committee & was directed to obtain information. I wrote to Houdon in Paris and have his answer in N. York, which I think I recollect distinctly; it was

a pedestrian statue size of life—	Marble	25,000 livrs.
	Bronze	50,000
double the size of life	Marble	50,000
	Bronze	100,000

Equestrian in Bronze & colossal for a large square 1,000,000 or $200,000

I think he estimated the time requisite to complete the latter work at three years. The expense of transportation to be borne by the purchaser.

The statue of Louis 15, which occupied the centre of the Square of that name, which was large, & the pedestal ornamented with

Bas Reliefs in Bronze, cost 36,000 Louis D'or. This was, say, 40 years ago. I never knew the cost of that of the Czar Peter, nor indeed of any one except of Louis XV., but I will endeavor to get information from the Library here.

I do not know the French Sculptors of the present day. In Italy Canova is doubtless the first, and indeed the first in Europe. Chantry, I believe, stands highest in England, now that my old friend Nollekens has retired. To judge from a bronze of King William (equestrian) which has been placed in the St. James' Square since you left England, I should not choose him.

I rejoice to hear that there is a probability of accomplishing this object at last,* and shall be proud to aid in procuring the necessary information. . . .

faithfully yours

JNO. TRUMBULL.

THOMAS M. WILLING TO R. KING.

PHILADA., Jany. 11, 1819.

DEAR SIR:

Your communication of the 30th ultimo, I received in the course of the mail, and as far as it was possible, endeavoured to benefit by it; but the personal friends of Mr. Jones were advised of the cautious conduct of the Senate, and after a caucus decided on placing him at the head of their ticket in order to assure to him the Presidency of the Bank. The ticket returned may be considered generally as that of the Baltimore interest; a very different one ought to have been successful, but there was no chance of counteracting the current.

There are some men of independence returned to the new Direction, but as it regards the local Directors, the board is weaker than it was before, and I fear the same feelings and interests, which have prevailed, are to continue for another year. Your experience of the old Bank and superior knowledge on the subject of Banking affairs will enable you immediately to strike at our principal faults when the facts reported by the Committee are laid before Congress.

* A bill for it was introduced early in the session in the Senate, which was passed on the 12th of February, 1819. It was not taken up in the House.

A perfect want of system together with the unjust distribution of the Bank Capital and the large and continued loans to the people of Baltimore and this City have crippled the Bank and must for some time render it a weak support to the Government and to the commerce of the country in this and the Eastern districts of our Country.

The only remedy for these evils is in the hands of the Government. The appointment of independent Directors, not connected with the speculating influence, united with the distant Directors and some of this City, may produce the change required; on this and the influence of the Treasury all depends.

The loans in Philadelphia appear large in the aggregate, but I assure you the trade is depressed; but little more than two millions can now be considered as afforded to it by the Bank; whilst stockholders and country Banks possess the rest. The loans of the old Bank and of its branches at New York were in each place about 5 millions, and they were made with the greatest security and benefit to the community.

The Institution, properly balanced, is all important to our Country. Its administration must change hands before its advantages can be properly felt. I feel desirous that Mr. Connelly should be continued; he is an independent man and perfectly free from all interest in the speculations which have taken place to the ruin of so many. I beg you to consider these observations as confidential and as an evidence that in the leading measures of the Bank, I have had no hand, but always with a feeble minority have opposed them.

With great respect & esteem, &c

THOS. M. WILLING.

R. KING TO C. KING.

WASHINGTON, Jany. 14, 1819.

. . . I have a letter from John [his son] of the 8th, and write to him by this mail concerning what is passing here, but intimating that it best accords with what is due to myself, that I should be wholly silent concerning what is passing at Albany. . . . faithfully yours,

R. K.

It is probable that the letter to his son, of which the draft follows, was written about this time, as no date is given. It so truly exhibits the strong objection Mr. King always maintained to any personal solicitation for public office and the stern rebuke to one, whom he dearly loved, but who, he considered, had compromised him, that the draft is here given. His term as Senator of the United States from New York would expire on the 4th of March next, and the question of the election of his successor was at the time warmly canvassed.

(*Draft of a Letter to his Son, C. King.*)

I feel hurt and mortified that you should have held the conversation of wh. you spoke to me last evening with Mr. S. & Mr. J. ; altho' these communications were altogether your own and equally unsuspected and regretted by me, I may nevertheless be supposed to have suggested them.

I entreat you, therefore, neither directly nor otherwise, to confer with the gentlemen of the Senate whose names you mentioned to me, it being absolutely inconsistent with what I owe to myself, that I shd. not protest, as I do, against the interference of these or other gentlemen connected with the adn. relative to an affair concerning which I shall be considered to be personally solicitous.

No man owes a public duty at the expense of his own self-respect and honor ; I neither ought, nor will I on this occasion condescend, to be myself a solicitor, and I shall take it in ill part, if any of my friends shall in my behalf ask the interference in my favor of any one, & especially of the gentlemen who may profess to differ from me in my political opinions.

I never have held a public situation merely for the sake of my personal gratification ; nor would I now continue to hold even the little remnant of my term in the Senate, unless I believed that in doing so, I shall promote the public welfare.

Having neither declined, nor asked, a re-election, I am entirely satisfied that the question should be determined by those whose office it is to decide the same, and you may be assured that I am utterly indifferent what that decision may be.

JOHN A. KING TO R. KING.

ALBANY, Jany. 14, 1819.

DEAR SIR :

. . . The letter of Mr. Adams to Mr. Erving has not yet reached this scene of political management and intrigue. The piece that appeared in the Richmond Enquirer, in relation to Genl. Jackson's whole conduct, has had the effect of rousing, as was intended, the feelings and sensibilities of the Country. I rather considered it an attack upon the administration for their support of this favorite General. I have not seen for a long period, a letter written in a better style or in which the object of the writer has been more successful. . . . The friends of Mr. Clinton have been defeated in their project to choose immediately a Council of Appointment. The day before yesterday a resolution was offered & carried to postpone the choice of the Council until the first Wednesday in February—the day after that on which by law the Senator must be appointed : it was strenuously opposed by the Clintonians and some of our federalists, but after repeated efforts to defeat the resolution, they were many of them compelled—I mean the federalists—to support the resolution. The administration party here are without a Candidate for the Senate. Mr. Yates, who had been spoken of as likely to become that candidate, has explicitly declined. He has been claimed by both the sections of the republican party, and I have heard that Mr. Clinton sent for him a few days past to breakfast and urged him strongly to permit himself to be put in nomination for that office. He declined both the offer from that quarter as well as the wishes of some of his friends in the other—he is understood by those who knew him to be favorable to the present administration. There are several letters here from Washington strongly advocating your nomination ; one I am told goes so far as to say that if Mr. King can be reappointed without prejudice to the interests of the republican party, it would be an event especially agreeable to the administration. Mr. Clinton's friends have no hesitation in saying that it is a question full of difficulty in which office it would be most for the advantage of the State, to have a federalist placed—I mean a Judgeship or a Senator. The majority of the federalists are clear that in no event will Mr. Clinton give us either a Judge

or a Senator. The other party, by their vote on the resolution to postpone the choice of the Council, have at least given us evidence that they are not indisposed to unite with us in promoting our views in relation to the Senator. It would be a matter of great satisfaction to us, that the Martling men should openly nominate you for that office ; it would compel our shifting men to do an act of open penance which would humble them and complete our triumph. What will be the result, is as yet difficult to predict ; my own opinion is, from all I can collect, that your nomination will succeed. I am persuaded that the leading men of the Martling party are well disposed to your appointment ; their difficulty seems at present to consist, in bringing their party to their views on this point— · · ·

Affectionately yours

JOHN A. KING.

R. KING TO CHAS. KING.

WASHINGTON, Jany. 16, 1819.

DEAR SIR :

The Report of the Bk. Com. was read in the House to-day ; I did not hear it, but understand that it deeply affects the reputation of the Pres. & Cashier of the Bk. U. S., of Buchanan, McCulloch, & George Williams, and without hearing particulars, the general impression is most disadvantageous to the character of a majority of the Directors. The Report is supported by numerous documents and proofs, which are said to disclose a course of mismanagement that will confound and degrade the individuals concerned in the same.

I hear that particular Directors, probably of those appointed by Government, are exempted from all censure ; among these Mr. Bowne's name has been mentioned. The Jackson debate will be hot and angry ; the current agt. him, I think grows stronger. The author of Algernon Sydney,* a Mr. Leigh of Virginia, is much applauded, and a gentleman from Virginia says that both Mr. Jefferson & Mr. Madison openly approve of and applaud the papers of Algernon Sydney ; if this be correct, the effect on Con-

* In the Richmond *Enquirer*—alluded to in previous letters.

gress will be perceptible. Jackson was expected here, but will probably delay his arrival until the debate is over. Other officers will do well to disappear, or postpone their visit; as the smallest indiscretion here from the military wd. set the H. of R. in a flame. . . . Yrs, R. K.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

WASHINGTON, Jany. 20, 1819.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . The House are engaged in a great debate respecting Jackson's Campaign; it will continue several days longer; the issue is not well understood, but as other persons besides Jackson are affected, the presumption is that no censure will be voted.

A Judiciary Bill has passed the Senate; its object is to make the Supreme Court stationary at this place, and to reduce their numbers as vacancies occur to fill; to divide the U. S. into nine Circuits and appoint nine Circuit Judges, who are to hold Circuit Courts in the several States, sitting with the District Judge. Whether the Bill will pass the House, I am unable to foretell; but if it shd. I fear that Monroe wd. be afraid to appoint Mason, Daggett or other Federalists. John Holmes wd. be a more likely candidate than Mason for the E. Circuit. . . .

Mason has mentioned my return to the Senate to me. I have answered that I shd. neither ask nor decline a re-election: if chosen, I may be at liberty to do as I please; if omitted, I shall have neither disappointment nor regret. Had the subject been one about which I felt any solicitude, I shd. have mentioned it to you. I hear that it occupies a good deal of conversation at Albany, where such is the division of Parties, that nobody predicts what may happen even on the next day.

faithfully yrs.
R. K.

Adams' letter to Erving does not take in Virginia; even Jefferson and Madison are said to approve the views of Algernon Sydney.

R. King to C. King.

Washington, Jany. 23, 1819.

Dear Charles:

. . . The Bk. Report discloses the dishonorable and injurious proceedings of the Confederacy of Speculators in Balte. and Philadelphia and has had the effect to shake the public confidence in the Bk. and will also impair our credit abroad: but I think all these evils will be temporary only, provided a suitable correction be made use of to restore the Bank to that standing, which it cannot hold until the whole band of jobbers and gamblers are driven out of its management, and the same be put into the hands of men of known integrity and prudence. To this end the Stockholders shd. take early measures to meet and remove (for I think they have the power, tho' the Charter is not near me to recur to) all the speculators and their agents from the Direction, and to put more worthy men in their places. The President I shd. hope, will correct his nomination, wh. lies unacted upon before the Senate and add a set of Govt. Directors of correct and useful reputation. There is great unpopularity, that exists against the Bk. U. S. independent of these late disclosures. The difficulties felt from the ill state of the currency in the interior and the interest of State Banks which are so extensively deranged, are absurdly ascribed to the Bk. U. S., which, if in the power of a very large portion of the Community and of even Congress, would be unceremoniously put down. Perhaps Congress may recommend the issue of a scire facias; tho' I think this uncertain; and were it to issue, I cannot believe that any forfeiture wd. be pronounced, for the reasons reported by the Comee.—none of which are causes of forfeiture, and some of wh., no offence whatever.

As I correspond with no one at Albany; nor even with John, to whom I have written one or two letters only and those concerning what is going on here, I have only indirect information from that famous scene. I wish John to be wholly unfettered by what might be understood to be my wishes; tho' in truth I scarcely have one on any matter that can be decided there. The scenes are so often shifted, and the pieces & performers so frequently changed that appearances of today afford no clue to those of tomorrow. I consider the question to wh. you refer so uncertain, and as regards my own views so little worthy of my solicitude,

that I am in no small degree indifferent how it may be determined. Yrs. truly,

R. K.

P.S. I observe by the morning paper that Jones has resigned his office of Pr. of the Bk. The speculators may think this will save them, but it is not enough. The Stockholders must include all of this connexion ; they shd. do more ; the pledged stock cannot be soon paid up and redeemed. The capital was too large, and if they could lessen it ten or twelve millions, or even more, the Bk. would become better property and more able to answer the pub. expectation.

If two millions be pledged, why may not the Bk. or rather the Stockholders apply to Congress to enable them to take this back into their own hands & cancel it, paying to each stockholder his proportionate share of the stock so taken, thereby diminishing the capital by such amount? If requested, perhaps Congress wd. reduce their interest from seven to three or five millions. In this way the Bk. Capital might be reduced to twenty or twenty three millions, a sum full as large as would be wanted. Those persons who have purchased the hypothecated shares above their value wd. object to this mode of diminishing the Bk. Stock ; and the Bk. might perhaps lose the debt above this par, at wh. they received the pledged stock ; but they may do this, by suffering the stock to remain pledged, shd. it not rise in the market. The bargainers out of doors, who are buyers & sellers of pledged stock, are unknown to the Bk., and they have no concern in them. They are gambling contracts, without title to be regarded, except by the parties to them.

De Witt Clinton to R. King.

Albany, 24 Jany., 1819.

Dear Sir :

I owe you many thanks for your luminous *exposé* of our foreign relations and many apologies for not answering your letter before ; but the truth is that nothing has occurred here of sufficient interest to call off your attention from more important subjects which require and receive it.

The Canal improvements will be prosecuted with vigor, and

the Legislature will pass favorable laws on the subject this Session. Agriculture will be encouraged, and probably some of our benevolent and literary institutions. The opposition to internal navigation is entirely paralyzed. So far as I can collect the public sentiment in this quarter, it preponderates in favor of the Seminole war.

DE WITT CLINTON.

JAMES C. FISHER TO R. KING.

PHILADA., Jany. 25, 1819.

DEAR SIR:

I was in hopes, as you passed through this city for Washington, to have had the pleasure of some conversation with you relative to the U. S. Bank and other matters. Since then the Committee of Congress have had a full investigation of the proceeding of the then President and Directors, one of which I was and now am; as the Committee have thought it correct to make honorable mention of P. Butler and John Connelly, Esqrs. (Directors appointed by the President of the U. S.), and as the Committee could not charge any speculation either to Mr. T. M. Willing or myself, I think it would be no more than doing us justice for them to say so; because it would seem from the Report, that all the other Directors had in a degree a concern in speculation or that they did not endeavour to prevent it. The fact is that P. Butler, T. M. Willing and myself did all in our power when at the Board to prevent the immense speculation that has been gone into; more especially, the advance on the Stock of 25 pr. cent which we voted agt.

Now as the above named cannot be charged with speculation, and did all in their power to discountenance such proceeding, I should thank you, if you can find freedom (as we Friends say), to mention this to the Committee and let them take such measures, as they might think correct, to free us from any charge of speculation, or that we in any manner approved the conduct that had been managed by the majority.

You will find by the papers that I am now acting as pro. tem. President of the Bank. This I have accepted at the earnest request of many friends to the Bank (not speculators), and by the 8th. Section of the Charter, in consequence of the resignation of

Prest. Jones, a Prest. of the Bank must be chosen to supply his place, and that to take effect immediately, or else the Bank cannot proceed. This will be done this evening and from the pressing requests of many friends, I have agreed to accept the trust for about two weeks, until the Directors can agree on a proper person to take this troublesome and heavy charge. As the President of the U. S. is now about to nominate five Directors, and he can select one that he might wish to be the Prest. of the Bank, I have no hesitation to say that the present board will make choice of such a gentleman ; and perhaps Mr. Crawford or Mr. Cheves of South Carolina, or some other gentleman, that he might think as capable ; the business of the Bank will be much benefitted. As the Govt. have so large a concern in the Bank, I sincerely hope they will not pursue harsh measures, in consequence of what has been done by speculators ; for you may rest assur'd that the Bank will need all the aid the Govt. can give it, or else the consequence will be serious and we shall again have all Bank paper at a great discount. . . . very respectfully yr. most ob. Sr.

JAMES C. FISHER.

CHAS. KING TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 27 Jany., 1819.

DEAR SIR :

The panic which the bank report at first produced begins to subside, and confidence increases by the retiring of Mess. Jones & Williams. . . . Still some names are wanting to give assurance to the public, that henceforth all shall be fair. If you would permit your name to be among those which the President should submit to the Senate, and with it those of Mr. Lloyd of Boston, Mr. Gracie or Mr. Bayard from here, and some other high name from the South, it would at once restore all confidence, & by once or twice attending the general meeting of the Directors, and determining upon the general principles upon which the bank should be conducted, you would fulfil all that would be required of you & render essential service to the public. You will probably hear of this from other quarters, and it is much desired that you will acquiesce in such an arrangement. . . .

yrs. truly

CHAS. KING.

This letter was answered on the 29th by Mr. King, saying: "No consideration would permit me (even if proposed) to be nominated by the President as a Government Director."

J. A. KING TO R. KING.

ALBANY, January 28, 1819.

DEAR SIR:

We are all waiting anxiously for the first Tuesday in February, the day on which by law a Senator of the United States must be appointed. Last evening the Martling People had a large Caucus amounting to about 60 Members of both branches of the Legislature, at which Mr. Young, now in the Senate of this State, was nominated as their Candidate to supply your place. He was selected as the most likely man to draw support from the Clintonian party, having been until lately a decided Clintonian & as such was made one of the Canal Commissioners. Mr. Spencer, the present member of Congress, is spoken of by the Clintonians as their Candidate; they have not yet decided on this point; should there be three in nomination, there will probably be no choice. . . .

Affectionately yours

JOHN A. KING.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, Jan. 29, 1819.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . The newspapers say Mr. Clay has surpassed Sheridan's famous Harangue in Hastings' Trial. If your Judiciary Bill shall pass the House, and Monroe should have the Baseness to put Holmes on the Bench instead of Mason, he will act worse than I have predicted, though I never believed he would or could do as well as from various motives we are disposed to presume in this Part of the Country. I have a strong wish the Legislature of N. York should re-elect you to the Senate. Whether they do or not, you have the satisfaction, that most men of all Parties consider the Honour & Prosperity of the Country much involved in the Question, and I cannot refrain from believing that the State will consult its own Reputation in their doings

. . . . . .

I remain as ever your faithful Friend

C. GORE.

JAMES C. FISHER TO R. KING.

PHILADA., Jany. 30, 1819.

DEAR SIR:

I have received your two letters you did the honor to write me, and perfectly accord in sentiment with you, that unless the Speculative Directors resign or are put out of the Bank, it will injure the National Credit. I am happy to say that the last election for Directors has been so managed as to leave out all the speculators except two or three, and they have lost all their influence, so that if the Bank can now be placed on safe ground it may yet prove of immense benefit to the Country. I am pleased to hear that you are in hopes that Congress will not pursue the Bank by issuing a scire facias; if they do, it will almost destroy the Bank, and many, many innocent people will be ruined. Measures are now abt. to be adopted by the present Board, altho' not the gentlemen whom you and myself know much of; yet they appear to me to try to do what is right and honorable.

The Board meet on Tuesday when several resolutions will be offered (and I have no doubt, they will be carried), which will cause the speculators I fear much loss, as the Board of Directors seem determined to make them pay ten pr. Ct. on all the Stock hypothecated to the Bank and the same sum every 60 days. This must be effected in order to place the Bank on a sure foundation.

The commercial interest has suffered much in this City, and had they not been strong in money, there would have been more serious Bankruptcies than have as yet appeared. For when I tell you that the Bills and Notes discounted on personal security were 12 months past near Seven Millions in this City, and now are not more than 1,800,000 you will think with me that we must have a large Capital among the Commercial men—more especially, as all the State Banks have also reduced their loans; and such was the influence of the speculatn. and Baltimore influence at the Board, that the three, or at most four, of us in the minority must have had severe duty; but they would not listen to reasonable measures, and none condemn their own conduct; but it 's too late, as eventually from present appearances they will be the sufferers. . . .

I am apprehensive you will think me troublesome, but my fears

are roused ; for if any thing should cause the Bank to stop paying specie, all credit will be afloat, and then when shall we get our currency correct again. Government has caused the Bank much loss and trouble by their paying off the Louisa. Stock—for when I tell you the demand for two millions was made at the Bank for specie in part payt. of that stock, the Directors for a time did not know what answer to give—however by prudent conduct they avoided paying the specie and made an arrangement to pay by bills on London which saved the Bank. . . .

very sincerely yr. ob. Servt.

JAMES C. FISHER.

J. A. KING TO R. KING.

ALBANY, February 3, 1819.

DEAR SIR :

Mr. Clinton has obtained the Council by dint of federal votes much good may it do him and the State. I had no hand in it and did all I could to oppose it. I could not vote for his Council. The manner in which the federal party has been treated upon all occasions and most especially in the nomination of the Senator, by Mr. Clinton and his adherents, decided me never to give my support to a Council of his selection. Not willing therefore to throw away my vote, and willing to bear my testimony against the whole course of that gentleman's conduct as well as to evince my disapprobation of the direction which has been given to the sentiments of the majority of the federal party by some of its interested and artful Leaders, I voted for the Martling Council—Mr. Duer and Carman were the only federalists who voted with me for the full ticket—Mr. Yates, Mr. Barnum, Mr. Ross, and Mr. Rosencrantz compose the Council.

affectionately yours

JOHN A. KING.

CHAPTER XII.

J. A. King to King—Failure at Albany to elect a Senator—Troup to King—Fears he will not be elected—Anecdote about Bank of the United States—King to C. King—Mason and McCarthy Duel—King to Mason—Jackson Debate involves political Questions—Bank of United States—Spanish Negotiations—Western Boundary—C. King to King—To form a new Party to restore Federalism—Newspaper Project—King to C. King—Mason and McCarthy Duel—King to C. King—"Nunc dimittis"—Answers Newspaper Project—King to Gore—Reasons for the Separation of Maine—Coasting Law—King to C. King—King to E. King—Mr. Worthington—Public Servants neglected—Duel in Washington—Assassination—King to Mason—Treaty with Spain settled—Bill to abolish Credit Sales of Public Lands—J. A. King to King—No Law passed to elect a Senator—King—Missouri Question—W. King to King—Coasting Bill—Asks Views on Separation of Maine—King to E. King—Journey Home.

J. A. King to R. King.

Albany, February 2, 1819.

Dear Sir:

This day at 12 the Legislature proceeded to nominate a Senator of the U. S. Mr. Young the Martling,* Mr. John C. Spencer the Clinton, and yourself the federal candidate, were openly nominated in the Senate and Assembly and in neither body had either of the candidates a Majority—Young had in the Assembly 45, Spencer 51, yourself 28, John Wells (my vote) 1, Genl. Philetus Swift 1—The House then proceeded to vote on a resolution beginning with the candidate that had the greatest number of votes, which was lost; the next highest, lost; the lowest, also lost—your vote stood 34; 4 Madisonians and 2 Clintonians voting with us. Then a motion to adjourn was moved and nega-

* Democratic opponents of Clinton, so named from their having in 1806 met in Martling's Long Room to denounce him.—Hammond, *Pol. Hist. of N. Y.*, i., 230.

tived. Thereupon it was suggested, that as there were two other gentlemen nominated, who ought also to have their chance, Mr. Root offered a resolution that Genl. Swift be and he is hereby nominated a Senator of the U. S. &c. &c. Mr. Oakley moved to strike out the name of Mr. Swift for the purpose of inserting that of John Wells. A division of the question was called for and a division taken on striking out and carried by a Majority of 2 only. Then Mr. Oakley moved to fill the Blank with the name of John Wells, whom I had accidentally nominated, rather than sit still in my place. I disapproved of this course, because we ought to have voted against every name but yours ;—he had only 26 votes —A motion then prevailed to adjourn.* So that the Legislature will make no choice unless they shall agree to repeal the Law which confines the nomination to this day. Alexander Hamilton, upon the open nomination left his place, and went into the Lobby; when the question came upon the resolution he voted for the Martling candidate, and against the Clinton man, and previous to the vote being taken upon your name, he rose and said "That his situation was peculiar. No man esteemed Rufus King more than himself ; he was the associate and friend of his father, who entertained for his patriotism, his ability and integrity the highest estimation ; he had been taught to feel the same sentiments and did feel them ; he had redeemed the pledge which he had given to his party by voting for Mr. Young ; but all party feelings were now at an end. Rufus King as a Statesman, a patriot, and a man who ever sought the best interest of his Country, should now receive his vote, and he called upon this House to abandon all party considerations and unanimously to reappoint Mr. King to the Senate of U. S., a station for which his abilities eminently qualified him and on whose virtue and integrity men of all parties might safely repose." John Ditmas in the Senate openly, and was the only democrat who did, nominated you. Tomorrow we make the Council ; who will get it, is yet doubtful.

Affectionately yours

John A. King.

* See an account of this attempt to nominate a Senator in Hammond's *Pol. Hist. of N. Y.*, i., p. 482 *et seq.*

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

GENEVA, 4 Feby., 1819.

DEAR SIR:

. . . From the newspapers I infer that there are various speculations about your re-appointment to the Senate. But I have no faith whatever in the conjectures favorable to your re-appointment. There is not wisdom or virtue enough in our State councils to retain you in the service of your country. I am sincerely apprehensive that Mr. Clinton's administration will be good for nothing but *handsome speeches* and *prosecution of the Great Canal.* As a lawyer I am pleased with the former, and in the latter, I have a deep interest as a Western man.

I suspect from appearances that the House of Representatives will adopt *the Jacksonian side of public law.*

Old Mr. Williamson, when I was in New York last October, told me that, as soon as the Act for establishing the present National Bank had become a law, he wrote to his friends in N. Carolina, cautioning them against meddling with the stock; as the Democrats intended to take possession of the Bank, and that the laxity of their integrity was such as naturally to occasion a corrupt management of its concerns. His friends followed his advice. The late Report of the Committee of the House of Representatives, I think, proves the body of the Directors to have been afflicted with a lax so violent and obstinate that a purge as powerful as Col. Pride's, is now necessary to cure it. What a scandalous scene of swindling! How disgraceful to our national character! . . .

Very sincerely yours,

R. TROUP.

R. KING TO C. KING.

GEORGETOWN, 6th Feby., 1819.

DEAR SIR:

. . . The long dispute between Genl. Mason and Mr. McCarthy of Virginia, a dispute that grew out of the Election controversy between Genl. Mason & Col. Mercer, was settled this morning at Bladensburgh. They fought with muskets at 10 paces, each musket charged with two or three balls. Mason was mortally wounded and died in a short time; McCarthy was

wounded in the right arm, one of the balls of Mason's gun having struck the muzzle of McCarthy's and glanced in a direction to wound him in the arm. Truly yrs.

R. K.

It is said the guns were brought up to the side, and fired in that position without taking sight.

R. KING TO J. MASON.

CRAWFORDS, Feb. 7, 1819.

DEAR SIR:

. . . The Jackson debate which has been going on for three weeks, unless terminated last night, still continues, and it is quite likely that it will be also taken up in the Senate, tho' altogether agt. my inclination. I misinterpret very much the true meaning of this debate for other objects than to criticize. I conceive Jackson had a prevailing influence in bringing it forward & ascribing to it so much importance. The periodical election of Presidents is without doubt the only plan by which the Executive could or should, in the actual condition of the Country, be provided; but it is not and cannot be doubted that this election, except perhaps in rare instances such as those of Washington & Jefferson, will at all times employ the vigilance, awaken the hopes and excite the passions of a large portion of the public men of the Nation, and in a special manner will it have this effect in every question that rouses the passions or excites the prejudices which always exist in popular governments. Whether new combinations & a positive effort will show themselves at the next election is more than I can determine, but I think that the attempt to substitute a successor is as likely to occur as not to occur. This must be left for the future.

The Bank fever, for it really amounts to fever, is quite another affair. The bad administration of the affairs of this company, the little fulfilment of the expectations & predictions that the projectors of the Bank encouraged and made, the positive difficulties of the country by reason of the number of Banks and the excess of paper, have produced a very general dissatisfaction, and the disappointment is altogether ascribed to the Bank of the U. S.

You will understand how very few men have any correct notions

on the subject of money, as a currency, and will therefore easily comprehend the confusion of ideas — the utter ignorance of a correct theory, as well as the rash & intemperate measures which in the present critical and, in my view, dangerous condition of the currency may manifest themselves. According to what I hear, the H. of R. are without any guide or plan ; they are angry & intemperate, and the difficulties of the State Banks, especially in the interior and western world, prepare most of the members from those quarters for any measures which would put down the Bank of the U. S. Proposition on proposition unfavorable to the Bank, without a word from any one by way of excuse or support, may, and if this course is persisted in, probably will shake the public confidence and create a run on the Bank & its branches which they may be unable to meet. If the Bank of the U. S. stop, all the other Banks south of New England must stop also, and we may be thrown into even a worse condition than we were in at the close of the war.

My own wish has been that the Stockholders would be convened, that they should purge the direction of all the speculators and stock jobbers, that they should apply for authority to reduce their capital, which might be done without difficulty to the amount of the hypothecated shares (from 8 to 10 millions), that the President, in cooperation with the Stockholders, should name four men of very respectable standing as the Govt. directors, and that the new board shd. go to work soberly, diligently and with all the information they possessed, or could acquire, to administer the Bank with prudence, and so that it might in some satisfactory degree fulfil the expectations of the Govt. and the public. But whether this or any other good course will be adopted, I am unable to say ; or whether the H. of R. may not disappoint every attempt to correct the past errors & mistakes which have been committed, is beyond my power to predict. I say nothing of the Senate, where the subject is scarcely spoken of.

The Jackson case engages much of their attention, and if I read men correctly, a majority of the Senate, some from one, others from another motive, would pass a vote of censure on Jackson, thereby imputing censure to the President and to his minister Mr. Adams. You will see the new Treaty with England. This being effected, Mr. Bagot, having obtained leave of absence, is soon to return home ;

as the Wellingtons are in great consideration, he may obtain a more agreeable mission. From France we have nothing and I believe expect nothing. It is said Gallatin desires to come home; it has been said so for a year or more, but he has not asked for leave.

Erving is coming home from Madrid; he asked leave of absence on account of health; it will be granted & he will be laid by. Forsyth will succeed him and he will be nominated at the close of the session. Don Onis has received further instructions by which he is authorized to yield the Floridas, the U. S. taking their claimants off from Spain and engaging to satisfy them; and instead of the line of the Sabine from its mouth to its source and thence north to the Missouri, and up the same to the Rocky Mountains, and along the Rocky Mountains to the 41st degree of latitude, and on that parallel to the Pacific, heretofore offered by Spain as our Southern & Western boundary, Don Onis is said to be now authorized to take the Sabine from its mouth to its source, thence north to the Red River and up the same to certain high lands for west, along the same northerly to the Arkansas River, up the same to the Rocky Mountains, along the same northerly to the 41st degree of latitude, and so to the ocean on that parallel.

It is said the Western People here object & insist on going West on the Gulf of Mexico to the Colorado River. What are the views of the Executive I do not know but I have not the smallest doubt on the opinion that we ought immediately to conclude with Spain on this boundary. We have enough, more than enough of Western Territory, and it is the highest imprudence to grasp at more. Having settled the north boundary of Louisiana with England, our people cannot be restrained from emigrating further & further to the West. Two, three, some say five regiments are to be sent to the mouth of the Yellowstone River, which constitutes the great branch of the Missouri. This Fork is about 14 degrees of longitude West of the Mississippi, which is about 13 degrees West of this place.

The first consequence of this unnecessary project will be an Indian war, and it will be the most formidable Indian war, in point of numbers, in which we have been engaged. But as these Indians are badly armed and their country an open one, they will be

beaten and the regular army, with the numerous body of militia, will take a liking to the country, which they will begin to settle, and the money expended by the old States will enable them to do so without great inconvenience especially as the Indian war, that will be long and moderate, will continue to furnish them with requisite supplies. The demands and strength of the West are increasing daily, and the vigorous decision and union of the old States decrease in a fully equal degree. I could give you an interesting picture on this subject. But if there be none who care for what is going on, why should one endeavour to excite solicitudes which would be useless and therefore should not be extended.

farewell

RUFUS KING.

C. KING TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, Feby. 8, 1819.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . . . .

In this letter, the writer forcibly states that there is such a disgust among honest men in the federal party at the selfishness and disregard at Albany of the true interests of the State, that "two or three men of his own age have resolved to check if possible the system." They propose to do this through a newspaper under their control, as the period was propitious for an attempt to "restore" the federal party by its old and true name and influence in the affairs of the State and of the Union. It is a subject of daily complaint "that the weight of the State, at Washington, is as nothing," and that "corruption and bargaining every year at Albany" are well known to prevent any high-toned measure; that the State has not the influence "which its wealth, talent, & physical power" ought to have in the councils of the nation, and that "those who have usurped the rule and maintained it by base intrigue and shameless corruption" do not represent the "sound and moral part of the community." He thinks that the public mind requires only to be well directed to overturn this system; and that in the division existing in the democratic party, the opportunity is

offered to his associates to make an attempt, under an imperious sense of duty, to effect this. He concludes:

The two Duers, Wickham & others of pure views in the Country will support the effort, and your countenance & approbation would be more essential than all others. We have not yet matured our plan &, generally, have only resolved upon getting the management of a paper, already established, so that no great expense may be incurred, & one of our number is habitually to superintend its columns, while I & others, when we can find the time, are to do our best to make them worth reading. And herein we should hope for your assistance and that of our other friends. Our names will not be public tho' they will not be withheld. Having no personal views we shall not fear investigation as to our motives; and finally if we do not succeed, shall at least have the consolation of reflecting that we did not sit with our hands tamely folded, while the character & best interests of the state are sacrificing at the shrine of a few profligate and ambitious leaders. Write to me soon on this subject & in the meantime,

I am Dr Sir

Very Truly Yours,

CHAS. KING.

R. KING TO C. KING.

(*Private.*)

9 Feb., 1819.

DEAR SIR:

. . . Yesterday we had a motion in the Senate, which was the subject of a few observations today, to request the President to strike from the Rolls of the Army & Navy any officers who were directly or otherwise concerned in the late fatal and barbarous duel. The motion, to get rid of it, was referred to the judiciary Committee, where it will sleep.

As a very high eulogy was pronounced on Genl. Mason, without any notice of McCarthy, I took occasion to observe that these parties stood alike in my opinion; one I knew a little, the other not at all. The facts were variously stated, but all the reports represent the transaction as ferocious, barbarous & savage; and such as no civilized code of Honor could approve; that a duel

where one or both must unavoidably fall, was assassination and dishonorable combat ; and among the polished nations, I considered this to be the decision of the Courts of Honor ; that we were too uncertainly informed of the true history of this affair to decide or to request anything. According to the statement, that among others has been in circulation respecting the arms, the charge and the distance, the man who fell is less to be pitied than the survivor ; that I would not vote for the address to the President, nor was I willing to vote for an indefinite postponement (which had been proposed) as it might be understood to imply an approbation of what had occurred, or at least an indifference on the occasion. The postponement was withdrawn, and instead of an address to the Pr. the proposition was referred to the Judicy. Comtee.

It is now said that military men had informed Mason, that McCarthy had the advantage of him in their former disputes ; and that the point of honor was against him ; he therefore came to this place and thro' a friend invited McCarthy, who was at a distance, to come here also for the purpose of receiving Mason's challenge. This McCarthy complied with, arrived on Friday, recd. the challenge, accepted it, and proposed that he and Mason shd. each sit on the same barrel of gun powder with each a torch, and that either might touch the powder.

This being refused, Mr. McCarthy insisted on fighting that evening at three paces with muskets, each charged with fifteen buckshot ; efforts were made to obtain the shot, but without success ; it was then settled that they shd. fight the next morning with muskets, loaded with single balls, brought to a rest (position of charging bayonets) and fired at the word, at three paces. The surgeon stepped the ground and made four paces, at which distance the combatants were placed. McCarthy's shot took place & shattering Mason's arm, the wound produced immediate death. Mason's ball hit the breech of McCarthy's musket and he was wounded in the arm by a splinter.

Such is the version of today—tomorrow's may vary, tho' I believe not materially. Each had two friends ; Mason's of the Army, McCarthy's of the Navy. Three wounds were found on Mason's body, vertical and an inch or more apart : this has given rise to the charge of foul play on the part of McCarthy's friend—

one explanation is, that as the bones of the arm were much broken, that two of the wounds were made by pieces of bone forced into the body, a circumstance wh. is said to occur in battles. Two or three surgeons have followed the corpse, wh. is removed to the country, to ascertain whether more than one ball was fired by McCarthy, who is at Alexandria in a state of extreme misery. Yrs. R. K.

In a letter to his son Charles, of February 10th, Mr. King says:

Our session draws to a close, and we are thinking of home, &c. As the Legislature of New York have chosen no Senator, and in any event will not re-elect me, I, of course, sing my canticle of "Nunc dimittis," which Lord Bacon says is the sweetest of them all.

R. KING TO C. KING.

(*Private.*)

10 Feb., 1819.

DEAR CHARLES:

I have recd. your letter by the last mail; can well & readily enter into your views & feelings; but take a little time for consideration & maturity; add to this the reflection that nothing shd. be immediately attempted which may be construed into a reference to the recent occurrence at Albany. The time may come when this may be proper, and Mr. Clinton made to feel there are limits to forbearance.

Affectionately yrs
R. K.

[Endorsed—"Relative to Newspaper project."]

R. KING TO C. GORE.

WASHINGTON, Feby. 11, 1819.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . My object now is to enter into a little explanation respecting the Part I have taken in the Senate in a question that I shd. be sorry to have misunderstood in Massachusetts. It has long been my opinion that it wd. be good policy in every direc-

tion, that the District of Maine shd. be separated from Mass., politically as it is naturally, and admitted as a new State into the Union. I would go into the reasons for this opinion ; suffice it now to state two of them, one that it wd. be more easy for old Massachusetts to maintain her ancient institutions, when separated, than it will be, if connected ; and secondly, that as respects the balance of power in the Senate, which shifts rapidly towards the West, it is a good policy to multiply the numbers of this body from the North.

As the coasting laws now exist, the coasters, laden with domestic articles only, go from District to District in the same State, and between adjoining States, without entering or clearing at the Custom House ; while the same vessels with the same cargoes, going from one to another State which is not an adjoining one on the sea coast, must enter & clear on their departure or arrival.

Hence if Maine be separated and erected into a new State, as New Hampshire will intervene between Maine & Massachusetts, the coasters of the former must clear out from Maine & enter in the Custom Houses in Massachusetts. This will increase their expenses, and as the Coast of Maine in a direct line, extends four hundred miles, and by its indentures six hundred, and there are only eleven Custom Houses, the coasters wd. be obliged, on a trip to Boston, to go 15 or 20 miles in many cases to clear out ; during the time required for this service, the vessel wd. be unemployed, the crew on wages with nothing to do, and perhaps a fair wind. The coasting tonnage of Maine is about 50,000 tons ; the seamen between 2500 & 3000., being one ninth part of the whole tonnage employed in the coasting trade.

On the question of separation, this body of men were deterred from agreeing to the separation by the apprehension that they would be obliged to incur the additional expense & trouble wh. wd. arise from being required to enter & clear their vessels laden with domestic articles only, instead of going, as now, freely to Boston & the other Ports of Mass. As this impediment grows out of a law of the U. S. it seems reasonable so to modify the law as to obviate this hindrance to an impartial decision.

Without explaining the provisions of the law in detail, it alters the existing Regulations so, that the condition of the coasters in Maine will remain precisely the same, whether the District remain

as it is, or be separated and made into a new State. The law purports to be an alteration of the coasting laws & has no reference to the question of separation, which will be left as it shd. be, to be determined by the State.

Otis & Miller opposed the Bill, but it will pass the Senate by a great majority. My agency has been at the desire of my brother William, with whom on this subject, I have agreed in opinion.

I hear nothing of the hoped for cordiality between the Genl. Govt. here and your repenting Federalists, nor do I see any evidence thereof more now than formerly ; while I sufficiently understand the actual state of affairs here, or the hopes & the fears of men in & men intriguing to get into Power, to be quite sure that no such gratification can or will be made.

Farewell affectionately yrs

RUFUS KING.

P. S. Protect me from misrepresentation on the Maine question.

R. KING TO C. KING.

SENATE CHAMBER, 11th Feby., 1819.

I wrote you a few lines yesterday and intended to have resumed the subject today, but I have been so occupied with some business committed to my charge in the Senate, that I have had not a moment to give to the consideration of yr. letter. I can only be explicit on one point, and on that repeat, that self respect prohibits me from taking any step, while the subject is pending before the Legislature, from assenting to any measures that wd. evince regret for what has taken place, or the desire that the decision shd. be my re-election.

If Mr. C. throws away his claim to my forbearance, I shall not offend in not permitting him to attempt my degradation, without suffering something in his turn. But this is perfectly confidential. I should disrespect myself and my duties to make this insinuation so that it could by possibility reach him or affect his proceedings. My wish is that he shall pursue his course, and leave me where I am quite inclined to remain, a private individual. I shall then know, after proper consideration, what may be due to myself and others.

R. K.

R. KING TO E. KING.

GEORGETOWN, D. C., Feby. 12, 1819.

DEAR SIR:

. . . I observe by the newspapers that Mr. Worthington is not elected to the Senate by your Legislature, but that Col. Trimble is to be Mr. Morrow's successor, and that, in addition to other qualifications, he has that of having been shot through the body during the late war. If this should continue to be required, in order that gentlemen should be deemed qualified for the Senate of the U. S., I can have no wish that you should become one of its members. . . .

The newspapers have informed you that the Legislature of New York have made no choice as yet. . . . I am entirely out of the question, and feel no regret that such is my condition. My own self-respect does not suffer me to feel the mortification, that I might perhaps feel, were I conscious that I was deficient in fidelity to the Country or in capacity to serve it. This however should be a little admonition to you to devote yourself and your talents and your time to the concerns and welfare of your family. Your independence and their happiness will be more certainly promoted by this course, than by giving yourself up to the service of the Public, which may lay you aside and disregard the benefits derived from your services not only with marks of ingratitude, but with apparent satisfaction. These observations do not apply to myself; but they do apply strongly to the case of Mr. Worthington; for all who are acquainted with his zeal, services and success in advancing and providing for the best and highest of the State of Ohio, know that no other man has done so much, and very few were able to do so much, for the advantage & permanent benefit of the State of Ohio as he has done. . . .

A sad occurrence took place here a few days past between General Mason and his cousin Major McCarthy of Virginia. . . . [An account of the particulars and of the result of the duel is here given.—ED.] I regard this duel as ferocious, barbarous and savage, repugnant to any code of honor, where the thirst for blood or the malignant purpose of destroying the life of another are the motives, instead of the desire to protect individual honor; and private combat degenerates to assassination, and the mali-

cious purpose should meet the universal indignation of honorable men.

I am very faithfully yrs.

R. K.

R. KING TO J. MASON.

WASHINGTON, 20 Feby., 1819.

DEAR SIR :

Some time since I wrote to you a letter too long & too unimportant to be worth your deciphering ; I now add a few lines to say that the Treaty with Don Onis is settled & the copies are preparing for signature on the 22d, when it will be laid before the Senate.

Spain cedes the Floridas in sovereignty, and in consideration thereof the U. S. release Spain from all claims by American citizens on account of illegal captures, condemnations &c and engage to satisfy these claims to an amount not exceeding five millions of dollars ; a commission to be established, the Commrs. to be appointed by the President & Senate, to liquidate and, if necessary, apportion these claims. The boundary to be as follows : beginning at the mouth of the Sabine River & up the River to its source, thence north to the Red River & up the River to the 100th degree of west Longitude, thence north to the Arkansas River, and up the River to its source in the Rocky Mountains and then north or south, as requisite, to the 42° of N. Latitude, and along this parallel to the Pacific Ocean. An article respecting the delivery of seamen, deserting from the vessels of the two parties, is also included in the Treaty. This settlement is one of much importance, as it will compose the temper of the zealous & turbulent men of the west, who desire and would gladly engage in a Spanish war. As it respects land, the Floridas we want ; of lands in the west, we have already more than enough.

I sometime since * made a motion to abolish all credit in the future sales of the public lands : a bill for this purpose has passed the Senate to take effect in July 1820 ; it should have been on the 1st of Jany. next, and I am in hopes the H. of R. will fix on this day.

* December 18, 1818.

Already a debt of about 15 mills. of dols. is contracted ; the debtors are scattered thro', and indeed compose the population of four or five new States. Nine Laws have in annual succession passed to postpone payments when due ; a tenth is on its passage, and during the session a motion was made in the House to take off the interest of the debt. Postponement is matter of course ; abatement of interest would follow, and ultimately the release of the debt or separation. I consider the confining all future sale to cash payments the most important law that has been passed for sev. years.

very faithfully &c

RUFUS KING.

J. A. KING TO R. KING.

ALBANY, February 26th, 1819.

DEAR SIR :

. . . From all I can learn, there will not be a Law introduced during this Session for the appointment of a Senator to the United States. The Martling Men are afraid of the measure, and the Clintonians are quite as willing that this State should be left without its quota in the Senate of U. S., as that there should be there a representation, which would not consent to promote their views and interest. I have seen a letter from Washington which intimates an opinion that the Secretary of the Navy has had influence enough to convince the Executive and some of its strong friends, that it would be impolitic at this time for the Martling party here to take any part with federalists in procuring a law to be passed for that purpose. Walter Bowne told me last evening that there was not a single man of his party of any standing in it, who was not decidedly favorable to your re-appointment ; but that they were afraid of the effect which such a proceeding might have upon their party throughout the state—It is conceived that there can be no appointment by the Governor, the vacancy not having happened in the Recess—and such was the construction in the case of Genl. Schuyler. . . .

Affectionately yours.

JOHN A. KING.

During this session of Congress the Territories of Illinois

and Alabama were admitted as States into the Union, and that of Missouri asked also to be permitted to take her place among the other States. This involved the serious question of the extension of slavery into the common property of the United States as a permanent institution, and met with determined opposition and on the other hand with as relentless a purpose on the part of the slave-holding States to carry out the right they claimed to take the institution into the new possessions west of the Mississippi. It was indeed a question of the balance of power between the free and the slave States. If Missouri was admitted with slavery allowed, the slave States would have a majority; if without it, the free States would be able to control the character of any new States that might be admitted and slavery would be shut up where it then existed. The interests as well as the passions of the upholders of slavery were deeply involved, and the debates in both Houses of Congress, and especially in the House of Representatives, were characterized by the most violent expressions of opinion on both sides of the question. The House passed a bill to admit the State, but with a proviso that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude should be permitted, which was returned by the Senate with this proviso stricken out. Both Houses adhered to their positions, and this result having been reached on the last day of the session of Congress, the bill was lost.

While the speeches in the House of Representatives were carefully reported and printed in the *Annals of Congress*, those in the Senate do not appear to have been taken down and preserved. But Mr. King twice addressed that body, maintaining that while under the Constitution the right to hold slaves in the States where it then existed was unquestioned, under the same Constitution there was no authority to allow its extension into the new Territories, which had been acquired by the people of all the States and were common property, and in which the free States, in which slavery did not exist, had equal rights with those in which it did; that slavery was not a national right, but allowed only where

it already existed, and that therefore all the country had a right to discuss and decide the question of its extension. In an appendix will be found the arguments in his two speeches, written out by himself by request and published in November, 1819.

W. KING TO R. KING.

BATH, MAINE, 5 March, 1819.

DEAR SIR:

I am, in common with the people of Maine, much obliged by your particular attention to the Coasting Bill. . . .

If you will give us your general views (on the Separation of the District) so that they can be published in a pamphlet form, it is confidently expected they will do away the last remnant of opposition in this District. The territory of Maine is much larger than that of (all) New England, besides it is about equal to that of our average State. Her tonnage is now one eighth part of the whole tonnage of the U. States; and from the extent of coast, the fisheries and the best of harbors will no doubt maintain that proportion. The population, the last Census 228 thousand, is now more than three hundred. The settlement is just commencing in the best lands of the District, which are in the interior. There is no reason why Maine should not increase her inhabitants as fast as the western States, if her Legislation should be adapted to the settlement of the District. Maine is a frontier and more exposed than any other portion of the Union, not only as it respects her seaboard, but from her northern & eastern frontier adjoining a foreign nation.

The above are among the points which can be touched with great effect in the District, at the present time, and no one is more capable of doing this than yourself; your views on this subject might be addressed to me; or to the People of Maine, which would be flattering to them and for which they would be extremely grateful.

very affectionately your brother

W. KING.

[Endorsed—"Ansd. with copy of the Speech."]

R. KING TO E. KING.

PHILADELPHIA, March 12, 1819.

DEAR SIR:

We arrived here on the 10th, on our way home, but a snow storm, that commenced soon afterwards, still continues, and being in a port, we decline leaving it before the weather becomes more settled. We consider our journey in a great measure past, as the greater part of the bad roads and miserable inns are behind us. At Baltimore we embarked ourselves, servants, horses and carriage, and came up to Frenchtown in a very fine steamboat. . . . I have been very little abroad except to call at the P. Office, hear nothing of what is passing, except that respecting the Bk. of the U. S., the late decision of the Supreme Court and the arrival of the new President, Mr. Cheves, seem to be very auspicious circumstances. . . .

Affectionately

R. K.

CHAPTER XIII.

W. Lee to J. Trumbull—Washington Statue—Hopes King will be re-elected—Trumbull to Lee—Mrs. King's Death—King's Re-election—W. King to King—Separation of Maine looks well—King to W. King—Massachusetts competent to consent to it—Gore to King—Waiting for News of Mrs. King's Health—Mrs. E. King to King—Anxious to hear about Mrs. King—Death of Mrs. King—Estimate of her Character—Trumbull to King—Condolence—Gore to King—Has lost a Friend and Sister—King to Gore—Commerce crippled—Industry and Economy necessary—King to J. Q. Adams—Gracie & Sons' Claim against France—Gore to King—Expressions of Friendship—King to C. King—Miller's Report—Objects to Answer in *The American*—Irving to King—Asking for the Substance of his Speeches on the Missouri Question—King to Irving—Answering his Request with Substance of his Speeches—Peters to King—Asking for his Speeches—King to Peters—Missouri Question—Corry to King—Wishes Separation of Maine as a State—J. Adams to King—Thanks for his Speech—Gore to King—Hopes Massachusetts Legislature may vote for Exclusion—Webster to King—Boston Memorial on Missouri.

Wm. Lee to John Trumbull.

Washington, April 2, 1819.

My dear Col. :

I had some conversation with the President on the manner of executing the Washington monument for the Capital and intended to have said more to him on the subject. . . . On your account and in a national point of view, you ought most certainly to be charged with this business. If it is entrusted to Canova he will give it to some of his students. . . . Besides this who is there except yourself who can give the drawings for the statue and the designs for the bas reliefs. We must use our endeavours to bring this affair about in the Fall. I wish you would converse with Mr. King on the business; he has great influence here.

Apropos, is New York to return Mr. King to the Senate. He is an honor to the State and an ornament to the country—our "Corinthian Capital." He is friendly to the administration and they to him. All the prominent measures in the Senate last Session were originated & supported by him, and in that body he is highly respected. I hope for the credit of the State he will be continued. I have written to another friend Colden on the subject. . . .

tout à vous,
Wm. Lee.

John Trumbull to Wm. Lee.

New York, July 2, 1819.

My dear Sir:

I am ashamed to find that your very friendly letter of April 2nd is still unanswered. In truth the long illness and death of Mrs. King have prevented my having any communication with him upon the subject, and I have deferred writing until I could consult him. He has not yet been in town since her death.

For myself, I confess that a visit to Rome, for the purpose which you suggest would be highly gratifying, if it could be properly arranged. I trust that I might be of use in preparing the Model for the Statue, as well as the Bas Reliefs which ought to ornament the pedestal; and the study of the admirable works of Italy might enable me very essentially to improve what I have still to execute for the Nation.

What will be the result of our election of a Senator from this State cannot be foreseen. If the Interest and Honor of the State were to be the guide, there could be no doubt: for every one knows the important influence which Mr. King (and through him the State) holds in the Senate of the U. S.; and every one knows that no one can be sent in his place, whose influence can equal his, until at least Experience shall have been added to Talent. But, my dear Sir, such are not always the considerations which influence popular elections even in this, the freest, wisest, happiest of all Governments. We hope however that common sense will prevail. . . .

your friend & Servt.
J. T.

W. KING TO R. KING.

BATH, May 10th, 1819.

DEAR SIR :

The question of the separation in Maine looks well; all our Senators and three fourths of our Representatives at least will be separatists. Opposition to the measure has almost ceased in this District. We are to expect, I understand the most decided opposition from old Massachusetts in the Legislature; they now state that the question must be submitted to the people of Massachusetts proper, as well as to the people of Maine; they state also that it is not a question which the Legislature can decide, but that it must be decided by the People. Some of the opposing members of the Legislature will take this ground as most likely to effect their object. Will you have the goodness to give me your views on this subject and direct to me at Boston.

The opposition from old Massachusetts will be considerable, but I am now convinced the separation will be effected; the people of Maine feel much indebted to you for your aid; should an occasion offer, they will, I am confident, feel gratified in making a suitable return.

It gives me great pleasure to find that Mr. Clinton is soon to be placed where the unprincipled of every party ought to be; new associations are forming, and I sincerely hope the best of all parties will finally be found acting together. . . .

Your Brother

W. KING.

[Endorsed, "Ansd. 20th May 1819."]

To this the following remarks, which are inclosed in the above letter and in the handwriting of Rufus King, appear to be his answer.

"There can be no doubt or question respecting the competence or authority of Mass. to consent that the District of Maine shall be formed and erected into a new State; and the Constitution of the U. S. provides that such consent shall be by the Legislature thereof. As this Constitution is posterior to that of Massachusetts, it modifies the same, and so far as regards this subject, con-

stitutes the only mode in which a State can consent that a new State can be formed within its jurisdiction.

"The article provides that the consent of the Legislature is necessary to the formation of a new State within its Jurisdiction. Another article of the Constitution provides that the Senators from each State shall be chosen by the Legislature thereof. And as well may it be concluded that Senators may be chosen by the People, in virtue of a law for the purpose ; as that the consent of a State may be given by the People thereof to the formation of a new State within its Jurisdiction. In neither case can their acts be so performed, because the manner of their being done, being prescribed, the same can only be done in conformity to the same, all other modes being prohibited.

"The writers upon public & constitutional laws have expressed doubts whether from the nature and principles of a free State, there any where exists a delegated power competent to alienate & cede a portion of its Territory or Jurisdiction. Without entering into this discussion, it might suffice to observe that all States or Nations, owing to the instability and endless changes in human affairs, have yielded to a law that none can control, & in their turn been obliged to exercise this power. Accordingly we have seen that France, Spain, the States of Germany as well as Italy, Portugal, Holland & England have recognized & sanctioned this power. The Treaties between the Powers of Europe abound with these examples, and demonstrate that the law of nature & of necessity is stronger than the theories of philosophy. The States of America have added their sanction to this truth. Massachusetts herself has ceded Territory & Jurisdiction. In 1784 Massachusetts by an Act of the Legislature authorised her Delegates in the Congress, to cede to the U. S. such portion, as they should deem expedient, of her Territory & Jurisdiction west of the Hudson's River and east of the Mississippi, and her Delegates accordingly ceded to the U. S. all such Territory & Jurisdiction to the west of a meridian line, twenty miles westward of the Straight or River Niagara.

"And afterwards by another act of her Legislature, appointed commissioners, with power jointly with the Comrrs. of N. York, to settle and adjust the controversy respecting the lands lying between the Hudson & Niagara Rivers, and within the N. & S.

limits of the Colonial charter, which adjustment & settlement was accomplished ; whereby Massachusetts ceded her claims of Jurisdiction and New York ceded her claim of Territory to some millions of acres of the most valuable lands of the State of New York, which Massachusetts afterwards sold to Gorham & Phelps.

" Virginia as well as Massachusetts, Con., S. Carolina, N. Carolina and Georgia also ceded by acts of their respective Legislatures, lands & Jurisdiction to the U. S. The Territory of the States N. W. of the Ohio, of Tennessee, Mississippi, & Alabama were all ceded to the U. S. by the Legislative acts of the States to which the same originally belonged by their respective charters. N. York, in like manner ceded her claim to Western lands, and for a payment in money ceded her claim to the lands lying within the State of Vermont."

The answer of Col. Trumbull to Mr. Lee's letter of April 2d, though of much later date, not only closes the matter alluded to but suggests also a reason for his not having sooner responded,—that Mr. King had not been in the city since the death of his wife, and therefore he had not been able to communicate with him. The following letters give some account of the serious nature of Mrs. King's sickness after her return home from Washington on March 12th. Her health had been delicate for many years, and yet she always accompanied her husband in his journeys to Washington and residence there. These journeys had always been made in their own travelling carriage, arranged with such conveniences as experience had suggested for comfort.

C. Gore to R. King.

Waltham, May 16, 1819.

My dear Friend :

A fortnight ago Frederick [R. King's youngest son, then at Harvard] informed me that he had received a letter from you, stating that his mother was quite ill at N. York and unable to return to Jamaica, and that leave might be obtained for him to go home, which was granted. He, at my request, promised to write as soon as he arrived the state of her health. We have been

anxiously waiting for news, but have received none. We most earnestly hope that she is safe at Jamaica and regaining strength . . . Mrs. Gore unites with me in affectionate regards to yourself and Mrs. King, of whose health we hope to have pleasing accounts. . Your faithful Friend

C. Gore.

Mrs. Edward King, in a letter from Chillicothe, May 30, 1819, says to Mrs. King:

"We are very anxious to hear from you as Mr. King's accounts of your health are not so good as we wish and now that we have warm weather, we are doubly so in the hope that it may prove beneficial. We trust that a few weeks of favorable weather with sufficient air and exercise will rapidly restore you. . . . Accept my heartfelt thanks for your repeated kindnesses and be assured that I shall never forget them. With my most affectionate remembrances, to yourself and Mr. King, believe me your affectionate

"Sarah A. King."

It would appear that for a time after the return from Washington Mrs. King remained in New York, but in the latter part of May she was able to go to Jamaica, where on the morning of June 5th she died, and was buried in the old churchyard of Grace Church, Jamaica, at a spot within sight from the windows of the home she had so long occupied.

Of Mrs. King there are few memorials; her contemporaries have nearly all passed away, and none can now speak of her character from personal knowledge. From every report, we know that her married life was certainly a happy one, her gentle nature and confiding disposition being met on the part of her husband with respect, affection and true loyalty to her. The mother of several children, of whom five sons grew up to manhood and survived her, she was ever the loving and careful parent, the prudent adviser and the centre of their affections in the home she made so pleasant to them. She and her husband had but one

thought for their welfare, and they all gave their love and confidence in return. Though in every way fitted by personal beauty, attractive manners, and dignified carriage to adorn the society in which her own right and the distinguished positions occupied by her husband entitled her to move, her life was rather that of the home circle, where, with the devoted friends she made, she was always happiest. Withal she was a faithful Christian woman, a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in which she had been nurtured, by whose Bishop, Provoost, she had been married, and by whose impressive service her mortal remains were laid at rest, "in the confidence of a certain faith, in the comfort of a reasonable, religious, and holy hope."

Such are the estimates of her character which have been handed down, and there can be little doubt that when, after prolonged illness, her presence was withdrawn, there were grief and loneliness.

It may be here stated that after this event, Mr. King continued to live by himself at his house at Jamaica, until, a few months before his death, he went to New York.

To the trouble recorded above were added about this time some unexpected demands for a considerable sum of money, under circumstances which he considered he ought to assist in relieving, but which, he says, at the time was done with some inconvenience to himself. It was only the beginning of pecuniary difficulties, which, in his endeavor to help others, caused him much anxiety and loss, and extended over several years before their settlement.

John Trumbull to R. King.

June 5, 1819.

My dear Sir:

Among the many friends who will offer their condolence on the irreparable loss which you have met, none can be more sincere than we who knew so long and esteemed so very highly the dear being, who is gone to her reward.

To Mrs. Trumbull in particular her kindness was uniform and invaluable, and her regret for the loss of her first and best Ameri-

can friend will be deep and lasting. We pray for your health and that you may enjoy the consolation of a Christian.

I am most faithfully, my dear Sir
your Servant & friend
JNO. TRUMBULL.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, June 10, 1819.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

Yesterday the New York paper announced the death of our excellent friend Mrs. King. Your last letter left us little hope of her long continuance and Frederick's absence confirmed all our fears. Sickness and disease had so worn her constitution and wasted her strength, that I much apprehend she, for years, has enjoyed but little respite from suffering. Under this consideration we ought not to repine at an event which relieves from incurable pain; yet the final separation from the cheerful companion of our youthful days and maturer years, the disinterested partner of all our joys and sorrows, must be an affliction of the deepest degree. Thus we know you cannot avoid feeling it, and most truly do we sympathize with you on the melancholy occasion.

Our long and intimate acquaintance, our constant experience of her unaffected worth and goodness made us of one family. To us she was a tender friend and affectionate sister and as such we shall never cease to love, to cherish and respect her memory.

For the last three weeks I have been extremely sick. The fortnight past I have scarcely been from my bed. My right knee has attained nearly its natural size, but in this last sickness my left became extremely inflamed and swelled. It has somewhat subsided and I am so much better as to sit up and use my pen for the first time these last fourteen days.

My wife unites with me in affectionate regards and I remain your ever faithful friend
C. GORE.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA, July 17, 1819.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . Our commerce is at a stand; no one feels confidence that a voyage of any sort, or to any country, will be more likely to

give profit than loss. The merchants, who during the last year and winter were engaged in the Asiatic trade, particularly with British India, will suffer losses; and those who purchased and imported the cotton crop of the Southern States, will be losers to nearly or quite a third of the capital invested. The effect is a very serious pause in trade. The reduction of prices will be felt by the cotton, tobacco and wheat growers, whose incomes will be impaired. Indeed the competition which these articles encounter in foreign markets, from which they are not excluded, has, or will so reduce their prices, that a mere return of the cost of production can only be expected. I heard of an adventure of tobacco, sent to New York from Kentucky thro' the Mississippi; the expense of transportation, commission, &c, amounted to more than four cents per pound, and it sold at New York, for five cents. This is a little example of the fruits or productions of the Western country, that has been indulging in golden dreams, and fascinating our Northern People, who have many of them gone to this region of fertility.

That country is involved in debt, and their embarrassments are in their turn afflicting them. What will be the consequence upon their legislation and judiciary remains to be seen. Their habits of expense, like those of the rest of us, must of necessity be allowed. If we cannot sell, we shall be unable to buy; our foreign importations must be contracted, for nobody will trust us, if we are unable to pay our debts. This abridgment of imports and of trade and navigation must abridge the pub. revenue; on the actual scale of expenditures (the objects whereof, except such as the Army & Navy, are likely to be continued) Congress must usually raise about 25 millions. At the rate of our imports, we must annually import sixty or seventy millions value of goods for consumption, to yield this revenue. Unless our products can pay for these goods, which under present appearances is impossible, this revenue must fail and recourse must be had to internal taxes again, wh. never should have been repealed, especially that on the distilleries.

your sincere & faithful friend

R. K.

R. King to J. Q. Adams, Sec'y of State, etc.

Jamaica, L. I., Aug. 26, 1819.

Dear Sir :

I took occasion last winter to confer with you respecting a claim of my friends A. Gracie & Sons, upon the French Govt. ; and the instruction respecting the same afterwards given to Mr. Gallatin led to the hope, as all others have with advantage called upon the restored Govt. for indemnities, that our People would also be heard and in certain cases that their losses would also be made good. I have seen an extraordinary letter from the French Minister, the Baron Lewis to Mr. Parish, respecting this claim, in which after admitting the robbery of the Imperial Govt., and the well founded claim of MM. Gracie & Sons, the Baron states that the claim cannot be allowed ; assigning for this refusal most unsound conclusions, equally in contradiction of justice & the Treaty of 1801 between France and the U. S. MM. Gracie & Sons will send to you copies of the Baron Lewis' letter and a letter from their advocate at Paris.

I had supposed that I shd. never more have occasion to refer to or speak of the Decrees of Berlin and Milan—nevertheless I will say a word or two of them in connection with this claim of MM. Gracie & Sons. The *Decree of November 1806* placed the Br. Islands in a state of Blockade, closed the French ports agt. vessels that had been in & arrived from an English port, and in case of concealment thereof, confiscated such vessels and cargoes.

The Decree of Nov. 1807 declared all vessels which had been in an English port, or visited by an English Cruizer, *denationalized* and liable to confiscation if captured by French Cruizers, or found in a port of France or of her allies.

These ships of MM. Gracie & Sons sailed with innocent cargoes from the U. S. for Antwerp, then a French port, consigned to the house of Parish & Co. On their voyage they were detained by Eng. Cruizers and sent into England ; after a short detention, were released, and without adding to or diminishing their cargoes arrived at Antwerp some months before the Decree of Nov. 1807.

These vessels were arrested as coming from an Eng. port, a fact neither concealed nor denied, but openly avowed and explained, by the Protests of the masters.

As the first Decree only closed the French ports against

vessels arriving from England, permission was offered to the vessels to depart with their cargoes; but it being the opinion of the Consignees that the Decree would not be applied to vessels which had gone by compulsion into the ports of England, permission was obtained to land the cargoes, to sell as much of them, as would pay the port charges of the vessels, and on giving bond for the ships & so much of the cargoes as were sold for the charges, the ships were released and returned to the U. S.

The Baron Lewis says in his letter to Mr. Parish, "que l'autorité supérieure ordonna (May 4, 1810) que la vente des cargaisons serait effectuée sur le champ," which was done June 15, 1810, and the money deposited "à la caisse d'amortissement" (the Sinking Fund where money in the custody of the Law remains during the pendency of the suit) and afterwards, "aussi d'apres ces ordres supérieures," withdrawn from the "caisse d'amortissement," and paid into the public Treasury, "comme definitivement acquis à l'état."

The Bonds for the Ships and so much of the cargoes as was sold to pay expenses, were during the Imperial Govt. remitted and delivered up to Parish & Co.

The bare recital of this Proceeding suffices to prove its injustice. A word may be added still further to confirm the same. The Convention of 1801, which endured 8 years between the U. S. and France, provided, "Art. 6 That commerce between the two nations should be free."

"Art. 22. that the established prize courts alone should take cognizance of prizes; that the Decree of condemnation should assign the motive thereof and furnish a copy to the claimant." Other articles relate to & define Blockades & provide that free bottoms should make free goods.

These ships & cargoes were entitled to the protection of this Convention; they were in no manner liable to confiscation; the order to sell the cargoes, to pay the money into one chest, then to remove it to another to be applied to the public service, was no adjudication of the property; which to this day has not by any tribunal been condemned.

The English are receiving large sums by way of indemnity for the violation of the commercial Treaty made before, and broken by, the revolutionary Govt. of France; and why should not we also be indemnified for losses occasioned by the seizure of our

property in time of Peace & in the ports of France, likewise in violation of a treaty of Commerce. The object of this letter is to ask the favor of you, with the President's permission, to mention this claim again to Mr. Gallatin, and thro' him, to press this claim upon the justice of the restored Government.

With great Respect, yr. mo. ob. Servt.

RUFUS KING.

Mr. King appears to have made a visit to Boston and to his friends Mr. and Mrs. Gore in October of this year, and to have had his portrait taken at this time by Stuart, though it was not then finished. The following letter from Mr. Gore refers to the visit and to the picture.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, Oct. 19, 1819.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I regretted not seeing you immediately before your departure, but debility, which I could not surmount, prevented it.

Forget not my picture and pray press on Stuart its early completion. It will gladden my remaining days, be they few or many. Among the comforts I enjoy, and they are not stinted, none afford me so much satisfaction as the continued regard and attention of those I have long esteemed and affectionately loved; and I can say, with perfect truth, of none so much as yourself, of whose kindness and friendship, I have experienced the most gratifying testimony in your late visit. With my warmest wishes for health and happiness, and the prosperity of all that are yours I remain

Your true and faithful friend

C. GORE.

R. KING TO C. KING.

Oct. 27, 1819.

DEAR SIR:

I expected, in consequence of my observation on the subject, that the Report of the conversation ascribed to me, by Mr. Miller would have been sent to me, in order that I might myself deter-

mine whether any or what notice should be taken of it on my authority ; and certainly, if this had been done, I should not have dictated, nor consented to, the article wh. is contained in the American of this morning.*

I must remonstrate agt. the publication of facts that in conversation I may have mentioned ; and think it altogether improper that the transaction respecting Mr. Clinton's electioneering measures at Boston shd. be coupled with the late misrepresentation of me by Mr. Miller.

Having an utter aversion to being brought before the Public in affairs of this sort, I must be left at liberty as to the time & manner of my Exhibition.

Yrs.

R. K.

As before stated, the speeches of the members of the Senate upon the question of the admission of Missouri Territory as a State of the Union were not reported, and therefore the arguments against it could not be satisfactorily ascertained. This was the cause of the correspondence here presented.

* The article in *The American* of October 27, 1819 (of which a portion was published on page 288 of Volume V. of this work), begins as follows :

" It has long been notorious that the friends of Mr. Clinton, without stopping too nicely to inquire into the nature of the means they employ think all fair which may tend to promote his views ; still there are certain reserves, which even among the keenest political struggles, a man of honor disdains to overstep ; and at the very head of these is that scrupulous regard for veracity, which never can be departed from, without losing all claim to the character of a gentleman. . . . Mr. Sylvanus Miller recently stated to a respectable lawyer in this city, that on board the boat, before many gentlemen, Mr. Rufus King had said, that although he did not approve of Mr. Clinton's conduct as a politician, he thought him the best man offered as Governor of the State of New York, and that he (Mr. King) considered the opposition to Mr. C. as *unprincipled.* On being asked if this could be substantiated, Mr. Miller replied that it could satisfactorily, as a number of gentlemen were present, and added that it might be relied on. This conversation having been communicated to several gentlemen, the report soon reached us ; when at our request it was repeated substantially, as we have given it above ; and having submitted the memorandum thereof, made at the time, and read over and acquiesced in by our informant, to Mr. King, he authorized us to declare the same, as far as relates to him, utterly and entirely *without foundation.* . . . "

JOHN T. IRVING TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 19th Nov., 1819.

SIR :

We are desired on behalf of the Committee appointed at the late general meeting in this city, to request that you will favor the committee with the substance of the remarks delivered by you in the Senate of the United States, upon the Missouri Bill. The committee believe the publishing those remarks, will promote the great object they have in view, and they will therefore esteem it a particular favor if you will comply with their request.

We have the honor to be
in behalf of the Committee
Your Hum'b Ser
JNO B. COLES
Chairman
JNO T. IRVING
Sec'y.

[Endorsed, "Ansd. 22 and sent a copy of my speeches. R. K."]

R. KING TO MESSRS. JOHN B. COLES AND JOHN T. IRVING, COMMITTEE, ETC.*

JAMAICA, L. I., Nov. 22, 1819.

GENTLEMEN :

Conformably to your request in behalf of the committee appointed by the late meeting in the city, on the business of the Missouri Bill, I have the honor to send you the substance of two speeches, that I delivered in the Senate of the United States, when this bill was under its consideration.

As my notes are imperfect, I may have omitted some remarks made on that occasion, and added others which were not made ; the communication however contains the substance of my observations, and my present opinions upon this important subject—I am particularly anxious not to be misunderstood on this subject, never having thought myself at liberty to encourage, or to assent to, any measure that would affect the security of property in slaves, or to disturb the political adjustment which the Constitu-

* See Appendix IV. to this volume for the speeches.

tion has established respecting them ; I desire to be considered as still adhering to this reserve ; and that the observations, which I send you, should be constructed to refer, and be confined, to the prohibition of slavery in the new States, to be formed beyond the original limits of the United States—a prohibition which in my opinion Congress have the power to establish, and the omission of which may, as I fear, be productive of the most serious consequences.

With great respect and esteem,
I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,
your most obedient Servant
RUFUS KING.

RICHARD PETERS, JR., TO R. KING.

November 23, 1819.

DEAR SIR :

The American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery and improving the condition of the African race, believing that those who formed the Federal Constitution did not contemplate that the concession to the supposed interests and prejudices of the Slave-holding States in favor of their claim to perpetuate slavery among them, would at any subsequent period be urged as a justification of further claims to extend slavery beyond the limits of those States in which it was then tolerated, and believing that to authorize the introduction of slavery in the Territories of the United States, would not only be inconsistent with the character and spirit of the Federal Constitution, but will be subversive of the best interest of the Nation, have viewed with heartfelt satisfaction and thankfulness the humane & noble efforts made in the Congress of the United States by many of its distinguished members to prevent the further extension of slavery in the proposed State of Missouri and the Territory of Arkansaw.

The Convention avail themselves of the opportunity afforded to them by their present session to declare these sentiments and to accord this testimony of their approbation of the labours of those wise and good men, who were on that occasion the advocates of the cause of their country and of humanity.

The Convention taking into consideration the importance and necessity of disseminating correct information on this subject, are

desirous that in addition to the interesting discussions on the floor of Congress at the last session which have been printed &c, the speeches of Rufus King Esquire, Senator from the State of New York, and James Burrill Esquire, Senator from the State of Rhode Island shall be published, have

Resolved, That the President of the Convention communicate the grateful sense entertained by this Body of their labors in favor of the constitutional rights of their country and the true interests of humanity, and that he request from them copies of the Speeches delivered by them in the Senate of the United States during its last session, on the proposition to prohibit the increase of slavery in the State of Missouri and the Territory of Arkansaw.

RICHARD PETERS, JR.
President.

Missouri Question.

Endorsed, "Heads of Answer to Mr. Peters, Prest. Abolition Society Phila."

R. KING TO R. PETERS, JR.

JAMAICA, L. I., Nov. 30, 1819.

SIR:

Having been for some days absent from home, I did not, until my return last evening, receive your letter of the 23d., requesting a copy of my speech in the Senate on the Missouri Bill. I have much reason to believe that the Society over which you preside, and at whose instance you make this application, have overrated my poor efforts, which I made during the last Session of Congress to prevent the extension of slavery beyond the Mississippi. Having been privately requested in behalf of the late public meeting in New York to furnish a Copy of my observations in the Senate upon this subject, I prepared, as well as my recollection enabled me to do, and sent to their Committee the substance of these observations; a printed Copy I have now the honor to send you.

I am aware of the disapprobation with which the most guarded discussion of the question of Slavery is received, having so often witnessed the painful solicitude which it excites in the bosoms of good and honorable men. On the late occasion, therefore, I en-

deavoured as far as possible to avoid such topics, however advantageous to my argument, as would be likely to awaken those feelings, which cannot be wholly controled, if slavery becomes the subject of debate.

In respect to slavery in the old States, as well as in the new ones, which have been formed out of them, the observance of this reserve, is enjoined by correct interpretation of the Constitution. The adjustment wh. it establishes in respect to direct taxes and Reps., and the directions which it prescribes for taking the periodical Census, are among the primary provisions of the Constitution.

In virtue of these regulations, and of the rights reserved to the States respectively, the States where slavery exists are unquestionably the exclusive judges of whether slavery shall be continued within their area, or the slaves gradually, or at once, emancipated. No person who has taken the pains to examine this latter subject, whatever may be his opinion respecting slavery, will hesitate to pronounce it to be a question full of embarrassment and difficulty.

The disputed claim of the Miss. Bill presents another and distinct question. It has no reference to the adjustment arising out of the mutual concessions of the old States, but is confined to Missouri and other new States wh. are forming beyond our antt. limits, preparatory to their admission into the Union. The forms of government in these new States which are to become additional links in the chain of our Union, the principles of their Constns., and the establishment or exclusion of slavery are subjects which are not only connected with the general welfare, but which affect the rights, interests and opinions of all the citizens of the U. S.

The admission of new States into the Union, while confined to our primitive territory, has been a subject of little attention on the part of the people ; and seems to have been sometimes not only premature, but almost a matter of course in Congress. Being about to pass over our original boundary, the exercise of this trust is becoming much more important than we have hitherto considered it, and while it calls for the fullest deliberation and for greater circumspection of Congress, it cannot be thought unworthy of the reasonable and temperate consideration of the great body of the People, whose right to discuss and express their

opinion on this subject cannot be denied and will not be disparaged. Each will feel the obligation in whatever he does, to do it with moderation and in friendship towards these new States, whose welfare and freedom cannot be indifferent to us, and whose affections we should do all in our power to engage. Every citizen who disapproves of the introduction of slavery, or the continuance thereof in his own State, ought to object to the establishment of Slavery in Missouri, or any other new State beyond our antt. limits.

Considering the fidelity with which all are disposed to adhere to the provisions of the Constitution on the subject of slaves, provisions from which the States, where slavery is prohibited, derive no benefit, I have thought it will be felt to be a little less liberal towards these States than might be expected, should the other States insist upon the entrance of slavery beyond the Mississippi; a measure which can in no way add to the enjoyment or security of their own constitutional rights, but which will operate to the peculiar disadvantage & humiliation of the States where slavery is prohibited.

Yours, &c R. KING.

Missouri.

The constitution of Massachusetts declares that "the body politic is formed by a voluntary association of individuals. It is a social compact by which *the whole People* covenants *with each Citizen*, and each Citizen with the whole People, that all shall be governed by certain Laws for the common Good. . . . The end of the institution, maintenance, and administration of Government is to secure the existence of the body politic, to protect it, & to furnish the individuals who compose it, with the power of enjoying, in safety & tranquility, *their natural rights* & the blessings of life: and whenever these great objects are not obtained, the People have a right to alter the Government, and to take measures necessary for their safety, prosperity & happiness."

In pursuance of these fundamental Principles the people of the several states in the year 1788, did alter their respective Government and establish the Constitution of the U. S.

The second section of the fourth article whereof contains these

important provisions. *first*—"The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of Citizens in the several States." *second*—"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such service or Labor; but shall be delivered up, on claim of the Party to whom such service or labor may be due."

By another provision of the Constitution of the U. S. the Congress have power to admit new States into the Union. Suppose they should admit a new State, by an article in whose constitution, a portion of the Citizens of Masstts. described in language not to be misunderstood, should be excluded from the privileges and immunities of Citizens in the new State—suppose that these excluded Citizens, in virtue of the social compact of Massachusetts should present a memorial to that State, complaining of this violation of their rights; as the same section of the Constitution of the U. S. which in one paragraph "entitles the Citizens of each State to all privileges & immunities of citizens in the several States," but another provides "that persons held to service or labor in one State shall not be discharged therefrom by the Laws or Regulations of another, but in case of escape shall on demand be delivered up"—suppose these memorialists in consequence of the suspension by the consent of Congress of one branch of the section, should call on Massachusetts to suspend in that state the other branch of the same section, the suspension to continue only so long, as the memorialists should continue to be deprived of their Privileges and immunities in the same State.

What would be the answer of Massachusetts? What it might be, any one may predict. The subject is most grave; the consequences of further perseverance should excite reflection.

Good faith & the just and scrupulous observance of Compacts between States, are not mere topics for the exercise of debating societies. These are subjects, which nearly concern the honor and safety of Nations: great advantages, or disadvantages, cannot be permanently secured, or imposed, by the construction of national Compacts—wise governments will not claim the one, and none but weak ones submit to the other.

DANIEL CORRY TO R. KING.

AUGUSTA, MAINE, Nov. 30, 1819.

DEAR SIR:

Congress being about to convene, I presume this will find you at Washington.* For some time past I had intended to write & express to you my thanks for the able & efficient aid rendered by yourself in procuring the law of Congress which regards the "coasting trade." It has served to facilitate & expedite the establishment of an independent Government for Maine. This important object has been progressing slowly but surely for many, very many years. Thirty three years ago I attended a convention at Portland (a Delegate from Hallowell) on the same subject. I rejoice, Sir, that you & I have lived to see it accomplished and at a time too, when it has been agreed to with so much cordiality & unanimity. God grant that it may prove a great & lasting blessing to the present and to future generations who may hereafter inherit its extensive territory. It is expected that an early day of the session will be assigned for the passage of a bill admiting the "*State of Maine*" into the union upon the footing of the other States.

Your brother will be placed at the head of the government of the new State and in its first organization the Executive will have a trust in charge, truly arduous, delicate, critical and responsible; but the friends of the administration will, I feel confident, afford him their best aid and support, and allow me to say, Sir, that you will be able to give him & your other friends in Maine much salutary good advice.

"A Bankrupt Law" is expected will pass the ordeal of the present Congress—public opinion is inclined to view such a national statute as the lesser, the minor evil upon great general principles.

I am, dear Sir, respectfully and with much esteem

Your obedt. hum. Serv.

DANIEL CORRY.

I presume, sir, we are nearly of the same age. I was born (in Mass 18 miles from Boston) this 3rd Aug. 1752 last mo., old style. my right arm & hand have become very feeble.

* He had not yet been re-elected.

J. Adams to R. King.

Montizello, Dec. 7, 1819.

Dear Sir:

I have received and read with avidity and pleasure your Eloquence and Ratiocination on the great question of Slavery in the Missouri. I have rarely if ever, met, a stronger proof of the importance to a Nation of having in her Councils, Men of great sagacity and long experience in public affairs. As far as my Memory serves me, the facts you have stated are perfectly correct. I believe there was not another Member in Congress, capable of developing their history in detail, with such precision. The right of Congress to prescribe such a condition to the gentlemen of Missouri, is the only question that could raise a doubt in the Mind of any Man of common sense—and that right I think, you have demonstrated in a manner, unanswerable by all the Cavils of Sophistry.

May God preserve you many years for the benefit of your Country—and for the Comfort of your friend and

Honorable Servant.

John Adams.

C. Gore to R. King.

Waltham, Dec. 24, 1819.

My dear Friend:

. . . Previously to my last letter Russell, the Editor of the Centinel, had promised me to print your Discourse on the Missouri Question. My wish is to have it in the Press but a short time before the meeting of the Legislature, that its Effect may be felt there and produce a Resolution in favour of the Exclusion Clause, and I have no Doubt such a Resolution will pass, unless the Bill is hurried through Congress before their assembling, which will be on the 2d. Wednesday of Jan'y. . . . I am as usual your faithful Friend,

C. Gore.

Daniel Webster to R. King.

Boston, Dec. 27, 1819.

Dear Sir:

I send you a Copy of the "Memorial" agreed on here, in relation to the Missouri question, & avail myself of the opportunity to thank you, most sincerely, for the publication of your Speeches on the Subject.

We have added little or nothing, in this Memorial, to the view taken by you; and yet we thought it might be well to state the argument over again, in the hope that some might read it in this shape, who might not see it, better stated, in your admirable Speeches.

I beg to assure you of my very great regard & am yr. ob. St.

Daniel Webster.

CHAPTER XIV.

J. A. King to C. King—Federal Caucus at Albany relative to the Choice of a Speaker—J. A. King to King—Announcing his Election to the Senate—Lansing to King—Congratulating him—W. King to King—Congratulates—Intercourse with British Provinces—King to J. A. King—Sending Thanks to Friends in the Legislature, especially Van Buren—King to J. A. King—Letter from Van Ness—Congratulatory—Answer to it—Van Rensselaer to King—Congratulatory—J. A. King to King—Van Ness' Conduct—Nomination of Tompkins for Governor—Van Buren to King—Nomination of Tompkins and conditional one of Thompson—Clinton must be checked—Van Buren to Thompson—Asking him to accept if Tompkins declines—W. King to King—Protesting against the Association of Maine and Missouri—Trade with British Colonies—W. King to King—Prospect of the Admission of Maine—Chase to King—Petition to Congress for Grant of Lands—Williamson to King—Deprecates Association of Maine and Missouri—Gore to King—Boston Men on Slavery in Missouri—Gore to King—Massachusetts cowers to Virginia.

John A. King to Charles King.

Albany, Jan. 6th, 1820.

Dear Charles :

I promised to give you a more full account of what occurred in the federal caucus. After appointing Mr. Mesier Chairman and Mr. McKown Secretary, the meeting was opened by Mr. Tibbits who stated that the only object that he had in asking the present conference was to ascertain the views and sentiments of gentlemen who had formerly been accustomed to act together ; that he hoped that the gentlemen would generally express their opinions upon the various subjects which it would become their duty in the course of the session to decide upon. Mr. Oakley then rose and said that he was placed in a situation of peculiar delicacy, in relation to the gentlemen composing that meeting ; that it was well known that he had received since the last Session of the

Legislature an appointment from Mr. Clinton *; an appointment however which he had neither directly, nor indirectly solicited or expected ; that it had been conferred without condition and had been accepted by him, he trusted, without reproach ; that it was however not to be concealed that this circumstance would have the effect of rendering any expressions of his in relation to the course they ought to pursue, of less weight than they might otherwise be entitled to ; that injurious expressions in regard to his views and conduct during the last winter had been industriously circulated ; that he had been charged with the postponement of Mr. King in order to obtain other appointments ; that the charge was unfounded and unjust ; that he had advocated the nomination of that gentleman then with the same zeal and desire to succeed as he should now do ; that Mr. King was a great and excellent man, and ought and would receive the support of all honorable men ; that after what he had just had the honor of stating to the meeting, he should not now propose any measure for adoption, but that he hoped whatever should be decided upon would be done with unanimity.

Williams followed and at once met the main and prominent object of the meeting—the choice of a Speaker. His sentiment was to go at once into the House and vote for Mr. Clinton's Speaker. With a view of promoting this result he proposed that a committee should be appointed in behalf of the gentlemen then present to meet and state to the friends of Mr. Clinton that the candidate of their choice should receive the cordial support of the federal party. I replied to these remarks of Mr. Williams. I expressed my astonishment and surprise at a proposal of the character of that which Mr. W. had broached and advocated. It was a bold and daring attempt to carry the federal party in a body to the support of Mr. Clinton ; that the gentleman himself should be in favor of Mr. Clinton was by no means surprising nor difficult to be accounted for ; but that he should have the hardihood to offer such a proposition in a meeting of federal gentlemen was most unexpected and I trusted would be resisted by every honorable man of this assembly ; that I would never for

* Attorney-General of the State—"one of the most important, influential and at that time lucrative of offices," in the place of Mr. Van Buren, who was opposed to Mr. Clinton.

one consent to such a transfer of federal votes, nor to any combination of their strength with that of Mr. Clinton for the purpose of effecting that gentleman's purposes; that I was opposed to Mr. Clinton and to those whose interest it seems to have been to rally round and support him; that to Mr. Clinton, humiliating as the fact was, the present distracted and degraded situation of the federal party was to be attributed. He had found means to break in upon our union, to corrupt our fidelity, by succeeding from time to time in gaining those who had enjoyed the confidence and led the opinions of the federal party. To promote the views of this gentleman, therefore, I would never consent, and I should continue to oppose any measure, which should have for its object such a result.

Mr. Tibbits then made some remarks which went to strengthen the ground I had taken, but before he resumed his seat he had almost retracted what in the first instance he had advocated. It seems that he had given an opinion to the Comptroller that he ought not to yield to the construction of the act for which Mr. Tompkins contended, and believing, as he said, that the Comptroller was an honest and faithful officer, much as he hated Clinton, he was almost unwilling to vote for any other Speaker or Council than such as would be likely to protect and preserve so faithful an officer.

Mr. Oakley observed that there appeared to be some difference of opinion as to the course to be pursued; that upon the whole he was disposed to adopt the proposition of Mr. Williams; that we could not probably succeed in carrying a candidate of our own, nor was it perhaps at this moment desirable that we should. He then attacked Tompkins and defended the Comptroller, in which he was seconded by Williams, and between them both, they almost frightened poor Tibbits to death. They said it was highly important for the security of the public Treasury and the preservation of so faithful a servant as the Comptroller in his office, that such a complexion should be given to the House by the appointment of a Speaker and Council as at least should insure those two objects.

Several unsuccessful attempts were then made from different quarters to nominate a federal candidate for Speaker and to continue perseveringly to vote for him. Oakley and Williams were

both opposed to this course. I then stated to the gentlemen, that from the singular proposition that had been made by Mr. Williams and supported by Mr. Oakley, it was sufficiently evident that those gentlemen and their friends had already taken their ground and that it was useless therefore to discuss any longer what was the proper course, when that course had been already decided upon, and gentlemen of the meeting actually pledged to support it; that a fair and honorable proposition had been made from several quarters to nominate and stand by a federal candidate, which had not even been listened to; that the proceedings of last winter, and the sentiments expressed at this meeting were decisive of the fact that the federal party was no longer united and had lost its distinctive character; that under this view of the case I considered it free to every gentleman to pursue the course which he might deem advisable, and that I had no hesitation therefore of avowing my intention to vote for the Republican (or Tammany candidate if the gentlemen pleased so to call it) for Speaker of the House, and should not again meet with a party led and governed by such men as those who, we had heard this night, boldly advocate the cause of Mr. Clinton; and with a view to putting an end to the fruitless discussion which had prevailed, I moved an adjournment, which was carried. I have not written to my father upon this subject; you can show him this letter if you please. My next request is that it may not be published.

Yours sincerely

JOHN A. KING.

J. A. KING TO R. KING.

ALBANY, Jan. 8th, 1820.

DEAR SIR:

You were this day appointed by the Legislature of this State a Senator of the U. S. for 6 years from the 4th of March last.* The

* Hammond in his *Political History of New York* gives an account of the political condition causing this result (vol. i., pp. 514 *et seq.*). Edward M. Shepard, in his *Life of Martin Van Buren*, gives an interesting account of the circumstances in connection with the re-election of Mr. King to the Senate of the United States in 1820. He attributes it, and without doubt justly, to a pamphlet advocating Mr. King's claims, written by Mr. Van Buren with the aid of William M. Marcy. It is not possible to present here this able paper; but we

vote in the Senate was unanimous and you received all the Votes of the assembly except three which were given for Walter Bowne by three of the New York delegates, Crolius, Heney and Hunter. The Republican Members had a meeting last evening in order to ascertain the sentiments of their party upon your nomination, at which your claim to their support was fully discussed and advocated by Van Buren, Irving and Root. The unanimity of the choice is, I must confess, greater than I had anticipated, and will undoubtedly be considered by the other States as an honorable testimony to the character and services of a distinguished States-

cannot refrain from giving the following statement from Mr. Shepard's book, p. 60, both as interesting in itself and as accounting for the close relations of King and Van Buren.

"King's return was free from other suspicion than that he probably preferred the Van Buren to the Clintonian Republicans. Van Buren, seeing that the Federalist party was at an end, was glad to do a public service, and to ally with his party, in the divisions of the future, some part of the element so finely represented by Rufus King. In private Van Buren urged the support of King even more emphatically. 'We are committed,' he wrote, 'to his support. It is both wise and honest, and we must have no fluttering in our course. Mr. King's views towards us are honorable and correct. . . . Let us not, then, have any halting. I will put my head on its propriety.' Van Buren's partisanship always had a mellow character. He practiced the golden rule of successful politics, to foresee future benefits rather than remember past injuries. Indeed it is just to say more. In sending King to the Senate he doubtless experienced the lofty pleasure which a politician of public spirit feels in his occasional ability to use his power to reach a beneficent end, which without the power he could not have reached; a stroke which to a petty politician would seem dangerous, but which the greater man accomplishes without injury to his party standing. A year or two after King's election, when Van Buren joined him in Washington, there were established the most agreeable relations between them. The refinement and natural decorum of the younger man easily fell in with the polished and courtly manner of the old Federalist. Benton, who had then just entered the Senate, said it was delightful to behold the deferential regard which Van Buren paid to his venerable colleague, a regard always returned by King with marked kindness and respect.

"Rufus King's re-election to the Senate was believed to have some relation to the Missouri question, then agitating the nation; and that he was supported by his State in the course he so ably pursued is clearly proved by the resolutions passed in January, 1820, instructing the Senators and Representatives 'to oppose the admission, as a State in the Union, of any territory not comprised within the original boundary of the United States, without the prohibition of slavery therein, an indispensable condition of admission.'"—Shepard's *Life of Van Buren*, p. 62.

man. Much is due unquestionably to these considerations, much also to the hopes and fears of the contending parties. A copy of the joint resolutions under which you have been appointed will be immediately transmitted to you. Accept my congratulations upon the gratifying event which has crowned this day and believe me Affectionately Yours

JOHN A. KING.

CHANCELLOR LANSING TO R. KING.

ALBANY, Janry. 11, 1820.

DEAR SIR:

I cordially congratulate you on your re-election & the circumstances attending it. I consider them as a subject of reciprocal congratulation of many friends to our Country, as an evidence of the returning practical good sense of a community, long in the habit of excluding from its service, some of its best Citizens by the influence of an implacable party spirit.

As all parties have united in your election, with unparalleled unanimity, influenced by the conviction of your devotion to your country's best interests and the discernment by which it has been directed, it is an additional reason for gratulation, that you are thus placed on high ground from which you can pursue the dignified line of a Statesman, whose prime object is, to render that Country prosperous & happy with less embarrassment and greater effect. I have the honor to be, dear Sir, with the greatest

Respect & Esteem &c

JOHN LANSING JR.

W. KING TO R. KING.

BOSTON, Jany. 14, 1820.

DEAR SIR:

Your re-election to the Senate of the U. States gave me, as well as the people generally of this section of our Country, great pleasure. Our people in Maine will want your assistance again. The unprecedented arrangement of coupling Maine & Missouri together in one Bill, is legislating upon principles which when speaking of the Senate of the U. States, I should hardly presume to give a name to. I hope you will soon proceed to Washington, and give this subject your usual consideration.

When I last had the pleasure of meeting you at Washington, you made some enquiry in relation to the intercourse between the British Provinces of New Brunswick & Nova Scotia and this Country. It was then my opinion that the intercourse between those Provinces, also Bermuda, and this Country, was of very little importance. However as a general principle I am inclined to think it would not be well to exclude our vessels from any port whatever, but to provide in your Bill that no articles shall be imported from those places but such as are the growth or produce of the place ; this would as effectually check the trade as a prohibition, as they would not be able to pay other than in money, of which they would soon be exhausted.

The President having named the subject of colonial trade in his Message, I am inclined to think Congress will be disposed to take the subject up. I will thank you to advise me particularly —(about these things) . . .

With Respect & Esteem your Brother

W. KING.

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

JAMAICA, L. I., Jany. 14, 1820.

DEAR SIR :

I did not receive until last evening your letter of the 8th inst., when I likewise received from Mr. Bacon, on the part of the Senate, information of my appointment ; a like communication from Mr. Clark on the part of the Assembly reached me a day or two before. The degree of unanimity with which the choice has been made will as I hope supply in authority deficiencies that I might otherwise experience. As in the course of this business very much is due to the constancy of Mr. Van Vechten and Mr. W. Duer, I desire that in my behalf you would express to each of them, how strongly I feel my obligation for these friendly exertions.

The part taken by Mr. Van Buren has indeed been most liberal, and as I conceive at the risk of impairing his high standing and influence among his political friends ; do not fail therefore to inform him that I can never be insensible of his generosity & that no occasion can arrive, that I shall not be ready to prove to him the personal respect & esteem with which he has inspired me.

It will be a week perhaps before I can put my affairs in a condition that will allow me to leave home, when I shall proceed to Washington. I should be glad before hand to understand the present views at Albany respecting the spring election—not having been in town I know nothing of what is passing. . . .

affectionately yrs.

RUFUS KING.

P. S. Make to Genl Root and others my acknowledgments for the part they have taken in my behalf; which I may confidently assure them will not be adverse to the welfare of their country. To Mr. Young & Mr. Skinner of the Senate I also feel the highest obligation.

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

JAMAICA, L. I., Jany. 14th, 1820.

DEAR SIR:

I last evening recd the letter, of which a copy follows, from W. W. Van Ness.

"Albany 8th Jany. 1820. Dear Sir: You have been just appointed to the Senate of the U. S. by an almost unanimous vote. I congratulate you on this event. It is due to myself, and this is the proper time for me to say, that it is utterly untrue that I ever was opposed to your appointment. I wished it last winter as much as I did this.* In my opinion your failure last winter was owing to the indiscretion of some of those who arrogated to themselves the merit of being your exclusive friends, & the intrigues of others who had views of their own, to the accomplishment of which your election was made secondary and subordinate. I make this communication from motives which I trust will be properly appreciated, and I have a sufficient pledge in your known liberality that I shall not be misunderstood. I am respectfully your ob. serv. W. W. Van Ness." I returned the subjoined

* W. W. Van Ness writes to Sol. Van Rensselaer from Albany, January 5, 1820:

"Rufus King will be chosen Senator, though many of the Bucktails are violently opposed to him. It would be very easy to defeat him, but I am decidedly in favor of his appointment."—Mrs. Bonney, *Legacy of Historical Gleanings*, i., 341.

answer, viz, "Jamaica L. I. Jany. 14 1820—Sir, I last evening recd. your letter of the 8th instant; the subject in all its parts is one that has given great and anxious concern; and the tenor of your letter is calculated to add not a little to my embarrassment. It would exceed the ordinary limits of a letter, and might otherwise be inexpedient to state with any degree of particularity the tissue of facts and circumstances which certainly have made a deep impression on my mind and served to produce feelings and alienations which were resisted as long as it was in my power to resist them. The whole subject, I shall be ready, should you desire it, to communicate to you whenever a personal Interview may enable me to do so. I am, Sir, respectfully your ob. Serv. Rufus King."

Should the judge desire it, our interview cannot take place before my return from Washington. Show this correspondence confidentially to Wm. Duer & Van Buren. In the interval I shall be obliged to you or W. Duer to draw up a little narrative respecting the sentiments, conversation & measures, affecting the subject of his letter, including the conversation with Wickham & Jn. Duer in Orange, the privity to prevail on Yates to be a Candidate and the direct overture to Kent. wh. was mentioned by the Chancellor to Floyd and by him to me, &c. &c.

From the nature of our correspondence, at least at this stage, it must be regarded as strictly confidential. I am truly yrs.

R. K.

STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER TO R. KING.

ALBANY, Jany. 17, 1820.

DEAR SIR:

. . . Accept my congratulations on your election. We are more indebted to our federal strength than the good will of either faction: I am preaching up the doctrine to join neither party, but support our best men in the several Counties. Clinton is more popular among the federalists than with the democrats. I learn that many appointments of militia officers, Justices of the Peace, &c, have been conferred on them with great effect.

I still think it doubtful if a suitable character is nominated whether he will be elected. The Jacobins are in favor of Tomp-

kins, the more moderate in favor of Yates. The Western People think Tompkins will divide the votes with Clinton & of course oust him.

With great respect your friend

S. Van Rensselaer.

J. A. King to R. King.

Albany, Jany. 19th, 1820.

Dear Sir:

I received your two letters of the 14th, and have this afternoon communicated their contents to Mess. Duer & Van Vechten. Your injunction in relation to Judge Van Ness' singular letter and your reply shall be strictly obeyed. It would seem to me that he meant to implicate Oakley and Jacob R. Rensselaer, when he speaks of those who had views of their own to the accomplishment of which your election was made secondary and subordinate. Oakley is yet the only man who has reaped his reward, although I have heard J. R. Rensselaer frequently spoken of as Secretary of State in the place of J. Van Ness Yates, whose connexions (if he is not himself) are hostile to Mr. Clinton. I will endeavour in the course of the session to collect and arrange the facts and conversations, which can have any bearing upon the subject of the Judge's letter and I entertain not the slightest doubt of being able to produce such testimony of his hypocrisy and infidelity as will require more art than ever he is master of to explain or escape from.

The republican party, at a full meeting last evening, nominated D. D. Tompkins as a candidate for the government of this State; he received 52 votes out of 64, 8 for Yates and 4 scattering. I shall refrain from going into the detail of what led to and what may grow out of this nomination, inasmuch as Van Buren told me that he should this day write to you a full account of what has already occurred, and the hopes that he and his friends entertain of being able to induce the Secretary of the Navy, in the event of Tompkins' resignation, to become their candidate. We entered very fully into the whole subject, and I think from all that fell from him, that there is some reason to believe that the Vice President may be brought to that determination. It is certain that the vote for him was not given under any belief or impression that he was

to decline, but with a full knowledge of his whole case, and with a determined resolution to carry him, if he accedes to the nomination. . . .

Very Sincerely yours
JOHN A. KING.

M. VAN BUREN TO R. KING.

19th Jany., 1820.

Private.

DR. SIR:

The Republican Members of the Legislature have had a meeting here and with great unanimity nominated the Vice-President as our Candidate for Gov., of which notice has been sent to him.

Some of our friends think that it is dangerous to support him under existing circumstances and all apprehend that he may decline, & that his doing so would throw us into great confusion, unless we could be authorized to bring forward the Secy. of the Navy, which it is conceded on all sides would effectually settle the question of Mr. Clinton's future prospects. Upon this to us most interesting subject I take the liberty of addressing you and soliciting your interference with our friend the Secretary.

A few of us, to whom alone the matter is known, have written freely to the Vice President on the subject, & to meet the event of his having left the City of Washington, I have sent a copy of our letter to the Secretary, of which circumstance the *Sec. is not informed.* There are many points of view in which it would be desirable to place this subject before you, but which I am fully satisfied you will well appreciate without farther explanation. I will therefore only say, that if the Vice P. is with you, and upon a free discussion between you, the Sec. & himself, he should resolve to decline, you can induce the Secy. to consent to our using his name; or, in the event of the V. P's having left you, if you can induce the Secy. to write to us that if the V. P. declines I may in my discretion use his name, you will do a lasting benefit to the Republican interest of this State, and I firmly believe in the greatest degree promote the public gain.

It appears to me that to check Mr. Clinton's career is a matter of as much interest to our sister States as to us; he has collected

around him a set of desperadoes, who, instigated by the hope of official plunder, will never be content to limit their depredation to the boundaries of the State, but would, if successful here, without doubt, extend their incursions abroad. I cannot therefore but hope that Mr. Monroe would under suitable explanations interest himself to prevail on Mr. Thompson to comply with our wishes. He certainly could in no way do this State a greater service. How this could be done is not for me to say, & I know no man to whom I would ever broach the subject except yourself. Every man you know has his ulterior views of life; I think I know the Secretary as well as any man living. He is unambitious & for himself wishes nothing so much as retirement; he has long been balancing in his own mind as to the propriety of asking the place of Collector of New York. He has an utter aversion to occupying the chair of the State, but if he could see his way clear for an early retreat from it, he might be content to take it for a season. Again, if his present place could be kept in reserve for him for one or two years, if that were preferable, we might I trust supply an *occupant* from this State who would consent on such pressing inducements as exist with us *to be used on the occasion*, & who might be no discredit to the administration. You will at once perceive the extreme delicacy of this subject and the propriety of my wish to avoid multiplying unnecessary words in regard to it. The honor & prosperity of my native State is my sole inducement; one which has led me into a trying controversy with a band of able, but, as I conscientiously believe, very profligate men. Success in this point would put all at rest and New York instead of continuing to be the headquarters of factions might look forward to some respect & consideration in the Union. I submit it all to your direction & better judgment; only adding that every *hour* of delay is to us most distressing and that if the Secy. so wishes it, his letter to me may, in case the V. P. has left you, request that I do not use it unless the V. P. peremptorily and unconditionally declines or on any other fair condition. The Mail is about closing. I must therefore throw this hasty scrawl on your indulgence.

Yours very sincerely

M. V. Buren.

(*Letter enclosed in the above.*)

M. VAN BUREN TO SECY. OF THE NAVY (THOMPSON).

Strictly Confidential.

Jany. 19th, 1820.

MY DEAR SIR:

The enclosed letter will explain to you what we wish. The Vice President is apprized that a copy has been sent to you, as you will see. If he has left Washington, you will see the propriety of sending a speedy answer. That answer must be, my dear friend, that *in the event of the Vice President's insisting upon it*, you will consent to our wishes. In no other event do we urge it. You will see how well I know you and how strong my opinion of your being above the little prejudices of small men, when I feel it safe to hold such language to you. I have written to Mr. King on the subject, because I know that he has already conversed with you and the Vice President in relation to it, and because I am fully satisfied of his friendship for you both and because I am sensible that he is best qualified to bring about a state of things, which would justify a compliance on your part with our wishes. Show him unreservedly a copy of our letter (in the same confidence in which it is written) and let me entreat you to be influenced in some degree at least by his advice. I know not what it will be, but I know well that there is no one better qualified to give it. The republican party in this State never were better united: they all love, honor and esteem the Vice President; but such is their extreme anxiety to ensure the prostration of the Junto, who have stolen into the seats of power, that they all desire that you should be the candidate. They will support Tompkins to the bat's end if you refuse or he should not decline: but if he does, and you consent to our wishes, you will be hailed as the Saviour of New York. There are a thousand considerations pressing upon my mind, all tending to satisfy me of the propriety of your standing the election. You will have no trouble, expense, and need have no anxiety, for no one disputes but that your nomination alone will settle the prospects of Mr. Clinton.

I never gave you bad, or I think indiscreet advice and under that conviction I venture to urge my opinion upon you. I will not be misunderstood and it cannot therefore be necessary for me

to repeat that you are not requested to do anything more than to comply with the wishes of the Vice President and your friends. If they are not expressed, whatever you say will remain with you. I repeat that in the event I have spoken of, your compliance with our wishes will be gratefully remembered by the republicans of the State, and unquestionably lead to one of the most signal triumphs we have ever had in this State.

Yours affectionately

M. V. Buren.

Wm. King to R. King.

Boston, Jany. 23, 1820.

Dear Sir :

. . . Your election to the Senate of the U. States, and acceptance has given universal satisfaction to the people in this quarter of the Union. In the attempt to associate the admission of Maine and Missouri together,* the motive is so apparent, that it has excited general disgust in this State. The people of Maine considering that they were about making application to Congress for admission into the Union, refrained from expressing any opinions on the subject of the Missouri question ; as soon as it was ascertained, however, that the intention was to coerce the delegation of Maine at Washington, the Senators and Representatives from Maine to this Legislature lost no time in having a meeting to designate persons to express their opinions to our delegation to Congress, which they have done.

The people of Maine are desirous to be admitted into the Union, provided this can be done on terms honorable & correct ; but they will not, I am sure, consent to bargain their way along let the consequence be what it may. In these opinions I have much pleasure in stating to you the Senators and Representatives from Maine to this Legislature unite with me to a man.

Mr. Holmes is the only Representative from Maine who will vote with the people of the South ; it is hardly fair to judge his motives, altho' opinions are expressed freely on the subject. What his situation is to be hereafter will very much depend on the

* January 6th an amendment to the bill for the admission of Maine as a State by adding that for the admission of Missouri was offered in the Senate, so that both would be admitted together.

course which he now pursues in relation to this question which is getting to be more & more important every day.

Our friends in Massachusetts are much pleased to find us proof against temptation and they will do anything for us, which we could with propriety ask. I should therefore not be surprised should Congress not admit us, if we were to repeal the proviso, in the separation act, relative to our obtaining the assent of Congress before the 4th of March, and let the State government of Maine go into operation after that time and obtain the assent of Congress when it is their pleasure to give it to us; this would be a course we should regret; our people will not consent to go back; it is the only one they will be satisfied with if we are not admitted into the Union.

You say that you are disappointed that I am not to meet you at Washington; I can assure you I am myself; it was what I most particularly wished. Having been placed on Committees for the purpose of addressing the people of our District to effect the separation, we there disavowed party considerations as having any influence, and we assured the people they would not have influence in the organization of the Government. The people have selected me as a Candidate for redeeming these pledges. I could not in the opinion of my friends decline; the task will be an unpleasant one. I must endeavour to perform it; many must be disappointed, I hope but few with such reasons as will justify it.

Our friend Mr. Mellen will now act with you in reference to our Maine question; you named him very respectfully in your letter to me at the conclusion of your last session. I have much pleasure in now saying to you that the estimation in which Mr. Mellen is held by the people of Maine is such that he may select himself his situation; this much is quite certain, the Chief Justice-ship will be offered him or the people will be much disappointed.

I received a letter a few days since from Mr. Hill who is one of the commercial Committee, saying that the Committee had agreed on a report prohibiting all trade with New Brunswick, Nova Scotia & Bermuda; I now repeat to you what I before stated. I believe, that the best and most satisfactory footing on which you can place our commercial intercourse is to permit our vessels to proceed to every port that is permanently open to them;

but not in any case to permit the entry from such part of any article which was not the growth, produce, or manufacture of it. I would prohibit the importation of all spirits made from grain. Our agricultural gentlemen must have been inattentive to their interest not to have done this long since, and I see no objection to the prohibiting the importation of the spirit from cane; but I can see a very great advantage which would accrue to the agricultural interest from the measure. . . .

Respectfully & affectionately yours

W. KING.

W. KING TO R. KING.

BOSTON, Jany. 25th, 1820.

DEAR SIR:

The Legislature of Massachusetts have been together some fourteen days; very little has been done in consequence of the delay which we have experienced in being admitted into the Union. An act, apportioning anew the Senators within Massachusetts proper, will be necessary; it will also be necessary to apportion the Representatives to Congress between the two States until another numeration of the people: these and many other measures are delayed; our session will be a short one, as there is very little business from Maine. As we shall have very soon to act, I wish your advice as to the most proper course.

Massachusetts gave her consent to our being an independent States after the 15th March next, *provided we obtained the consent of Congress on or before the 4th of March.* This proviso will now be repealed; presuming it to be so, what will be our situation after the 15th March? Can we proceed and organize our State Government, elect our Senators, &c &c, as Alabama did (should we not then be admitted into the Union)? or must we proceed in relation to our State concerns as heretofore with Massachusetts? have the goodness to give this subject your usual consideration and advise me as early as convenient.

Will you have the goodness to advise me what the probability is of our admission? . . .

Respectfully & affectionately Yours

W. KING.

[Endorsed "Ansd. 30th."]

Bp. Chase to R. King.

Worthington, Ohio, Jany. 25, 1820.

Dear Sir :

Mr. Chester Griswold, who went on last summer from this place to solicit funds for an infant Seminary, said he had the honour of an interview with you ; and that you had the goodness to speak favourably of our applying to Congress for aid in the grant of lands to our College. Under the impression which this intelligence has created I beg leave now to address you ; and to solicit your patronage to the Petition, which accompanies this.

I know not the minds of the members of our own State. . . . If by your kind address they could be influenced to come heartily into the measure, we should owe much to you. . . . To my knowledge of your character would I could add a personal acquaintance to justify me in addressing you, as I feel, on the subject alluded to in this letter. The interests of learning, morality and religion are so interwoven with the fate of our Petition, that it will be like a death blow to us to hear of its failure. May we be spared the pain of such an event by your interference in our behalf. . . .

Philander Chase.

W. D. Williamson to R. King.

Boston, Jany. 26th, 1820.

Dear Sir :

A knowledge of your friendship for Maine emboldens me to address you on the strange and unexpected posture of affairs at Washington. The junction of Maine & Missouri in the same bill, for purposes so apparently unwarrantable, is viewed by all here with a degree of indignation and much regret. Still we believe they will be disconnected and each be considered separately, as is only consistent with true republican principles ; as the merits of each are exclusively its own. We cannot surrender our faith, but that Maine will be received into the American Confederacy prior to the 4th of March.

Mr. Williamson then asks what would be the condition of Maine should not its admission take place before that time, as the Act of the Legislature of Massachusetts authorizing

the separation required that the admission of Maine into the Union must be before that date. He then says:

On the great question we are, I believe, all willing to have Maine prohibited in the strongest terms from slave-holding, and we are about as willing to risk the untried consequences of sovereignty, separate from the confederation of the States, as to have slavery indelibly graven on the frontlet of that bill, which shall make Maine a *member* of the great American Empire. Such I mean to say are the sentiments of very many, still it becomes us all to act with circumspection & policy, tho' never to the sacrifice of principle. . . .

With high consideration of affectionate esteem and respect, &c

WM. D. WILLIAMSON.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, Jan. 28, 1820.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . The Conduct of the People has been as vacillating and unaccountable, on the Missouri Question, as I ever knew on the most trifling Subject. Shortly after the Meeting in New York, there appeared a simultaneous assembling of the Citizens in various & distant Parts of the Commonwealth, expressing an earnest Wish that Missouri should not be admitted into the Union, but on the express Condition of excluding Slavery; and in all, exhorting their Delegates in Congress, not to consent to the admission, without this Clause of Exclusion, and in many, intimating a strong Disapprobation of those, who had voted for the admission, without such Conditions. Your Speech had provided Arguments & Facts for the Orators & Memorialists both here and in New Hampshire, and I am told, that Judge Story very publickly declared, that all the Arguments in one of the Memorials, written by him, were from your Publication. The Speech, which I had, was lent by me to Webster. Finding it not in any of our Newspapers, I wrote a Note to the Editor of the Centinel, desiring its Insertion, in Season for its operation on the Legislature, who, I presumed, would express the opinion of the State, on this Subject. The Day that I had dispatched my Note & before Russell had

received it, he requested of me, through my Brother, a Copy of the Speech, that he might publish it, saying that Shaw had the only Copy he knew of, and that he could not procure it of him. Shaw, not Atheneum Shaw, is the man who wrote the Review of this Piece, in the North American Review. Russell printed my Note & declared his Intentions to print the Speech, which I sent to him from Webster. Observing he delayed longer than was agreeable, I again wrote him, when he replied, that some Friends to the good Cause had thought to postpone for the present any Discussion of the Subject, and his Paper was filled with Bronson's Letters to the Sec'y, replete with Truisms on a Subject, on which the People of Massachusetts have no Doubts to be removed, nor Errors to be corrected. Both Russell and the Editor of the Repertory had likewise promised Webster to publish this Argument. Mr. Lowell had travelled to Washington and there met many Virginians & Carolinians, beside Fromentin who inveighed most bitterly against the Attempt to annex Conditions to the admission of Missouri. He came home impressed with Fears & Doubts and communicated these to the Printers. Letters from Washington, it is said, urged most vehemently a total Silence on the Subject. Quincy, who was one of the Boston Memorialists, cooled off entirely & hesitated on the Propriety of doing anything. Mr. Sullivan who delights in the Sunshine of Popularity, was also deeply affected. Everything must give way to the Production of a right Understanding relative to the Hartford Convention, and to the Establishment of the fair Fame of its members, which would be interfered with, if this Disposition against Slavery was expressed too loudly. The Business in the Legislature, has been suffered, or rather caused, to go on in so languid a manner, as to produce no Effect on Congress. In writing on some other Subject to Mr. Quincy, I told him I could comprehend neither the Wisdom nor Policy which closed the public Presses against the Discussion of this interesting Subject, and procrastinated the Expression of the Sentiment of this Government, until it was certain it could be of no avail. He did not choose to make any Reply. This is the dreadful Policy, which has its origin and Motive in an Attempt to conciliate all, who have the Disposal of Office & Distinction, at every Expence, and, as I think, to the Degradation of the State and the entire Destruction of its influ-

ence. I have seen no one from Boston, since Sunday and do not know, what, if any thing, was done in the Business on Tuesday the day assigned for considering it.

The detail has been tedious, but I thought you might derive some Information from knowing some of the Circumstances of our strange Conduct.

faithfully & affectionately, your Friend.

C. GORE.

C. GORE to R. KING.

WALTHAM, Jan. 29, 1820.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . There is a baneful and malignant Influence spreading itself over the mind & Manners of the State, withering its nerves and blighting its Vigour. The Governor, as I am told, inculcating the Doctrine that the Legislature had better not interfere on the Subject of Missouri, Quincy already committed in the Boston Memorial, declined to serve on a Committee, raised for the Purpose of expressing the sentiments of the Legislature. The Gentlemen from Maine yield to the unworthy manœuvre of Govr. Barbour. In fact Massachusetts cowers under the arrogant Pretentions of Virginia, and without a Struggle submits to have the Chains, under which she groans, rivetted and increased. We have done enough to show our disposition, and retired in Season from opposition, to afford only advantage to our opponents, and reap nothing but contempt for ourselves. Our Manufacturing People, I mean those of Waltham, would be more satisfied with the Prospect of the present Duty being permanent than to see it increased. Under the latter Plan, should it take place, they would greatly fear a Reaction in Public Sentiment, that might deprive them of the advantage now enjoyed. . . .

Your faithful Fd,

C. GORE.

CHAPTER XV.

King to Gore—Missouri Debate—W. Pinkney—King to Van Buren—Vice-President's Nomination for Governor of New York—Conversation with Him—Exclusion of Clinton desirable—Van Buren to King—Relative to Vice-President's Nomination—He will Stand—W. King to King—Separation of Maine from Massachusetts—King to J. A. King—Massachusetts Legislature mean and timid—J. A. King to King—Thompson said no other possible Candidate than the Vice-President—Corry to King—Protests against coupling together Maine and Missouri—King to J. A. King—Speech on Missouri Question satisfied himself—J. Q. Adams' Opinion of King's Speech—J. A. Dix—On King's Speech—Goldsborough to King—Estimate of Pinkney—Tudor to King—Boston's Course in reference to the Missouri Question—King to J. A. King—Pinkney's Speech—King's Answer—Junction of Maine and Missouri dissolved—Troup to King—Proposal to remove Oneida Indians—King to Gore—Anecdote and Points of his Speeches on the Missouri Question—King to J. A. King—State of the Missouri Question—Efforts to divide the Representatives of the free States—Gore to King—Senate of Massachusetts has at last acted.

R. King to C. Gore.

Georgetown, Jany. 30, 1820.

Dear Sir:

I have duly received & thank you for your kind letter of the 23d. I arrived on the 25th, found the Senate and House both engaged upon the Missouri Question, which engrosses the whole time and attention of Congress. The Senate have been employed a fortnight and are likely to be so a week longer on this subject. The debate in the House, it is said, will continue thro' all February. I have hitherto taken no part; coming in in the midst of the debate, I have therefore thought it most becoming to hold back. But as I do not learn that any new point has been advanced which shakes our doctrine, I feel no solicitude, except for the result. Efforts are making out of doors to weaken the good cause & seduce those who can be warped from their duty. I shall avail myself of the first occasion that may occur to reexamine the subject, and the more so on account of the vanity which one of our old acquaintances has manifested.

I have maintained the same behaviour, reserved but not disrespectful, which we were accustomed to observe towards this gentleman [Mr. W. Pinkney]. The day of my arrival, he came to me with much appearance of frankness, expressed his satisfaction at our meeting here, adding that he took the first opportunity to say to me, that we should never disagree on any public question in the Senate, except this slave restriction &c. &c. You may make my reply as well as I repeat it, and so we stand. His speech was gaudy and captivating; his appearance being announced the floor of the Senate was filled by Ladies & Gentlemen, a majority of the former. I do not hear, however, that it is alleged that any new principle was established; and on the whole have a suspicion that the effect of the argument was not that *promised*, as well as anticipated.

Every other business is neglected for Missouri, and the admission of Maine is made precarious by the conduct of Holmes, whose vanity, if there be no other cause, has brought him forward as the champion of the slave States; in two successive days, he repeated, or issued a new edition of Mr. Pinkney's speech. The effect is injurious among the friends of Maine, and his behavior encourages the enemies to persevere, in hopes by the apostacy of the Reps. from Maine to establish slavery in Missouri & throughout Louisiana. . . . As I decline going into company, I am out of the current of small news. . . . Yrs R. K.

R. KING TO M. VAN BUREN.
(*Private.*)

WASHINGTON, Jany. 31, 4 o'cl. P.M., 1820.

DEAR SIR:

The V. P. left us today at noon; on his way he stopped at the Senate, and we had a short conference in one of the Committee Rooms. I had not seen him since the date of my last letter, having omitted from considerations of delicacy to call upon him.

Alluding to his nomination, he asked me what course, as between him & Clinton, the Federalists would in my opinion be likely to take: before answering, I asked him if he had decided to accept the nomination; he replied that he had not yet received it; the same having been forwarded to Mr. Thompson of N. Y.,

who detained it to be delivered on his arrival there ; that he had, therefore, made no reply. I then observed as between him & Mr. Clinton, my apprehension was that a majority, possibly a large majority of them, would vote for Mr. Clinton ; adding that between the Secretary of the Navy and Mr. Clinton, I was persuaded that a majority of the Federalists would prefer the Secretary.

He observed that the Secy. of the Navy would decline being the candidate, and asked what would be the issue if Judge Yates be the Candidate. I replied that I was too little informed to be able to form an opinion ; that, altho' Mr. Clinton might receive a majority of the Fedl. votes, he (the V. P.) would doubtless obtain a majority of all the other votes, and the issue wd. depend on the comparison of the two majorities.

Apologizing for the frankness with which I expressed my opinions, I added that I hoped he would wait until he reached N. York before he decided ; perhaps he would think it best to delay his answer until he arrived at Albany ; one thing I considered to be absolutely necessary ; that was that his a/c. should be definitively closed before the election. He answered that he was going immediately to Albany, with four propositions which would lead to a final settlement ; that he might think it best to delay his answer to the nomination until he should reach Albany. He was in his own carriage, but should perhaps leave it for a more rapid conveyance.

I said in conclusion, that altho' I would naturally suppose that there existed great impatience to receive his answer, I nevertheless wished him to delay giving it, until his arrival in N. Yk, and, if he could proceed immediately, until he could reach Albany.

That my earnest wish was the exclusion of Mr. Clinton, and my preference (knowing the personal sacrifice he would make in consenting to his own nomination) that the candidate selected should be the man who in the opinion of those most capable to decide, will be the most likely to accomplish the work.

With great respect & esteem

I am, Dear Sir, yr. ob. Ser.

RUFUS KING.

[Endorsed, "Substance of letter tho' not accurate."]

Wrote private letter to V. Buren, that I did not infer that the Secy of Navy wd. refuse in case the V. P. should do it.

M. Van Buren to R. King.

Feby 2d, 1820.

My dear Sir :

Yours of the 25th & 28th have been duly received & I return you my thanks for your prompt attention to a subject so interesting to us. There has been a degree of coyness between our friends on this subject which has been troublesome to me. I was in hopes it would be peculiarly in your power to dispel it, as I know the extent of their confidence in & the warmth of their friendship for you. The Secretary is a man of the most perfect simplicity & fairness with his friends. The V. P. is equally sincere, but his intercourse for so many years with the politician blacklegs of our state has rendered him more circumspect. I recd. last evening a long letter from the Secy. in which he informs me that the vice President *will stand* & that he "*is thus relieved from any reply to my confidential letter*"—I write him by this mail soliciting him to authorize me (if the V. P. when he arrives here should wish to decline) to act for him according to my discretion, promising him that neither the Vice President, nor any other person, shall be informed of it, if the event which would call for its promulgation does not happen. I commit it to your discretion to forward this application in such manner as you shall think best.

We had yesterday a severe contest on joint ballot for regent and succeeded in appointing our good friend Wm. A. Duer Esq by a majority of three ; this is a bitter pill for our adversaries & most grateful to the feelings of Mr. Duer & his friends.

It will give me pleasure to communicate to you from time to time whatever may transpire here of interest.

Yours affectionately

M. V. Buren.

W. King to R. King.

Boston, February 6th, 1820.

Dear Sir :

Your letter under date 30th Ulto. came duly to hand. Mr. Holmes' course is generally complained of here, and I am inclined to think his constituents will not be disposed to overlook his present conduct.

We shall repeal the proviso in our Act making it necessary to have the assent of Congress by the 3d. of March ; your opinions correspond perfectly with those which we have entertained on the subject ; Senators in Congress we could not expect to have until we are admitted into the Union.

I enclose you a Memorial which has been presented to our Legislature, and signed by all the Counls., Senators, Representatives, and other persons from Maine, now at this place. Having been resisted in all our former measures this course was adopted to preserve the necessary unanimity in future.

Affectionately yours
W. KING.

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 6, 1820.

DEAR SIR :

. . . We have heard nothing of the V. P. since his departure. The Missouri question is still in debate * ; for two days past

* " Feby. 4th, 1820, Mr. Sanford, one of the Senators from New York, was here. His colleague, Mr. R. King, came and passed a couple of hours with me at my office. He has been returned to the Senate by the Legislature of New York in a manner which is unparalleled in this Union. The choice ought regularly to have been made this time last winter ; but there were three parties in the Legislature, of which that in favor of Mr. King was the smallest. Governor Clinton's influence was all exerted against him, and the Republican opposition to Clinton had a candidate of their own. When the next House of Assembly were chosen, last May, it turned out that the federalists had gained ground which Clinton's party had lost. He, therefore to maintain himself, found it indispensably necessary to conciliate the federalists, and, besides appointing several of them to important offices in the State, he changed his policy towards Mr. King, to such a degree that in his speech to the New York Legislature, he recommended King to their choice not indeed by name, but designating him in terms not to be mistaken. The republican opposition took also the same direction, and King who, after 10 trials last winter, could not get so many as twenty votes out of one hundred and fifty, now came in by a unanimous vote of the Senate and by all but three in the House of Assembly. Shortly after the meeting of Congress, he published, at the request of a Missouri question meeting at New York, the substance of his two speeches last winter in the Senate on that bill, which was then lost by the disagreement between the two Houses on the restricting clause. This publication has largely contributed to kindle the flame now raging throughout the Union on that question, and which threatens its dissolution. King is strongly affected and agitated by it. Whether

the Senate have not been in Session ; the subject will be resumed tomorrow, and as soon as it comes up in a shape to permit me to do it without discovering too much zeal, I will take part in the debate.

The Massachusetts Legislature behave with meanness & timidity, and Maine is overanxious, so that I fear defection ; we are moreover exposed to seduction. On the whole I feel much concern for the issue, which, if decided against us, settles forever the Dominion of the Union. Not only the Presidency, but the Supreme Judiciary, at least a majority of its members, will forever hereafter come from the slave Region. This is as fully understood, and almost avowed, as any future purpose. So that the decision of Missouri, will also determine whether the Citizens of the free States are to hold even their actual political Rights, or to be hereafter debarred of some of the most important of them. Old Mr. Adams, as he is the first, will on this hypothesis be the last President from a free state.

Adieu truly yours
RUFUS KING.

J. A. KING TO R. KING.

ALBANY, Feb'y 7th, 1820.

DEAR SIR :

I received your letter enclosing a communication for Mr Van Buren. He had previously heard from the Secretary of the Navy, at great length. The Secretary stated that Tompkins had determined to accept the nomination and that in this decision he fully acquiesced. He thought that there was no other man of their party who would unite so many Republican Votes ; and that if he should decline, and the party be thereby obliged to proceed to another nomination, the novelty of the procedings would in his judgment have the worst possible influence upon the minds even of their best friends ; that it would be attributed to fear and indecision and that the same reason which would pro-

he sees the consequences in their full extent, and has made up his mind to promote them, even to the separation of the Union, I am not sure ; but my own opinion is, that no man ought to take an active part in that discussion without being first prepared for that, and reconciled to it, because it must end in that." —J. Q. Adams' *Memoirs*, iv., p. 517.

duce the declension on the part of the V. P., would operate with equal force against any other candidate they should select ; that but one thing was wanting in the case of the V. P. in order to give him the same currency which he has hitherto had, which is a Settlement of his accounts previous to the Election ; he added that the determination of the V. P. to accept would relieve him from the embarrassment of replying to the confidential letter of Mr. Van Buren. . . . The V. P. is momently expected—as yet no formal acceptance has been received from him ; hopes are still entertained that his decision upon the first presentation of the subject, may yet yield to the wishes of many of his oldest friends. Those however who know him best have no such hopes. Judge Yates has said that he never refused an offer of any sort in his life, and that there were reasons of peculiar force in the present case which would forbid any chance of his refusal. I fear from what has fallen from Judge Yates that if the V. P. accepts, he and all his connexions will at the election be found on the side of Mr Clinton. He thinks that he has been trifled with, and that the time has come when he must take a part in the conflict. . . .

Affectionately Yours.

JOHN A. KING.

D. CORRY TO R. KING.

AUGUSTA, MAINE, Feb. 7, 1820.

DEAR SIR :

We protest, solemnly protest, against coupling the destiny of Maine, the civilized populous State of Maine, (300000 free inhabitants) with the trackless regions, the dreary wastes, the sable tribes of the Missouri beyond the Mississippi. We pretend not to dictate, to instruct, or to memorialize the venerable, the honorable Senators of the U. S. how, or in what mode they ought to legislate for those people, & for that territory yet unforrested & with but few inhabitants. We wish it may be distinctly understood that *Maine disclaims those pretentions*—Sir, we simply ask, we *petition*,* we respectfully solicit & request to be admitted into the UNION, conformable to the express provisions of the Con-

* I was one of the committee for preparing and reporting the *petition*.

stitution. We recognize in the National compact a noble, a proud inscription, pledged, as some understand it, for the success of the petition from Maine—from Maine, Sir, this place of your nativity; and we derive great satisfaction in learning that you have again taken a seat in the Senate, where you so ably advocated the cause of Maine the last session on the question of the coasting-law. Sir, we calculate very much from your aid and assistance in whatever may yet promote the best interests of Maine.

The great unanimity which at this time prevails on the question of our Independence, both in Maine and Masstts. must be ascribed to an over-ruling providence, in bringing nearer to a close, the efforts of the friends of the measure. Sir, we look with confidence to a favorable result, and an honorable organization of our new government. I am, dear Sir respectfully,

Your humble serv't

DANIEL CORRY.

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

WASHINGTON, Feby 11, 1820.

DEAR SIR:

I have been very much engaged in the Missouri question; I mean that it having become expedient that I shd. take a part in the debate, I have been occupied in arranging the subject in my mind, and to-day delivered my opinions to the Senate: with what effect I cannot say, but if I satisfied nobody else, *I may say to you*, that I satisfied myself.* The cause is desperate in the Senate, and

* In his Memoirs, vol. iv., p. 523, Mr. John Quincy Adams writes:

"Feby. 11th I went up to the Capitol and heard Mr. King in the Senate, upon what is called the Missouri question. He had been speaking perhaps an hour before I went in and I heard him about an hour. His manner is dignified, grave, earnest but not rapid or vehement. There was nothing new in his argument, but he unravelled with ingenious and subtle analysis many of the sophistical tissues of the slave-holders. He laid down the position of the natural liberty of man, and its incompatibility with slavery in any shape. He also questioned the constitutional right of the President and Senate to make the Louisiana Treaty; but he did not dwell upon these points, nor draw the consequences from them which I should think important in speaking on that subject. He spoke however with great power, and the great slave-holders in the House, gnawed their lips and clutched their fists as they heard him. . . . We attended an evening party at Mr. Calhoun's, and heard nothing but the

my object was, by taking a bold position, and defending it with some vigour and much confidence, to encourage & hold up others who were languid & discouraged. I shall be greatly misrepresented, but correct in my principles and able as I think to defend them and protect myself, this little warfare will give me no concern. Every new speech becomes the material of another, and the end and issue of the debate are beyond conjecture. . . .

Faithfully yrs. RUFUS KING.

Missouri question and Mr. King's speeches. The slave-holders cannot hear of them without being seized with cramps. They call them seditious and inflammatory, when their greatest real defect is their timidity."

Mr. John A. Dix in his Autobiography, published by his son Rev. Dr. Dix, gives an estimate of the oratorical powers of Mr. King contrasted with those of William Pinkney of Maryland in the debate relative to the admission of Missouri as a State of the Union. He says: "The winters I passed in Washington were prolific of exciting debates in Congress, to many of which I was an auditor. The one which was most fruitful of angry controversy, of wide-spread interest and deep feeling, and even of fears in timid quarters for the preservation of the Union, was in regard to the admission of the State of Missouri into the Union, with a provision prohibiting slavery north of the latitude of 36° 30′. I was so fortunate as to hear the two speeches which on opposite sides of the question, were considered the most able and are to this day the most noted—those of Mr. Pinkney of Maryland against the prohibition, and Rufus King of New York in favor of it. It would be difficult to conceive a greater contrast than that in the oratory of the two senators. Mr. King's was calm, dignified, argumentative, forcible and at times fervid. Pinkney's was impassioned, fiery and sometimes bordering on violence, but sustained throughout with surpassing logical power. It is generally conceded to have been the most effective effort of his life; and in the history of our public debates nothing, perhaps, is so much to be regretted as that this speech was not fully reported. Rufus King responded in all respects to my conception of the old Roman senator, maintaining in his manner the quiet dignity appropriate to the undisputed masters of the greatest empire of the ancient world. Mr. Pinkney seemed to me like one of the democratic orators of antiquity, whose aim it was to carry with them the passions as well as the convictions of the masses, by whom the movements of the government were swayed. I thought in one or two instances that the vehemence of the manner was disproportioned to the thought it was intended to emphasize. For instance, I remember as he stood beside his seat he rushed forward three or four steps and, with a tremendous *supplosio pedis*, one of the devices of ancient oratory, he pronounced the words, 'Distance is a mighty engine.' Untrained as I was at that time in the school of oratory, it struck me that the sentiment, separated from the accessory, did not justify so passionate an utterance. But of the immense power of the orator and his finished delivery no listener could entertain a doubt."—Vol. i., p. 60.

ROBT. H. GOLDSBOROUGH TO R. KING.

NEAR EASTON, Feby. 11th, 1820.

In this letter the writer says he has forwarded to Mr. King some excellent hams, which he commends very highly and hopes he has received. He continues:

. . . It is a matter of great congratulation among your friends throughout the country that you have been again returned to the Senate of the U. States and none feel more gratification than I do on the occasion. The late unexpected change in Maryland, instead of a friend, I might say a Disciple, has given you a formidable Gentn.* to contend with, who I learn goes to the Senate inflated with his success at the bar, arrogantly promising to level all opposition at his feet. . . . Few instances have occurred when two gentlemen took a seat on a legislative body with more fearful anxiety of being assailed. The other gentn. you will find equally confident in his opinions, but very much less able to sustain them. The change under the new order of things in Maryland, I must confess is a divine one; for instead of two humble mortals, such as poor Hanson & myself, the sovereignty of the State is now represented by two Gods, Mercury & Plutus. Eloquence and Riches. . . . I beg you, Sir, to be assured of my great respect and esteem, & believe me your very faithful humble servt.

ROBT. H. GOLDSBOROUGH.

The very interesting nature of the account of the feeling and action of Boston people in reference to the Missouri Question is the reason for giving the following letter notwithstanding its length.

W. TUDOR TO R. KING.

BOSTON, Feb. 12, 1820.

DEAR SIR:

Having felt a strong interest in the question that has produced so much excitement & debate within the walls of the Capitol, and having found this interest grow deeper the more I considered the subject, I have frequently intended to write to you upon this

* Mr. W. Pinkney.

"Missouri question," as I have been convinced that it is chiefly owing to you that the nation has been awakened to examine its consequences. A fear that a faint echo from hence might not be worth attention amid the concussions that shake the atmosphere about you has hitherto prevented me. I hope you will excuse the intrusion now.

You may perhaps recollect when I had the honor of dining with you at Mr Webster's, that among other topics of discussion, you remarked, incidentally, on the total indifference which reigned here on this question, the most important one that had been discussed since the adoption of the constitution. I confess that I knew & thought as little about it as the rest of the community; but your remark sank into my mind, and occupied my thoughts. I at last determined to make some effort here, though this was to be done under the striking disadvantage of having both our Senators & Representatives committed on the wrong side. I conversed with a few of our leading people, and got them slowly to assent to an effort to excite public opinion; engaged some young men to write; if we had a town meeting Webster agreed to speak. After writing myself one or two articles, the resolutions from Trenton came on, and soon after the circulars from New York, which produced a meeting of several gentlemen to prepare what was afterward done here. I mention these circumstances to shew you that the first steps taken here arose from a remark of yours, and grew out of it spontaneously without any knowledge, that contemporaneous efforts were making elsewhere.

I received a letter a few days since from Mr Mason at Portsmouth, expressing surprise at the manner in which our Legislature were acting, or rather not acting, on this great question. The truth is the conduct here is only a continuation of that inconsistency and absurdity, which have for no inconsiderable period characterized us. To have done what we ought not to have done and to leave undone what we ought to have done, should be part of our political, as well as our religious confession: all which arises from our having no leader and no man with sufficient capacity & experience to point out what shall be done & what shall be avoided.

Our Governor said nothing in his speech, and our Legislature are backward: you may account for this from a knowledge of

our general conduct, and one or two particular cases will still further explain it. Mr Lowell made a hasty tour at the commencement of winter to Carolina, coming back by land, and travelling with several southern members of Congress; his imagination easily excited was powerfully affected by the universal violence & passion which he met with in all the southern people and though on other occasions he has shewn himself, *too fond of the right to pursue the expedient* when the course was not quite so obvious, his mind was prepared to receive the suggestions of expediency that were either weakly or insidiously urged. The consequence was he came home here, advising every one to do nothing, not to interfere, and that we should defeat all our own purposes by so doing—what these were I know not—his advice had its weight, & the more so, because if a man of his susceptibility & systematic jealousy was not alarmed—cooler men need apprehend nothing.

Another individual, (I write freely) Mr Quincy, was opposed to the movement here from the beginning, and for this exquisite reason; he feared the strength of these Western States; that some day or other, they would overrun the country, and drive us all into the sea! and therefore he wished they might have slaves to weaken them! this opinion I suppose grows out of some confusion of totally different eras & events in his mind. He is a worthy man and might be a useful one, if there was any syphon to draw him off, but before he pours out his wine he always shakes the bottle, so that the liquor is commonly turbid. Now these two gentlemen were prominent promoters of all the measures which would have led to a civil war at a most unfortunate & obnoxious moment, the object of which was avowed to obtain this very pinciple, which now when it comes naturally forward in a time of peace they think it good policy to abandon.

Mr Mason who was so wisely selected to represent this district writes to Dr. Eustis (who called on me a few days since when we had a good deal of conversation on this topic) that the bringing up this question is altogether an intrigue of Dewitt Clinton's to get over the State of Pennsylvania, and that he is deeply mortified to find the table covered with remonstrances from this part of the country; while the poor Western people who are suffering so much do not say a word. I think no gentleman in Virginia can

wish the delicacy of this district to be carried further, than to be mortified that petitions should be presented against a series of measures that will annihilate the greater part of their commerce, and against a violation of the spirit of the constitution, that will forever destroy the balance of power.

Mr Mason also who was chosen, as the proper person "*to get our money*" represents that the feelings of the southern gentlemen are so hurt by our resistance to their humane views for their slaves, that we shall never receive payment for our claims. I believe Massachusetts honestly entitled to a large part of what she demands, but I wish the question was settled. The money had better be at the bottom of the ocean than held up to induce the most ruinous sacrifice of great political considerations.

If this Missouri question is lost, I believe the separation of the Union inevitable. For however the southern politicians may calculate on our supineness in the free States, however they may think us bounded in our views by small localities, given up to the pursuit of private interest exclusively, and broken into factions occupied in desultory contentions about their paltry concerns ; they cannot suppose us so wholly insensible, as to be patient under the state of things that will arise when their blessed "*diffusion*," of slavery has taken place, when not only the Senate is gone, but in the House there shall be sixty members, the representatives of slaves, sent by the masters of slaves—What an odor will arise from such an assembly ? the corruption of the rotten boroughs in England will emit the perfumes of Araby the blest in comparison. The Virginians seem to have lashed themselves into rage on this point. Mr. Randolph's apposite quotation from Charles the 12th inscription on the map of Riga, was a suitable authority—he might have been reminded of the fate of Charles—it may be ominous. I do not know whether you can be congratulated on getting rid of the chronic diplomacy of Spain as the subject of your discussions, when it is succeeded by a disorder so much more acute & virulent which I fear will gangrene the vitals of the constitution, and produce a premature dissolution. This subject has led me further than I intended. . . .

I am almost ashamed to send you such a volume. I will not add to it by apologies, but beg you to believe that I am with the highest respect Your hble serv't W. TUDOR.

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 16, 1820.

MY DEAR SIR :

Two or three days since I received your letter of ——, but having entered fully into the Missouri Debate, I have been so entirely engaged in it, that I have attended to nothing else. On the Eleventh, Friday, I made my speech : the Senate adjourned till Monday 14th and yesterday Mr. Pinkney delivered his answer taking about three hours. Today I reinforced my first day's work, coupling therewith my animadversions on Mr. P's reply.

Mr. Pinkney's speech was, I am told, in his usual manner, but very respectful, indeed copiously so to me. This finished our debate, and on the question to join Missouri to Maine, the Senate divided 23 for & 21 against the junction. A proposal is now made by a Senator, who was for the junction of the two Bills, to couple with the Bill a provision, which in effect will admit slavery in Missouri, Arkansas and another Region west of the latter sufficient for another State, and to restrict the remainder of the Territory W. of the M. so that slavery shall not be allowed within the same. The fate of this proposal, I am told, tho' uncertain, will be agreeable to the views of its mover. When the question will be settled nobody can say : many speeches are still to be made in the H. of R. . . . Yrs,

R. K.

ROBT. TROUP TO R. KING.

GENEVA, 16 Feb., 1820.

DEAR SIR :

I am informed that Dr. Morse, and his friend Mr. Williams—an Indian Catechist of the Oneida tribe—are at Washington in prosecution of their plan for civilizing the Indians, by getting them to concentrate on some particular reservation, or remove further West. Such is also supposed to be the plan of the government ; and it is one that would promote the interest of my self and friends owning the reservations in this State. As far as you can with propriety favor the success of Dr. Morse with your advice & influence, I should be happy if you would do it.

Hard times here for land holders and land sellers ! Great plenty of produce, but no market for it, and no money in circula-

tion. Not even money enough to be obtained for the payment of the ordinary taxes. We are looking to Congress to help us to a better state of things. Can you do it? I fear not.

Yours very truly,

ROBT. TROUP.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

Feby. 17, 1820.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have been deeply engaged in the Missouri question. Mr. P. had delivered his speech before my arrival; it was pronounced by his admirers to be unanswerable, and some of our friends, who arrived here from New York, and who stayed a day or two in Baltimore, on their way to attend the Supreme Court, were told that Mr. K. was a respectable man, and on that account, his friends in Baltimore were glad that he had not deemed it necessary to reply to Mr. P. or to make a speech in the Missouri bill. I was not, however, of this opinion and on Friday last delivered a speech, not in answer to Mr. P., for I had not heard him, but on the main points of the Question; and after giving & sustaining as well as I could the true construction of the Constitution on this subject, I referred the decision of the Restriction on Missouri to the broad principles of the law of Nature,* a law established by the Creator, which has existed from the beginning, extends over the whole globe, is everywhere, and at all times, binding upon mankind: A

* The following is the statement Mr. King made:

"The extension of slavery beyond the old thirteen States was a violation of the compact. It abridged the political power of the non-slaveholding States. The admission of Louisiana itself made a new confederation or compact; and if the attempt to extend slavery beyond the Mississippi succeed, the people of the north ought not to submit for any interest whatever; that no act ought to be put in competition with political power: if it was, as one of the original parties to the compact, he felt himself in honor bound not to submit. And now, Mr. President, I approach a very delicate subject. I regret the occasion that renders it necessary for me to speak of it, because it may give offence, where none is intended. But my purpose is fixed. Mr. President I have yet to learn that one man can make a slave of another; if one man cannot do so, no number of individuals can have any better right to do it, and I hold that all laws and compacts imposing any such condition upon any human being are absolutely void, because contrary to the law of nature, which is the law of God, by which he makes his way known to man, and is paramount to all human control."

law which applies to nations, because their members are still men ; a law which is the foundation of all constitutional, conventional & civil laws, none of which are valid if contrary to the law of nature ; that according to this law all men are born free, and justly entitled to the possession of life and liberty and to the free pursuit of happiness. Hence that man could not enslave man ; and that states could not make them slaves, since they could not possess any authority except that wh. naturally belongs to man.

That no act of the State, no treaty concluded by it, no law which it might ordain, if contrary to natural law, could be valid. That the political reasons agt. the extension of slavery, were enough to restrain Congress from consenting to it ; but were this not the case, the law of nature imposes this restraint, and as slavery may be prohibited by Congress, they are bound to prohibit it, and moreover are restrained from leaving it to the decision of Missouri for *qui non prohibet, cum prohibere possit, jubet.*

In appealing to these principles, I stated that they were invoked in justification of my opposition, and must not, and ought not to be intended or applied to slavery or the laws respecting it in the old States ; that altho' established against natural law, yet those who established it were independent and not accountable to any other State ; that this independence of States and nations excludes all other States from interfering with or enquiring respecting their performance of its duties. On this principle, the system of neutrality between nations is founded ; every State in its disputes with another claims that justice is on her side ; her opponent denies it, and as no third nation can interpose to judge the question, without destroying the equality and independence of nations, and breaking up the foundations of natural society, both the parties in war are presumed to be right and a code of laws is provided to regulate the Duties and Rights of Neutrality ; So in respect to slavery in the old States, Congress are restrained from inquiring into the legality of slavery which is established in the old States. But in a new case, where the slavery is made to depend on the law of nature, Congress are thereby forbidden to give their consent, &c—

The Senate was adjourned under much excitement created by my introduction of what was called original principles. Four days after, on Tuesday last, Mr. Pinkney made a studied and

elaborate reply. On the next day, I reinforced my argument, pushed with all my strength of it, and making short and precise replies to Mr. P.'s argument, concluded by some new views, which admitted of animation, and tone that I flattered myself would be felt. In a word, however, I succeeded in the opinion of others, I felt satisfied with my poor performance. Missouri was tied about the neck of Maine, and in the vote of today, to unite them, were 24 ayes and 20 nos. This however was brot. about by the majority's consenting to the exclusion of slavery in all the Miss. territory north of the latitude of 36.30. north. The Bill has passed, 24 agt. 20, to be engrossed: possibly the same vote will pass it tomorrow.

The House, which passed the Bill to admit Maine alone, will disagree to the Senate's Amendment to admit Missouri also. A confusion will be the result, and it is supposed a final Compromise by wh. two or three slave states beyond the Mississippi will be allowed, and slavery excluded from all other parts of the Province of Louisiana. I cannot even read over this little sketch, receive it kindly

Affectionately yours

R. K.

R. KING TO J. A. KING AND C. KING.

Sunday, Feb. 20, 1820.

MY DEAR SONS:

The Missouri Bill is gone from the Senate, but meets with formidable opposition in the House of R. The question there is on the amendment which ties Missouri to Maine. There is no doubt I believe of the disagreement to this amendment of the Senate by the House.

What may then be the course or consequence, I am not sure. Every device to separate and divide the Reps. of the free States is put into service & employment. Pennsylvania is assailed, coaxed, flattered and menaced, in order to detach her from her union with the free States; up to this hour she has been the faithful and steady and almost unpaid ally of the slave States and with her help and our divisions, they have ruled the nation, and if they succeed now will rule it forever hereafter.

Her revolt on this occasion alarms, distresses and calls forth all the resources of the slave States to regain Pennsylvania; they will make sacrifices for this purpose, which nothing of inferior importance would lead them to agree to.

Several members of the Senate and some of the H. of R. were early led into a mistake on this subject, and want magnanimity to abandon it; with this aid recruited out of our Militia Corps, the slave Legion have great power, and may regain Pennsylvania; in which event slavery will be triumphant and we shall be lost in political power or influence in the union. The slave Legion will parcel out the great offices, will determine all questions respecting the general & common welfare and, in a word, will rule us as they have done in contempt of our rights.

It is not enough that we shd. be in fact slaves in this great Confederacy, but to reduce us to self humiliation and a sense of utter worthlessness, we must be made the slaves of Slaves. The Plan not only has in purpose to fill the fertile regions W. of the Mississippi with slaves; but a hot controversy exists in Illinois, & Indiana and even in Ohio, to break down the restraints which, by compact between them & the U. S. and by their respective Constitutions also, prevent the introduction of slaves into their extensive, fertile and happy States; and great & continued and (if the Missouri question be carried without restrictions) successful exertions will be made to effect this object.

The power of the Constitution, tho' carped at, is as precise, extensive and express as language can make it; the great, the most essential principles which ought to decide the question of expediency (to say nothing of the indispensable obligations of moral duty) those principles which are set forth in the Preamble of the Constitution, and which proclaim the end and purpose of its establishment, are all violated by the extension of slavery into the Territory beyond the antient limits of the U. S. The Constitution declares that it was ordained and established "in order to form a more perfect union, to establish justice, to ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare & secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." Every man who will apply the project now so strenuously urged of *extending and establishing* slavery must instantly discover, in comparing this object with this noble provision of the

Constitution, that it violates and dishonors the whole and every part thereof; and yet strange, marvellous, blind as men must be who are members of the free States, this terrible & egregious violation not only of the letter, but the entire spirit and end of the Constitution is neither seen nor felt.

R. K.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, Feb. 24, 1820.

MY DEAR SIR:

The Senate of Mass't. has at last past the Resolution respecting Slavery in Missouri, in Season to excite and encrease the hatred, if not the contempt, of our opponents. Some of our Bostonians after having prayed of the Printers not to publish any Papers in favour of the Restriction, and having refused to cooperate in their Legislative Character, in the Promotion of a Resolve, expressive of the Sense of the State on this subject, affect now to throw all the Blame on the Eastern Members—They, the Boston Politicians, took their Part before the Gen'l Court assembled, and no doubt can be entertained under what Influence. Since the Delivery of certain speeches, that these might not appear to have been influenced by the Legislature, the Resolutions are brought forward & passed, and men, who, for the last five weeks, have been saying it was improper or not worth while, for the State to interfere, now their opinion can do no good, are made to declare in Favor of the Restriction.

The conduct of the Delaware Senators and of some from N. England is inexplicable consistent with a supposition of Intelligence, Purity & Firmness.

Faithfully Your Friend

C. GORE.

CHAPTER XVI.

J. A. King to King—Tompkins' Nomination ratified—King to J. A. King—Missouri—He is denounced by Virginia Papers—Van Buren to King—Address—Hopes for his Support—Verplanck to King—Defence of King in the American—King's Influence with Federal Party unshaken—J. A. King to King—The North sustains his Course on the Missouri Question—Asks Support to Course of Federalists in joining Anti-Clintonian Republicans—King to Troup—Answer to Miller's Address—Strives to restore the Influence of the State—Determined Opposition to the Extension of Slavery—Gore to King—Quiet in Boston though Richmond tempest-tossed—Peters to King—Commends his Course—King to Wolcott—Missouri Bill passed—Compromise deceptive—King to J. A. King—Miller Case—Missouri Question settled—King to J. A. King—Miller's Address—Effect of the Missouri Compromise—Gore to King—Indecision of Massachusetts—C. King to King—Indignation at Pinkney's disrespectful Reply—King to Gates—Correcting Misrepresentations.

J. A. King to R. King.

Albany, Feby. 24, 1820.

Dear Sir:

. . . The vice-President arrived here on Washington's Birth Day, and was escorted by the Military, and a great concourse of the Citizens from the ferry to his lodgings, and upon leaving his sleigh was greeted by three cheers from the surrounding multitude. A meeting of between 800 and 1000 persons met at 5 in the Capitol, and there ratified the acceptance of the Vice President and nominated openly General Moers from Plattsburgh as a candidate for Lieut. Governor. A well written address and Resolutions were then submitted by Mr. Van Buren, the Chairman to the meeting, and were adopted with long and repeated cheering.

P. R. Livingston then delivered a short speech and having finished, a motion to adjourn prevailed under such enthusiasm and feelings as used to animate party meetings in the most violent

period of political controversies. A great many federalists were present indeed under the pledge, that has been given by Mr. Tompkins' friends that his accounts should be settled before the election. The great obstacle to the support of many other federalists, will be removed and they will be disposed to act in concert with their republican party at the approaching election.

Affectionately Yours

JOHN A. KING.

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

25 Feby., 1820.

MY DEAR SIR :

I received today yours of Feby. 20, with Miller's Address. A former letter will apprize you of the course I have taken, and the Evening Post will, before this reaches you, possess you of what I have said on the indecent publication of Mr. Miller.

The Missouri Bill remains as it was. Nothing decisive has occurred. I fear ill ; we are on slippery ground, and my experience teaches me that time here gives strength to the wrong side.

Yrs. R. K.

P.S. Since the adjournment of the House, I have heard that on a question to restrict Missouri, the House divided 100 for & 80 against restriction. Perhaps there may be some mistake in this report, as the majority is greater than has been anticipated. The House passed a Bill to admit Maine, the Senate amended the Bill by adding certain sections to admit Missouri without restrictions and a section restricting a great part of the residue of the Territory. To this amendment of the Bill to admit Maine, the House disagreed in toto, and returned the Maine Bill to the Senate, where it remains not yet further acted upon. A Bill to admit Missouri was originated in the House ; and the vote of today to restrict Missouri from admitting slavery was taken and determined in the Committee of the whole as I have above mentioned. This is the actual posture of the question. The Virginia papers denounce with great virulence my course, ascribe to me views & motives which I in no manner am influenced by ; my sole & only object being to oppose the extension of slavery and the protection of the rights of freemen against further abridgement by the virtual representation of slaves. Yrs. truly R. K.

M. Van Buren to R. King.

Feby. 26, 1820.

My dear Sir :

I enclose you our address and the Secy of the N. will read you such parts of a letter I have written to him today as are political. I will keep the V. P. to the settlement of his accounts and their explanation to the people, which together with a public expression of your preference would render our success certain. I will write you again soon. Yours affectionately

M. Van Buren.

Johnson Verplanck to R. King.

New York, Feby. 27, 1820.

Sir :

I have taken the liberty to make some assertions in the American respecting your sentiments, which I thought were warranted by the opinions I have often heard you express on the character and conduct of Mr. Clinton. As your name was before the Public, and as our characters were immediately involved, I trust that altho' unauthorized, what I have said will not be offensive. Should you deem it proper to contradict publicly the falsehood of Mr. Miller, I need scarcely add that it would not only be grateful to us, but eminently serviceable to the cause in which we are engaged. The weight of your opinions with the Federal Party is unshaken and their influence on the course they may pursue in the approaching contest will probably decide its issue. I left Albany some days since to make arrangements for publishing the American daily, of which I have assumed the direction. . . . Charles will continue his support, but various considerations I thought rendered it improper that he should appear before the Public as interested it. . . .

With greatest respect &c.

J. Verplanck.

J. A. King to R. King.

Albany, February 29, 1820.

Dear Sir :

Owing to the bad state of the roads your several letters did not reach me until this morning. We feel as deeply as you appear to

have felt, the great importance of the pending question concerning the admission of Missouri as a free or slave holding State, and the consequences which are in the one or the other event to flow from the decision of this question. I, in common with all your friends, feel gratified and delighted at the effect which it seems has been produced by the two speeches delivered by you upon this subject. If they have roused the spirit of the South against you, I cannot but believe that the freemen of the North will support your bold and as we all think unanswerable vindication of the powers of Congress under the Constitution to prescribe the terms of the admission of new States, and the propriety and policy, independent of the moral obligation, of exercising that power upon this occasion. . . .

We are very desirous of hearing from you in relation to the letter of Mr. Miller to the public. A reply at some length has been published, I perceive, in the last American. But I hope that you will authorise a formal contradiction of the contents of that false and insulting statement. We have it in contemplation to address a letter * to you in behalf of ourselves and such other former federalists as shall coincide in sentiments with us, communicating the views which we entertain of the present state of political parties here, and assigning our reasons for taking part with the Republican party and against Mr. Clinton. We shall be desirous of receiving a reply from you to this letter, both of which it is our intention to make public, and thus boldly, under an open declaration sanctioned by your support, to connect ourselves with that party which is the least corrupt and most willing to receive and promote in preference gentlemen and men of character. . . . Affectionately yours

JOHN A. KING.

R. KING TO COL. TROUP.

WASHINGTON, Feby. 29, 1820.

DEAR SIR :

I yesterday received your letter of the 21st. Our reports from Albany are so confident and contradictory that it seems difficult,

* Draft of the letter written by Charles King and John Duer accompanies this. It is an "Address from certain Federalists to the people of New York.

indeed is so, to form any satisfactory opinion of the future. The reception of the V. P., at Albany excited some considerable feeling; what will be its effect, and how the struggle between him & Mr. C. will terminate, I am without the means of judging. One thing, and that of great consequence, will happen; our State is to be agitated profoundly, our repose & happiness will be disturbed, and our reputation by no means promoted in the eyes of our neighbours, who may however be better pleased with our dissensions than with our union.

I have, as you will perceive by the Evening Post,* been constrained to make a Reply to Mr. Miller's address; who without distinguishing between topics which decorum separates, and which the connexion between me & my son should have restrained him from alluding to, were the allegations wh. he has made true, which they are not, has unnecessarily obliged me to contradict his statement in public, after having explicitly done so in the conference wh. he sought for with me.

As long as there was any hope of repose & of contentment with Mr. Clinton's administration, I was contented and acquiesced in his govt., not for his sake, but for the sake of the State, and in the hope that our great Community might in resources & strength be united and thereby possess & employ its proper & just influence, when, for the common benefit, the same ought to be felt.

This I have earnestly wished for, not for my own advantage, or to promote the views of any man, but to impart to the free States of the Union nothing exclusive, but the just authority and necessary influence in the affairs of the nation, to which they are entitled; but which, owing to causes, that we could control, and for the sake of our own happiness and the freedom of posterity, we should have controlled, have kept us in a scene of internal strife and controversy, that leaves to the other States not only the faculty of governing themselves, but us; who by reason of our follies and feuds are unworthy and incapable of the right performance of our duties.

Here am I cool, but determined, tho' the object of misrepresentation, and the innocent occasion of the resentment of the men of the slave States, in this effort made with clamour and

* This Reply was withheld by Mr. Coleman for reasons he gave, but not satisfactory ones.

much temper to extend slavery beyond its antient limits, and to do this not only at the expense of the rights and just power of the free States but to the plain & obvious danger of the general welfare. I put myself in direct and open resistance, and you may be assured defend myself, and the cause whose feeble advocate I am, with all the means which truth and patriotism place at my disposal.

How the controversy will end cannot be now forseen. The State of N. Y. is well united on this subject, with the exception of Meigs of the City, who is opposed to us, and Storrs, who, altho' he may feel embarrassment, will not, as I hope, indeed I feel persuaded he will not, unite with our opponents, we are of one mind.

We are every day told, or menaced with the dissolution of the Confederacy ; and on what point ? Whether slavery shall be extended into new regions of the Nation, whether Congress shall for the first time sanction slavery, if sanctioned it can be ; and in this dispute, let each proclaim their principles—slavery by one, liberty by the other—

My paper is out—truly yours RUFUS KING.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, Feb. 29, 1820.

MY DEAR FRIEND :

I received & thank you for your Letter of the 18th which came to hand last Evening. I am quite glad you took the Ground you did, although I perceive the Virginians are provoked beyond all the Bounds of Prudence and Moderation. They evidently show, by their bitter Exclamations that fear of their Sovereignty has no small Share in their Resentments. We are here at last, for all that comes to my knowledge, in a dead Calm ; while Washington, it would seem, is tossed & torn by Tempest & Earthquakes, and Richmond appears agitated as if affected by all the Volcanic Eruptions of Vesuvius. . . .

faithfully & truly yours,

C. GORE.

Richard Peters to R. King.

Belmont, Feby. 29, 1820.

Dear Sir :

. . . What you will accomplish this session, of the current business of the nation, is not known to yourselves. The Missouri question has taken up so much of your time and anxieties, that little else could be done. I fear this will end lamentably to ourselves and destructively to our posterity. My day, in a course of nature, must be short ; and I must gild its evening with Hope ! You have made a noble stand ; and are free from the sin & the shame of opening a new scene of wide spreading bondage, and new markets for the dealers in human flesh.

Our confederacy will, e'er long, grow too unwieldy to be governed by laws made on the seaboard. The centre of Power will shift, before the columns of the Capitol at Washington are covered with moss. Three or four governments, republican, or monarchical, will occupy the space between the Mississippi and the Pacific. We must do the best we can in our day ; and leave future events to time or chance ; or rather to the decrees of heaven, which we can neither foresee nor control.

Accept my best regards & believe me always

Most truly yours,

Richard Peters.

R. King to O. Wolcott.

Washington, Mar. 3, 1820.

Dear Sir :

I recd. yesterday your kind letter of——the Missouri question is carried without Restriction, by the requisite Majority—and tho there is a restriction agt. slavery in such part of the remaining Territory as lies north of 36° 30′ No. lat., Arkansas and another state to be formed west of it & north of 36° 30′ will be slave States, Florida also will be a fourth state, and I think that I perceive that west of the River Sabine another Region, the Spanish Province of Texas, will now be demanded of Spain so as there to form a fifth slave state. In the Course of Time one more state may be settled on the Mississippi above 36° 30′ n. lat. The residue of the Country on this side the Rocky mountains will for ages be unsettled.

The observation of a Compromise is therefore deceptive. The slave States with the requisite Recruits from the Senators & Representatives of the free States have carried the Question—we are absolutely and completely defeated—the pretended Concession, for it is revocable at pleasure is itself of no value, and has been provided as an apology to the Members of the free States who have assisted in putting us under a Govt. of the privileged order of Men who are henceforth to be & forever to remain our Masters.

The Comrs. of the banking fund have resolved, conformably to Mr. Wolcott's opinion, that no provision has been made to pay off the 3 pr. Cent stock—of course the speculation grounded on the contrary opinion will prove to be a bad one.

Very truly yrs

RUFUS KING.

"To know the worst is some degree of ease"—tho' won by the allies, I do not abandon my opinions—yet the anxiety I have felt I endeavor to dismiss—and hope to be able to turn my attention to other objects.

Private.

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

WASHINGTON, Mar. 4, 1820.

DEAR SIR:

. . . I informed you that I had at first determined to address an article to the Editor of the Evening Post under my own name in reply to Miller's address: on second thought I changed this plan for an editorial article by Coleman by my authority.

I yesterday received from Mr. Verplanck a request, in case the E. Post declined, that I wd. send the article for publication to the American; and today I recd. a letter from Coleman stating to me what passed between him & Hamilton on the subject. I adhere to the editorial article as preferable to my first project. On account of the Editors of the A., and the attempt to have it understood that I am in favor of Mr. Clinton's views, I deem it proper to correct under my authority the false account of con-

versations of & to the Editors ascribed to me, and also the misrepresentation of my views respecting Mr. Clinton's reelection. But I must have this done in my own way ; not having ever by any publication under my own name attempted to sway or control the opinion of the Federalists in the former Controversies & Elections of the State, there is some difficulty, and no small personal delicacy, in my attempting to do so at the present moment.

I will not however suffer my opinions respecting the Editors of the A. to be misrepresented, nor shall I acquiesce in being misrepresented concerning Mr. Clinton. He who writes on political subjects under his own name, especially in periods of great animosity and political strife, enters the lists with his vizor lifted against men in masks.

This for Charles equally as yourself ; he does not want my assurance, that as I never for an instant felt a pause in my affection and entire confidence towards & in him, any such expressions, as are most indecently ascribed to me could not have escaped me ; all will be corrected, but it must be left to me to direct the manner.

The Missouri & Maine Bills are closed. I consider myself & associates as conquered. The slave States, with their free corps, have subdued us, and the only opportunity, that will occur to establish the equal rights of the Citizens of the free States, is lost. Meigs & Storrs voted for the slave states ; Case & Tompkins fled the field. The proposed compromise is a mere tub to the whale—including Florida and the Province of Texas, wh. lies W. of the Sabine River, & wh. will now be demanded of Spain in addition to the Territory included in the suspended Treaty, we shall have five more slave States. One State more may be formed in the course of half a century on the Mississippi & north of the line 36° 30′ N. Lat., this may be a free State ; the country further west is a prairie, resembling the Steppes of Tartary, without wood or water exception the great River and its few branches. Besides the exclusion of slavery even here is a mere legislative Act, that may be repealed at pleasure ; not like the Territory N.W. of the Ohio, concerning wh. the ordinance constituted a compact inviolable except by joint consent.

Not only may the exclusion of slavery be repealed or revoked,

but it is explicitly avowed that if the country shd. be settled, the restriction on the Territory will not apply, and is not intended to apply, to any new State, to be formed there, but that such new State may establish slavery if it shall think proper to do so. It is considered by the slave States, and correctly, to be a great triumph. They now see the power nearly established in their own hands, and the same will not be confided to men who belong to the free States. Well therefore may we consider ourselves to be conquered, as is indeed our condition.*

Affectionately yrs.

R. K.

* Mr. King, in a letter dated Washington, March 3, 1820, enlarges upon the points made in the above, as follows :—

"Thus the settlement, amounts to this, that Missouri, Arkansas, & the territory west of them & south of 36° 30′ N. L., with the Span. province of Texas, which it is now contended we must exact of Spain, in addition to the Territory included in the Florida treaty, are to be slave States ; and that for the present, & until our masters the slave States are pleased to order otherwise, the Territory north of 36° 30′ may be considered as exempt from slavery, but with the avowed understanding that whenever Congress choose they may make the north or any part thereof a slave Region, and be this as it may, that, when any new State shall be formed there, it must & will be free to establish slavery. All admit, at least the principal advocates of slavery do, that the expansion of slavery, or the wider distribution of slaves, will increase by forn. additions as well as by the known Laws of Population, the numbers of slaves ; that the increase of slaves instead of increasing diminishes the national strength & resources ; that it increases the already disproportionate power of the slave owners, and in the same ratio diminishes the natural rights & power of the freemen of the free states ; that having but one single interest, that of the labor of slaves, the slave States are by a common & universal impulse united, and formed into an inseparable corps ; while owing to various rival, & opposing occupations and interests in the free States, we are divided, contending not agt. those, who in the political claims of influence, are always our opponents, but with one another, thus giving to the Legion of slavery, the opportunity by recruiting out of our own Corps, of conquering and in fact enslaving the free States : for if the freemen of the free states, already inferior to the privileged order of the slave States, are to sink still lower in their humble claim of equality, they may be considered, and ought to, & will be, treated as slaves.

"Yet with all these consequences as clear and incontestable as truth can be revealed to the human mind, some of us, too many of us, because enough to give triumph to the slave States in the extension of slavery, have been willing to promote the alarming settlement, as it is called, which has occurred."

R. KING TO J. A. KING & CHARLES.

Sunday Evg., March 5, 1820.

MY DEAR SONS:

. . . I have written to you respecting Miller's address. Concerning your projected letter, I can say nothing decisive; if you send it, you should beforehand understand that I must be left entirely at liberty how to act respecting it, and that I may or may not reply, and that yr. letter must not be published without my consent. I am considering what it may be expedient to do, and waiting for Coleman's editorial article. I shall not suffer Mr. Miller's misrepresentations, either in respect to the Editors of the American or of my sentiments or opinions respecting Mr. Clinton to go uncontradicted, but the manner & time are deserving of consideration.

The slave States have triumphed over us: they consider the final decision as a victory, which has been gained by allies levied out of our free Corps. Meigs & Storrs fought under the black flag, Tompkins & Case fled the field on the day of battle. This entre nous. I am sorry that Tompkins flinched, as it will be construed to mean what I hope it does not indicate. In Massachusetts Hill & Holmes of Maine and Mason & Shaw of the old State, Eddy of Rhode Island, Foote & Stevens of Cont., Meigs & Storrs of N. Y., Bloomfield, Smith & Kinsey of N. J. & Baldwin & Fullerton of Penn., boldly voted with the slave States. Morrill of Vermont, Case & Tompkins of N. Y. fled the question.*

Randolph told the House, when the majority of six or seven to restrict Missouri changed, and her admission as a slave State was carried, that the three votes which changed sides were not all who were ready to do so, notwithstanding their conscientious scruples respecting slavery; that three others could have been obtained,

*From the Diary of Edward Dowse, a member from Dedham, Mass., quoted in the Life of Josiah Quincy, pp. 388–9, several statements appear indicating the treachery of some of the Massachusetts members in connection with the Missouri Question.

"The question is undoubtedly of immense importance. On one side, the passions, as well as the present and apparent interests, of the Southern people are deeply engaged; and to my sorrow, I perceive that they have drawn over some of our Yankees. The cause of humanity, religion and sound policy is the motive, I firmly believe, which influences the other." Again, "As to putting Maine and Missouri together, in my opinion it was a jockeying trick, just

&, if necessary, three more still. This is all well; these men deserved the contempt, and the country which sent them will deserve it if they send them again. . . .

Affectionately yrs. R. K.

C. Gore to R. King.

Waltham, March 9, 1820.

My dear Friend:

I regret with you and with all the Friends of Freedom, and of Equality of Power in this Region, the late decision. Boundless arrogance on one side and an unaccountable Perversity of Head and Heart on the other, appear to have produced this result. Massachusetts has much to take to her own Charge, on this Subject. Her Infirmity of Purpose, her vacillating & dilatory Conduct neither afforded support to her Friends nor deterred her Foes. The Pretence of those, who caused this strange and infatuated Conduct, now is, that it arose from Delicacy to Maine. You & I know that the seeds were sown and propagated before ever Mr. Barbour suggested this disgraceful Project, and those, who refused to act in the Legislature on the proposed Interference of the State, were always opposed to the Separation of Maine, and instead of declining to appear in a prominent Situation against the Wishes of these men, had always been vain of appearing the Bellwethers of the Flock, on all occasions of Strife and Contest. There are men in Congress, who would not have voted against the prompt & decided Expression of the Legislature of the State. I rejoice, although unsuccessful, you had an opportunity of adding

worthy of ostlers in a livery-stable; and I suspect Holmes and Clay were at the bottom of it."

"March 3d, 1820—Slavery is allowed as far as thirty-six and a half degrees of latitude. . . . I feel most awfully mortified and cast down at the result of our Missouri Bill. Four of our side stayed out at the final taking of the question; and four more went over and joined the slave-holders, which operated as equivalent to eight against us. The whole counted as twelve against us, who ought to have been for us. Whether this proceeded from weakness or treachery, I will not pretend to say. . . . I consider our nation now as disgraced in the eyes of the civilized nations of the earth. We had it in our power to stop the progress of slavery, and *we chose to let it go on.*"

to the Brightness of your own Fame and endearing yourself to the Friends of Justice & Freedom. . . .

Truly your Friend C. GORE.

CHAS. KING TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, Sat., Mar. 11, 1820.

DEAR SIR:

. . . I have heard here with feelings, that I cannot at all express, that Mr. Pinkney was personally rude & abusive to you in his last reply; that you should have disdained any notice of him I think was quite proper:—but I cannot conceive how others entertaining similar sentiments to your own, should have submitted in silence to the insolence of his manner & of his language, as they are here represented.* . . . We hope much from the reply you will not I trust decline to give to the letter from Albany. We need your authority for the course we have taken, not for our own satisfaction so much as to evince to the public & your old friends in particular that it is one in which we have the sanction of your approbation.

Yrs Ev., CHAS. KING.

MR. KING TO MR. GATES.

1820.

MR. EDITORS:

Whether the speeches published in your Journal are taken by your Stenographer, or furnished for publication by the Speakers, is matter of some importance, more particularly in respect to references to & quotations from the speeches of other members. That errors and misrepresentations concerning the arguments, and in debate should occur is not extraordinary; the necessity of frequent interruptions to correct such mistakes, shews how common they are.

But when the opinions, and arguments ascribed by one speaker to another are not only stated, but the very words cited and marked by inverted commas, the public are naturally led to sup-

* Mr. Coleman, in a letter from New York, 8th March, says: "Mr. Ogden's account of Pinkney's personal disrespectful behaviour towards you in the Senate is received here with sensations of lively indignation."

pose such report to be correct even to the letter. I am led to make these remarks by the speech of Mr. Smith of So. Carolina, published in the Intelligencer of —— and purporting to have been made in answer to a speech made by me in the Senate. They would with equal justice, apply to a former speech of Mr. Smith also published by you.

Of those speeches I have no remark to make, except to state that they ascribe to me language and opinions, which I disavow and have never expressed. Arguing against the extension of slavery, beyond the antient limits of the U. S., I urged the enlargement of the disadvantage that is experienced by the free States from the Constitutional Rule of apportioning Representatives—according to which the Citizens of the State where slavery prevails possess a greater portion of political power than the Citizens of the States in which Slavery is excluded ; and to enforce the comparison I stated that I felt inferiority and could not consent to increase the humiliation.

Instead of this argument, which in fact and sentiment is true, the published speech of Mr. Smith, remarks, the gentleman has said, "He feels himself *degraded in this Senate ;* that he is not upon an equal footing with gentlemen "from a slave holding State. He represents a state of freemen ; they represent a State of freemen & slaves."

The sentiment thus imputed was neither felt nor expressed by me & were this the only misstatement it might pass ; but so far from such being the case, the two speeches of Mr. Smith, which you have published, abound, so far as respects me, with a tissue of like misstatements.

CHAPTER XVII.

King to J. A. King—Defeated in Missouri Bill—Ill-treated by South—Defence against Miller—King charged with Ambition—Charge refuted—Van Buren to King—Desires a strong Expression in favor of Tompkins—J. A. King to King—Urging his Assent to the Course of himself and other Federalists — Goldsborough to King — Estimate of W. Pinkney—Van Rensselaer to King—Struggle for Power more bitter—Will not enlist under either Banner—Troup to King—Approves his Course—Asks for Publication of his Speeches—Miller and Van Ness Cases—Case of Judge Van Ness, with Letters of King to J. A. King and C. King—King's Opinion on the Mode of Procedure.

R. King to J. A. King.

(*Private.*)

Washington, Mar. 11, 1820.

Dear Sir:

You will have seen in the Post the article respecting Miller's address to the public.* I hear that Mr. Miller is to reply, and to

*From the *New York Evening Post*, Monday, March 6, 1820:

Controversy between the Editors of the American and Mr. Miller.

"The controversy between these two parties, opposite in their political views and pursuits, has so long been going forward, with still increasing acrimony, that it is barely necessary to state the several points in issue between them in order fully to make the reader understand the applicability of what is now to be laid before the public.

"The Editors of the *American* charge Mr. Miller with a wilful falsehood, in saying first, that in September last, Mr. Rufus King had a conversation on board the steamboat, and said that 'altho' he did not approve of Mr. Clinton's conduct as a politician, he thought him the best one offered as governor of the state of New York, and that he considered the opposition to him as unprincipled'; Second, that Mr. Miller had represented at Boston to a Senator of Massachusetts, in order to influence him to support Mr. Clinton's election to the presidency, that his pretensions were favored by Mr. King. To these

vouch his authorities. Be they what they may, unless I am misrepresented or have been greatly misunderstood, they cannot sustain his assertions.

We have been most shamefully deserted in the H. of R. on the Missouri Bill, which has given a great triumph to the slave States. The result will be fatal, unless the People apply the true corrective. A project is up to take Florida, and in circumstances which make a Spanish war far more probable than it has before

charges Mr. Miller has published an answer in a late *Columbian*, in which he denies that he imputed the word unprincipled to Mr. King, but that, if he did use it at all, it was a word of his own and as merely an inference he drew from those used by Mr. King. He also says, that although true it is that he did make representations of Mr. King's general tenor of conversation as charged, yet they were not derived from personal knowledge, nor was it so pretended to be, but from the information of Gentlemen of high distinction; and that his authorities should not be withheld from any person having a just right to demand them. Mr. Miller has also said in his last publication, that Mr. King disavowed having any connection with or control over the Editors of the *American* and that he disapproved in the most unequivocal language of the course of that paper. To the second he says that it is not true that he ever made such representation at Boston, or could make it; for the contrary fact was known to every body there and that the information only rested on hearsay and was not entitled to credit. Mr. Miller has also said, in the same publication, that Mr. King disavowed having any connection with or control over the editors of the *American* and that he disapproved in the most unequivocal language of the course of that paper. This however, he says in his answer, was communicated to him by some third person. In reply to all this the Editors declare that 'all the assertions of Mr. Miller are totally false and that they have Mr. King's authority so to say" adding that they trust the public will soon be satisfied of their accuracy by an expression of those opinions from Mr. King himself.

"By the last mail, I received a letter from Washington dated March 1 authorizing and requesting me to prepare and publish an editorial article containing such a statement of facts as the occasion calls for, and which had been communicated in letters previously received from Mr. King: to that I now proceed.

"In the conversation alleged by Mr. Miller to have been held on board the steamboat last fall respecting Governor Clinton's administration, and stating that Mr. King considered the opposition to him unprincipled, Mr. King says that he authorized the editors of the *American* to declare the same to be false and entirely unfounded. 'It is true,' he says, 'that after Mr. Clinton's election as governor, and during the winter and summer which followed the same, I had no reserve in expressing my hope, as Mr. Clinton had been elected almost

supposed to be. If taken it will be another slave State, and the Province of Texas, west of the River Sabine will be claimed and in case of war occupied.

Our Treasury is empty, our Commerce spread over the face of the ocean, the currency in a bad condition, the produce at a low price, & without demand, so that the condition of the country to engage in a war with Spain, which may, and probably would soon, include other powers is highly unfavorable. My present de-

without opposition from any quarter, that he might administer the Government, so as to heal our divisions, and by uniting the state to secure to ourselves harmony at home and respect and influence abroad. In this spirit and to promote this, I even sought the occasions respectfully to suggest to the President of the United States, in the winter after Mr. Clinton's election, the expediency, in any future appointment in the State, that the same should be made without reference to the divisions which had existed between the two portions of the republican party. But that the session of the legislature last winter served to extinguish the hopes of union and harmony which I had cherished, by disclosing in a large portion of the Senate and Assembly the want of confidence in Mr. Clinton and in his administration; that this dissatisfaction became wider and more extended in the course of the past summer, and every one foresaw that the State was to be again agitated and convulsed at the next election of Governor.'

"'In these circumstances as a member of the political party which had stood in opposition to both sections of the republican, but which no longer aspired to the possession of the public confidence (this question having been settled by the people from whose decision there is no appeal), I regarded the division and expected struggle between the republicans, as an affair of their own, in which federalists might and as I thought should, abstain from interfering, until at any rate the opposite candidates should be named; when the federalists would be able to decide either to take no part or, individually, to give their votes for the candidate, who, in their opinion, should merit a preference.

"'Such have been the views, which at these different and distinct periods I have sustained. The opinions which I have expressed during the former period and before the last session of the Legislature, were connected with and conformable to the hopes which I then cherished that the state by a wise, prudent administration might become united and tranquil under Mr. Clinton's Government. But after the dissatisfaction and division respecting his administration which appeared at the last session of the Legislature which manifested themselves in the last elections, and which have spread over the whole State, these hopes of concord and union were entirely dissipated. Opinions which I had before expressed I could now no longer express, and therefore none such were afterwards heard from me. The insinuations of surprize at the manner in which I was accosted by individuals of any class of politicians are of a piece

termination is to oppose any measure likely to produce war, unless Congress will immediately impose new taxes, a step wh. they will be disinclined to adopt.

I hope the State will look well into the subject before they purchase up the Holland Lands & Debts. All experience has demonstrated that nothing so effectually impairs the authority & justice of Government as the existence of a great body of public Debtors. . . .

Farewell truly yrs.

R. K.

with other trivial and unfounded observations which it has been deemed expedient to ascribe to me and which call for no further notice on my part.

"'In respect to the paper called the *American*, it is true that I have no concern or direction in its management, but it is not true that I have held the language of, or to, the editors which is attributed to me, except that I may have observed that they were of an age to act and decide for themselves; and that even between father and son, there is a period of mutual independence which should be influenced only by the ties of friendship and affection. But, I feel myself however bound to declare on this occasion that I am persuaded that the editors of this paper are men of the most unblemished integrity.

"'In the conversation between Mr. Miller and myself to which he refers, after denying that he said that I called the opposition to Mr. Clinton "unprincipled," he intimated that if he did say so it was matter of inference from what he had heard, and in reporting this conference between us he should, I think, have added that I explicitly told him that no such inference could be made from my conversation. Alluding to the sense of the injury he had received, he more than once urged his claim to reparation. I replied I must decline all interference on that subject; that a charge had been made against me which I denied and which he disavowed, and of course between him and me there was no disagreement. I stated to Mr. Miller but without any expression of censure, my regret that, with the recent erroneous representation, that which took place in 1812 should not have been united; that the statement on this subject was however correct, except that the case was stronger and more exceptionable than was stated, and that I would if he desired it send him the letters which passed on that occasion between me and my brother, General King, to prove the same. Mr. Miller expressed no wish to receive the same. The temper and deportment of Mr. Miller in the interview between us was unexceptionable. I am sorry that his address to the public has obliged me to make a single remark upon the support of it which he has deemed it proper to publish, and I am the more sorry that he should persist in ascribing to me opinions which I explicitly assured him I had neither entertained nor expressed, and which, whencesoever derived, were erroneous. I have never had a personal disagreement with Mr. Miller though I did

I continue to be most illiberally treated by the Patriots of the South, and if at home too I am to share no better fate, I may say with President Adams "that I have fallen on evil times." But none of these things move me; I shall not yield so long as I feel my cause to be good.

In Schouler's *History of the United States*, vol. iii., p. 153, there is a statement of the excitement connected with the Missouri Question, which he attributes to a political force which gave "this popular movement" a peculiar impetus and direction, which

"force was federal in its basis, negative in the main as to Monroe's administration and policy, immutably jealous of southern ascendency. King, venerable in years and courtly of aspect, was its chief inspiration, as befitted one of his commanding talents and vast and varied public experience, reaching back to revolu-

think that he took an unwarrantable liberty with my name in 1812, but I have neither motive nor inclination to recur to the proceedings of him or others at that period.'

"Thus far Mr. King. I will now only say that our present national difficulties are sufficient to call upon all, and such as ought to call upon all, men of all parties, for more moderation, less passion and greater impartiality and mutual courtesy than appearances justify us in hoping will prevail in the examination and comparison of the patriotism and integrity of the services and the sacrifices of our most distinguished men."

In a letter from Wm. Coleman to Mr. King, March 11, 1820, he says:

"I confess I do not, nor does Mr. W. or H. see that it was his, Mr. Miller's, purpose to cause it to be understood that you adhered to Mr. C. as you seem to imagine. I should grieve with no ordinary emotion, I beg leave to say, if there was any good cause to believe that such was in reality the fact, & equally so if there was any more to suppose you meant to declare your preference of Tompkins; whom we regard here as the Virginia candidate. Believe me my dear Sir & allow me to say, that we do indulge the hope that you will not condescend to lend the weight of your name to either of the factions that distract this state & are ready to tear each other & whoever is attached to either to pieces. Your influence is too great, too sacred, too elevated to be any way lessened & cheapened by intermeddling with these paltry factions or their leaders. I want expression to do justice to my feelings on this subject. . . .

"Mr. Ogden's account of Pinkney's personal disrespectful behaviour towards you in the Senate is received here with sensations of lively indignation."

tionary times. Contemporaries, indeed, agree in ascribing to this sage from a State singularly divided in polities, though rapidly rising to national leadership, an ambition of astonishing vitality; and bitterly enough did Jefferson inveigh against him at this time as one who was ready to risk the Union for any chance of restoring his party to power and wriggling to the head of it. The last heated stricture was too severe; but that King set on foot and organized, in the summer of 1819, the concert of measures which awoke the north for a renewal of the Missouri struggle cannot be doubted; and whatever possible alloy may have mingled with the pure metal, posterity owes the praise which his own age denied him."

Mr. J. Q. Adams in his *Memoirs*, vol. v., p. 206, says, on November 25, 1820:

"Upon the Missouri Question he [Mr. King] has much cooled down since last winter. The question is not now the same as it was then, and is much more clear against Missouri. But he has discovered that the people of the North, like many of their Representatives in Congress, flinch from the consequences of this question, and will not bear their leaders out. Personal and ambitious motives have also been imputed to Mr. King for the part he has taken in this affair. . . . He says that, as a statesman of the Union, he has lost rather than gained ground by his ardent pursuit of this slavery question, and seems now disposed to say little more about it."

The charge in the above extracts that Mr. King was influenced by personal ambition was undoubtedly made at the time by those whom he opposed in denouncing their efforts to extend slavery beyond the Mississippi—and it is above assumed to be founded in fact. Now in carefully reading the correspondence relative to this subject, there is not one word that can be twisted to substantiate this charge. From beginning to end it shows that Mr. King was indifferent even as to returning to the Senate, except that he thought he might still be able to do some good to his country. No personal motives moved him to accept that position, even when it was unanimously bestowed upon him; but he ac-

cepted it, free to act according to his own judgment. He knew the opinion of the people of his State on all points, and especially relative to slavery extension, for the Legislature recorded it by a decided vote. He knew that the ground he had occupied in the previous Congress, ground which he had not long before proclaimed by the publication of the position he had then held, and still continued to hold, would place him in the forefront of the contest against slavery extension; but there is no evidence of an ambitious project on which to rise to a higher, if there is a higher, honor as he looked upon it, than to be Senator of the United States.

Being thus placed in a position that would enable him to fight for the cause of freedom against slavery, which cause from the earliest years of his public life he had sought to promote, and believing that the issue before the country involved not only the extension of slavery, but the political control * by the slave States, he never hesitated to take the stand which his love of country and his conscience forced upon him—and yet notwithstanding his able and unanswerable argument in behalf of the power of Congress to restrict the extension of slavery to its then present constitutional limits, he failed to accomplish his purpose through the defection of those who had the opportunity to settle the question, but for reasons best known to themselves withheld their votes. He, indeed, had that honorable ambition which led him to strive for success in the course he believed right and for his country's

* "The real struggle was political, and for the balance of power, as frankly declared by Mr. Rufus King, who disdained dissimulation; and in that struggle the non-slaveholding states, though defeated in the state of Missouri, were successful in producing the compromise conceived and passed as a Southern measure. . . . I have been minute in stating this controversy, and its settlement deeming it advantageous to the public interest, that history and posterity should see it in its proper point of view and that it was a political movement for the balance of power balked by the Northern democracy, who saw their own overthrow and the mutual separation of the States in the establishment of geographical parties divided by a slavery and anti-slavery line."—T. H. Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, i., 10.

good, and for which he as honestly thought he would have the gratitude and respect of his fellow-citizens, as he was sure of the satisfaction of his own conscience. But there is not one word to indicate that his action was the result of a wish for personal promotion.

The following extracts from his letters to his sons certainly do not indicate any ambitious views, or a desire to advance his personal interests:

"I neither solicit, nor will on this occasion condescend to be myself a solicitor, and I shall take it in ill part if any of my friends shall in my behalf ask the interference in my favor of any of the Gentlemen, who may profess to differ from me in my political opinions.

"I never held a public situation merely for the sake of my personal gratification—nor would I now continue to hold even the little remnant of my term in the Senate, unless I believed that in doing so I shall promote the public welfare. Having neither declined nor asked a re-election, I am entirely satisfied that the question should be determined by those whose office it is to decide the same, and you may be assurred that I am utterly indifferent what their decision may be."—Letter to his son, 1818, pages 183–4 in this volume.

"The newspapers have informed you that the Legislature of New York have made no choice yet. . . . I am entirely out of the question, and feel no regret that such is my condition. My own self-respect does not suffer me to feel the mortification, that I might perhaps feel, were I conscious that I was deficient in fidelity to the country or in capacity to serve it."—Letter to E. King, February 12, 1819, p. 214 of this volume.

"The Virginia papers denounce with great virulence my course, ascribe to me views and motives, which I am in no manner influenced by, my sole and only object being to oppose the extension of slavery and the protection of the rights of freemen against further abridgement by the virtual representation of slaves."—Letter of R. King to J. A. King, February 25, 1820, p. 282 of this volume.

"I have spent here, [Washington] a very retired winter, having

declined all invitations, and gone into no company ; I have therefore had more leisure to attend to the affairs of the Senate, and for those instructive employments which retirement only furnishes." —Letter to Edward King, April 9, 1820.

These expressions of opinions and of honest sense of duty in his actions respecting the extension of slavery cannot be mistaken. Were further proof necessary to establish this, the letter addressed to his son, J. A. King, March 18, 1820, p. 317 of this volume, in relation to the opinions of the Vice-President, then a candidate for the governorship of New York, will show conclusively that Mr. King had acted throughout under a conviction of duty in the determination to check the power of slavery.

"You cannot be mistaken," he says, "but will at once discover that I refer to the Missouri question. It is given out to be settled, but nothing is less true. Its influence will increase, its magnitude also. I have after much consideration taken my part in this affair, and I cannot anticipate that my mind is likely to undergo any change in the estimate it has made of the justice, the policy and the duty of every freeman on this important subject."

The statement of Mr. Adams, "that he seems now," in November of that year, "disposed to say little more about it," suggests the inference that ambitious views no longer controlled his actions, as he had lost ground "in his ardent pursuit of this slavery question." His letter to Mr. Wolcott * says, "I do not abandon my opinions—yet the anxiety I have felt I endeavor to dismiss—and hope to be able to turn my attention to other objects"; and that to his son, March 4th,† says, "I consider myself and associates as conquered. The slave States, with their free corps, have subdued us, and the only opportunity that will occur to establish the equal rights of the citizens of the free States is lost."

With these opinions why should he contend any longer against the power which had thus shown itself? Why should he then pursue "the slavery question" further?

* Page 288. † Page 289.

M. Van Buren to R. King.

March 12, 1820.

My dear Sir:

I enclose you a report which I am told is highly satisfactory to our friends & annoying to our enemies. I have written rather a scolding or fretting letter to the Secy of the Navy to-day, in the hope of rousing the torpid & hair splitting man at W. to take ground in our favour, & have omitted to speak as favourably of our prospects as I might with propriety have done. I can with perfect sincerity assure you that I have no apprehension left as to the success of the Vice President, & all that is necessary to make his majority overwhelming is a strong & unqualified expression of your sentiments. As to the main question on that subject I say nothing because I have no right to say any thing, but if you should think proper to aid us in that way, I will take the liberty of suggesting that for many & cogent reasons it is desirable that expressions should be as strong & pointed as may be agreeable to you. The circumstance of Mr. —— & Mr. Coleman having intercepted the publication of your letter on the subject of Miller's affair has leaked out & produced some excitement.

There has been no period since last fall when it was more in your power to enlist the best feelings of the democracy of this State than the present & there are particular interests, which I will hereafter explain to you, connected with the choice of Representatives & in which our best friends have an interest which will be subserved by it in an eminent degree. You see I speak unreservedly to you; I do so because I have the fullest confidence in your friendship & partiality for me. In a few days I will write you again & more at large.

In great haste yours affectionately

M. V. Buren.

J. A. King to R. King.

Albany, March 12, 1820.

Dear Sir:

I received this morning your letter of the 6th inst and yesterday one dated the day before both referring to a subject in which we all here feel the deepest interest. Our Letter to you is completed and only wants the signature of some of those who are to

subscribe it; some have left the City and have requested us to sign their names to it: it will probably reach you a day or two after the receipt of this. In considering what it may be expedient and proper for you to do in relation to this matter, I think much is due to your own sense of what is becoming, some thing to us, who knowing your sentiments and believing that we should receive your sanction have arranged ourselves irrevocably in opposition to Mr. Clinton, and not a little to that party which casting aside long cherished prejudices, nobly gave you their unanimous suffrage and still glory in their act, and in the character of the gentleman, whom they have placed by it, in the Council of the Nation.

We, in union with you, consider that the federal party is dissolved, or so distracted as to be incapable of a reunion. We have not hesitated therefore for the reasons assigned in our letter, to unite ourselves with that portion of the republican party which is now the great and growing power of the Union. We feel persuaded, and the sentiment and conviction are not confined to our circle, that it is in your power by giving your sanction as far as you may think right to our views and motives, to sway and control a great body of the federalists of this State. The relation which formerly subsisted between yourself and the federal party has been by the acts of their former leaders severed; and it is now free for you to adopt such a course in relation to the two contending parties, as your judgment and, if you will permit me to add, our claims may suggest. You have I think as strong pretensions to be listened to by the federal party, as they have, who are secretly and too successfully exerting their dearly earned influence over its individual members. You owe it to yourself, and I cannot but think to us, not to permit your influence to be impaired or even to slumber at the approaching contest, when it can be exerted with so decided and dreaded an effect, as will be at once produced upon those, who without its expression will be drawn into the support of Mr. Clinton and his corrupt associates. After all that can be urged in favor of our request proper I am persuaded and convinced that it must depend at best upon your own judgment. Your decision however will be anxiously looked for by us all and by no one more so than by your

affectionate son JOHN A. KING.

R. H. GOLDSBOROUGH TO R. KING.

Near EASTON, E. S. of MARYLAND, March 13, 1820.

MY DEAR SIR :

I was very much gratified by your late Letter which so satisfactorily explained to me the grounds and scope of your late Arguments.

Notwithstanding I had the most entire confidence that they wd. be all they ought to be, yet I confess the Demc. Papers worked up a sort of anxiety in me by their repeated attacks on You, and their more than meritorious praise so profusely lavished upon your eloquent Opponent. The World, as well as myself, are on the stretch of expectation to see these arguments on each side of this question, and I wd. hope that it will not be long before we are gratified. I have expressed a doubt to some of my friends here whether Mr. P. will not intentionally withhold his speech, because with him it is altogether a matter of calculation which way he will probably acquire the most celebrity, by printing or by the extravagant eulogies already made on it by party editors. Perhaps Mr. P. will find some difficulty too in reconciling the doctrines maintained in this speech with that he made upon the Bank question. I know he is openly at war with himself upon a speech he made several years ago in the H. of Delegates of Maryland upon the subject of slavery, and I see that has been hinted at in a late Eastern paper.

Mr. P. evidently went into the Senate indulging a hope that he wd. be as unrivalled there, as he had been at the Bar. He knew and the World knew, that You were the only impediment to the enjoymt. of realizing that Hope—To You then he wd. turn the whole force of his powers and his attention. I do not know, my dear Sir, if you know Mr. P. as well I do, and as you are placed in a situation where you will unquestionably be brought into collision, I will beg leave to suggest my thought to you abt. Mr. P.

I am glad he has so far been very courteous ; he will in all probability continue to be so for some time ; but if ever he can take occasion, by gaining the smallest ascendency upon any one point, he will as certainly become arrogant and perhaps rather uncourteous or harsh. No man on earth is more apt to be rude to an adversary at the Bar than he is, and that rudeness has generally been extended to his most distinguished opponents—it is

his nature, he cannot bear a rival. He played that game with Harper, until Harper took him down ; the same with Emmet, the same with Wirt, and he will attempt it with any man, if a favourable occasion occurs. He is only to be kept courteous by great decision shown towards him. I wd. hope that he wd. be less subject to these freaks of his ambition in the Senate, and that he wd. take by infection, if he can't obtain it otherwise, a little of that marked and kind respect which has ever been shown to you from all sides of that House. But if you did not know that this was his habit, I thought it wd. be a breach of my good-will to you not to suggest it.

I wish with all my heart I cd. get to Washn. to spend a week with you this Winter, but that appears to be impracticable. I am glad that you are so near Mr. —— & Mr. Otis whose company will afford you much relief. Be so good as to remember me to them kindly.

I thought you had Mr. Randolph at Crawfords and Judge Thomas again. I shd. like to hear from the Judge how the Caucus for Presidt. comes on—I presume there will be no opposition to the reigning Monarch. But I shall not be at all surprised if the Missouri affair shd. strew the seeds of a new state of things agt. the next four years after Mr. Monroe's next term. These are the expectations of one at a distance ; you can say how near or how far they are from probability.

With sincere wishes for your Health and Happiness believe me, dear Sir,

Your most respectful
and faithful friend
ROB. H. GOLDSBOROUGH.

S. RENSSELAER TO R. KING.

ALBANY, 15 March, 1820.

DEAR SIR :

I agree in your observations on the politics of our State. It appears we are doomed to a continuance of the most disgraceful party collisions. Had the Governor adopted a course which many anticipated at the time of his Election, the virulence of party spirit might gradually have subsided : but his connection with certain

aspiring federalists, to promote their ambitious projects, has disappointed those pleasing anticipations. The struggle which that connection has produced between him and his democratic friends has become acrimonious & grows daily more bitter. Judging from what I hear a great majority of the federalists will give him their votes ; tho' many will do it reluctantly ; for my own part I feel that self respect forbids my enlisting under the banners of either of the parties. I consider the conflict as a contest for power & place in which honorable, prominent federalists cannot participate ; it affords me no small consolation that many of my old & influential federal friends unite in opinion with me on the subject. Your friend &c

S. Rensselaer.

One of the warmest friends of Mr. King, Colonel Troup, wrote a long letter to him on March 16th, deeply regretting, among other things, the final issue of the contest against the unrestricted admission of Missouri, and the "humbug" compromise through which the Southern States had obtained their victory, a victory which

"trampled under foot not only the principles of the Revolution—solemnly declared in the presence of God and the world—but also over that political equality which is indispensably necessary to the tranquillity and duration of Government. . . .

"For the present it is very consoling to your friends, and it must be a source of the most heartfelt satisfaction to yourself, that you have faithfully & gloriously discharged the high duties imposed on you ; sustaining as you did, with your own strength and valor, the combined attacks of the main body of the Enemy & their Allies, for a great length of time. There is but one thing more that strikes me as necessary for you to do ; & that is to favor the public with the substance of your speeches in the Senate. The passing of the bill forms a very important era in our history ; and it is due to yourself—to your friends—to the people of the Northern States—and to posterity, that your opposition to the bill, and the principles on which it was founded, should appear in their true lights. Allow me to press this consideration on your mind & heart with all the force which its deep interest merits.*

* A portion of these speeches was written out and will appear in an Appendix.

". . . I have read with attention, Miller's address to the Public, and your remarks, by way of answer, as published by Coleman. Your opinions of Clinton at the period you mention, corresponded exactly with mine, and I suspect with those of all reflecting federalists in the State. You were compelled to change your opinions ; which you did sooner than I, because you sooner came to a knowledge of certain facts. Several of these you communicated to me when I had the pleasure of being at your house in November last. Other facts have come into public view since ; and the "tout ensemble" presents a frightful picture ! I see therefore no sort of inconsistency in your conduct. Nothing in the least to impeach your candor & sincerity, in any conversations you may have casually held on the subject of Clinton's administration. With respect to this part of Miller's sting it seems to me that you have said what is quite satisfactory. As to the interview, which Miller had with you in Jamaica, you have contradicted it ; and the contradiction agrees with the account you gave me of the interview. You have also contradicted what he has said of your opinion of the *American*—its editors—and your son in particular. Having done this much I think you have done enough. . . .

"Latterly I have heard nothing of the proceedings against Judge Van Ness. The papers have not yet stated that the Committee have returned from the examination of Gov. Wolcott.* By the by must not this old friend of ours feel rather awkward when under examination? The infamous bill, for incorporating the Bank, was carried, if I may so express myself, on the shoulders of his reputation, & those of two other worthy gentlemen. Mr. Wolcott continued in the Bank, and was its President, long after arrangements had been made—in the whole or in part—for paying the wages of journeymen. Has not this an awful squinting? I am exceedingly deceived if the shameful farce, now acting by

* Mr. Wolcott was President of the Bank of America at the time of its charter and approved of certain conditions which had been made with Elisha Williams relative to the connection of that Bank with the Bank of Columbia in favor of the latter ; of which contract it was said that Judge Van Ness knew nothing until after the bank was chartered. It was then claimed that the Judge, while admitting having been paid $5000, received it, not from the Bank, though it was bank money, but from Mr. Williams as his surety that he would fulfil his contract. Mr. Wolcott's testimony, which was taken by commission, neither affirmed nor denied any improper act.

Van Ness & his committee men, does not end in a tragedy that will inflict a death blow on his reputation. An acquittal by the Committee, after such a partial inquiry, with thinking and pure men, will leave fatal suspicions behind it."

In the last and several preceding letters, allusion is made to the case of Judge Wm. W. Van Ness, who was charged in the *American*, January 26, 1820,* with corrupt conduct in connection with the charter of the Bank of America in 1812, he being then one of the members of the Council of Revision who voted for it. These charges of corrupt acts had been made at the time, and were now distinctly stated against him as the receiver of a bribe, $5000, to secure his favor. The question of examining into the case was at once moved in the House of Assembly and a committee was appointed to inquire whether Judge Van Ness, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, "had so acted in his official capacity as to require the interposition of the constitutional power of this House."

Upon the assembling of the Committee, Judge Van Ness demanded that he should have the liberty of cross-examining the witnesses, which was granted. The editors of the *American* then claimed that, as they were only witnesses, the chairman of the Committee should appoint counsel in behalf of the House; this claim was refused, but having been made afterwards in the House, received its consent and counsel was appointed.

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

Feby. 16, 1820.

DEAR SIR:

. . . I observe that you have consented to admit the Judge to appear with Counsel before yr. Committee, and that the House have also employed on their part Counsel. Except Pennsylvania, I suspect that no authority for this course can be obtained: the Committee have less, altogether inferior, rank than a Gr. Jury. They are Commissioners to take testimony to be laid before the

* See Hammond's *Political History of New York*, vol. i., p. 518.

House, whose proceedings are according to the large discretionary Law of Parliament, and not by the technical rules of evidence in the civil Tribunals. I understand from one of the Judges of the S. Court, that one of his brothers, who has had occasion to examine the subject, in the Pennsylvania case, pronounces this course to be incorrect, and contrary to the law of Parliament on this subject. I shall be now able to be a better correspondent, as I am relieved of the further discussion of the Missouri question—today as formerly * I am satisfied with myself. . . .

yrs.

R. K.

R. KING TO J. A. AND C. KING.

Feby. 20, 1820.

MY DEAR SONS:

I have received your two letters of the 12th. The more I have thought of the course adopted by your Committee, and which has been sanctioned by your House, the more fully am I persuaded that it has been altogether erroneous; every thing it would seem is to be managed and conducted every where in our Legislatures and in Congress according to the regulations & maxims which have been established in our judicial tribunals. These regulations are doubtless proper & salutary in the civil & criminal tribunals, but they never have been acknowledged, nor received as the *Lex Parliamentaria*, or law by which the several State Legislatures, and the Congress of the U. S. are bound or controlled.

These do, and ought to, conduct their inquiries and arrive at their conclusions, according to that sound discretion, according to the rules and maxims of Equity and Justice, which compose the foundations of the Common Law, unrestricted by the technical forms, which, for the sake of Justice, are established in the inferior tribunals, but which are inapplicable to the great inquest of the Nation, which is never afraid to trust itself with the truth & the whole truth, together with every circumstance, directly or remotely connected with the same. A variety of testimony is excluded according to the Rules of Evidence in private controversies; but the Judges are not afraid to hear and understand all the evidence, and it is only by doing so, that they become able to

* He had made a second speech.

comprehend & to separate that wh. shall be received and attended to by the Jury. By the Law of Parliament the whole of the evidence, as well that wh. is direct to the charge, as all the other evidence how ever remotely connected with the charge, is allowed ; because it is remote & collateral evidence which often reveals the true case & the real purpose, to establish & accomplish which the measure which becomes the subject of investigation was adopted.

The exclusive rules of evidence, which in private & individual discussions are observed, are therefore in enquiries on the part of the Legislature dispensed with—the whole subject in all its bearings, whosoever may be affected by it, is uncovered and made manifest, and in no possible question can this course be so important as in a charge affecting the integrity of a Judicial officer. A Treasurer who keeps your money, a commissary or agent who spends it, your executive magistrates may commit frauds and still our lives, our freedom & estates are beyond their control & remain safe ; but if the judiciary, if the Judge become corrupt, all these blessings are made insecure, & the very ends of society defeated. Private men have their private concerns, families have their errors, their misfortunes and their secrets, and it wd. break up the comfort and the tranquillity and the happiness of these to intrude upon, to institute enquiries concerning, or to assume to judge over things which remain and must remain subject to the judgment of individuals & not liable to be examined or looked into by the magistracy or others. But in the conduct of a Judge, being made independent by the tenure and emoluments of his station, his passions shd. be all subdued and chastened ; his life should be open, and in nothing concealed. He of all men, and especially respecting his judicial or official functions, instead of contending to exclude some, and to admit other portions of evidence, and so to prevent the true character of his proceedings, shd. challenge the widest examination, the most extensive enquiry respecting his conduct ; being innocent he knows that truth and innocence are a full and sufficient shield for his safety & his reputation ; tell all, bring to light every thing ; truth and integrity are uniform and nothing can be said or given in evidence which can affect the conduct of such a Judge. The unwillingness to consent to the disclosure of the whole truth, relative or otherwise to his behaviour, creates doubts & suspicion ; and is not the *defiance* so bold

and powerful, that a virtuous man can always & every where hurl it at the heads of his accusers?

I have no leisure to examine authorities on this head; but I cannot be mistaken either in the broad power of the Assembly, as the great State Inquest, nor in that mighty shield, with which a man of integrity is ready during every moment of his life, to express & in practice to shew, that he neither wants nor asks for the separation and exclusion of facts which directly or by construction may appear to have an unfriendly bearing on his integrity; instead of this refuge, he is willing that every thing that has been done should be laid open: and as integrity never sanctions that which is wrong, he is confident that truth will protect him from every harm.

I have written this at the instant of receiving your letter—of course it calls for revision, wh. however I cannot afford it.

Affectionately yrs

R. K.

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

WASHINGTON, Feby. 23, 1820.

DEAR SIR:

We have the Argus of the 18th, containing the letter of MM. Van Vechten & Duer, and the extraordinary proceedings of your House in consequence thereof. If the idea of Mr. Attorney General be executed and no evidence be received by the Committee except such as according to the rules of evidence in the ordinary Tribunals would be admitted to go to a Jury, you change the useful office of the general Inquest of the State from what it is and ought to be, to a petty Court that tries a question of property, or small culprits for misdemeanors; instead of these technical restrictions, which the viginti annorum lucubrationes are required correctly to understand, your rule is common sense and that plain principle as your guide, which plain, honest, but unlearned men would observe to reach the object, they with public and honest views desire to obtain. Mr. Oakley's opposition reminds me of an eloquent speech of Mr. Fox in the impeachment of Hastings, in which he complained of the influence of the Crown, wh. the managers felt in the performance of their duty, and he added that this was the first impeachment in which the Law Officers,

being members of the Commons, were not united with and a portion of the managers to make good the impeachment.

I yesterday received the Columbian with Mr. Miller's indecent address to the public concerning the charge agt. him in the American. I have thought it expedient to take some notice of this performance, and especially as to what relates to the Editor of the American. I have sent Coleman what I shall publish under my own signature in reference to this address.

R. K.

P. S. As us ualwe have very different accounts from Albany; some say the State admn. carries & will carry all their purposes—others say each side is equally confidt. Two days ago a letter was recd. from Sol. V. Rensselaer's wife, saying that Judge Van Ness was putting everything under his feet; that James Hamilton was deranged and carried off to Columbia; that Johnson Verplank had declared to the Committee that he had not been concerned in the management of the American for the last six months; &c. Don't mention Mrs. V. R.'s name on this subject. I pay no regard to these fables, but am concerned lest by mere legal finesse and technical exclusion the whole truth shd. be unrevealed. yrs.

R. K.

On the 1st of April, 1820, Charles King wrote from Albany that the evidence for the past two days before the Committee, disproving the stories told by the Judge's witnesses at different times, had been in favor of the editors.

"This evidence they have rejected until now; but perceiving that it has become now a question of the relative value of testimony on each side, they could not refuse, tho' strenuously urged to do so by the Judge's counsel, to permit us to use the means they allowed to the other side of corroborating or contradicting witnesses testifying to the innocence of the accused. I think it very doubtful how the committee will report, or whether they will report an opinion at all: but whatever is the decision of the committee in the House, I feel that before the public we shall appear as having substantiated every tittle of our charge. . . . I hope to leave here on Tuesday's steamboat without waiting to hear the report of the committee or the proceedings thereon."

On the 5th an answer to this was received from Mr. King, saying:

"I am very glad that your labors at Albany have finished, and tho' on account of his station I may feel regrets, I shall be satisfied and in some sense relieved from solicitude, if the Judge's delinquencies be proved, and you and your associates justified in the charges, which on public considerations, you felt yourself obliged to prefer against him.

"Perhaps you will think, and I wish you may, that having performed this service at some expense of time and trouble, you will leave to others to follow your example, if occasions offer, and devote yourself more particularly to those engagements of business which require your attention than those public duties will allow."

The report of the Committee, in which all the members but Root concurred, was that there was no *direct positive testimony* that Van Ness knew of, or stipulated for the money previous to the incorporation of the bank.*

* "Some circumstances were disclosed which rendered the conduct of some of the gentlemen accused suspicious, and the majority of the House ultimately decided that the proof did not warrant an impeachment of Judge Van Ness."—Hammond, *Pol. Hist. of N. Y.*, vol. i., p. 519, gives a general account of this case.

CHAPTER XVIII.

C. King to King—Asks his Assent to the HIGH-MINDED Federalists—King to J. A. King—Doubts as to Tompkins's Views on Slavery Extension forbid his supporting him—King to J. A. King—Wants an Answer relative to Tompkins—Troup to King—Opposed to advocating, and advises King not publicly to advocate, Tompkins—The State of Accounts does not recommend him—Notes—Van Buren to King—Tompkins approved of Restriction in Missouri—J. A. King to Tompkins, asking his Views on Missouri Restriction—Tompkins to King—Has no Doubt of the Constitutional Power to restrict—J. A. King to King—Hopes he will now support Tompkins—King to Giles—Effects of Change from slave to free Labor—King to J. A. King—Now favors Tompkins, but will not make or permit any Publication of his Views—King to Gore—Land Bill passed the Senate—State of slave Question—Holmes—J. A. King to King—Regrets his Decision not to answer the Letter—Gore to King—Speeches approved.

C. KING TO R. KING.

Saturday, 18 March, 1820.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . We had to-day the letter to which we hope an answer from you. We neither wish nor expect you to concur in all the sentiments of the letter; but simply to give your assent distinctly to the correctness of our course in preferring the Republican Candidate to Mr. Clinton & his, &c. The letter itself is an electioneering address, and if you dislike any parts of it, we will of course strike them out. You however are not and cannot be considered as responsible for any sentiments it may contain. You will be judged by your reply alone. I am unwilling to appear to urge this beyond what your judgment may induce you to do; yet under the circumstances I cannot but hope that for our sakes, who have committed ourselves completely, for the sake of the party, who are willing to treat us, as they have treated you

with loyalty & good faith, you may see your own way clear to give us a reply favorable to our wishes. . . . Very truly yrs.

CHAS. KING.

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

WASHINGTON, March 18, 1820.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . My opinions of Mr. C. and his associates, I mean his recruits from the Federalists, are unchanged; and I cannot ever be insensible of the liberal and very general support of the Republicans, who are opposed to Mr. Clinton. To the V. Pr. I am not a little indebted for the support without which Mr. C. and his federal friends would have succeeded in degrading me. To Van Buren more especially am I most particularly obliged; whose views and principles, as far as I have understood them, deserve my hearty approbation.

I certainly cannot, and do not, object to your taking such part between Mr. C. and his political opponents as you deem proper. As respects a federal party in the State, it is in my view dissolved; indeed I consider, and have never entertained a different opinion on the subject, that Mr. Clinton succeeded in breaking up and degrading the federal party in 1812, when they consented, as to a very considerable degree they did, to offer and support him for the Vice Presidency. Many have believed, more perhaps than I even suspect, that my opinions on this subject were not, and are not, disinterested, and it would be idle to shew, or attempt to do so, that such opinions are entirely incorrect. I am, in this respect, in the situation in which men are sometimes placed, that truth and innocence, which can be known and felt by none but themselves, are of little or no service in defending the reputation of the suspected and condemned.

The occasion, however, makes it proper as between us, that I should assure you in the most explicit and emphatic tone, that I am entirely unacquainted with myself, or those suspicions are in themselves groundless and unjust to me. It has been, as I am fully persuaded, in my power could I have sacrificed opinions that were firmly established and which constituted Rules of Duty with me, to have advanced myself, or to have acquired gratifica-

tions, which might have been desirable, if obtained without self-humiliation. But this course I not only have declined, but have been heartily opposed to ; and, in a recent instance, if I would have compromised my Duties in order to obtain favor and the consideration of others whose good will was not indifferent to me, but whom I have not only displeased but even humiliated, there would have been no difficulty in accomplishing the object—and this reflection leads me to a subject that has given and still continues to give me very great concern, and which may, as I now view the subject ought, to regulate my conduct in relation to the depending State election.

With deep and strong aversion to Mr. C. and especially his new associates, and much of good will, as well as obligation towards his opponents, there mingles most strangely and unexpectedly in this question another subject, which, whether regarded solely in reference to its great and essential merits and importance, or as respects the strength of my convictions concerning it, which, whether I look to the permanent and general effects which it may and possibly will produce, or its tendency to swallow up all other party distinctions, I cannot possibly disregard. You cannot be mistaken, but will at once discover that I refer to the Missouri question. It is given out to be settled, but nothing is less true. Its influence will increase, its magnitude also. I have after much consideration taken my part in this affair, and I cannot anticipate that my mind is likely to undergo any change in the estimate it has made of the justice, the policy and the duty of every freeman on this most important subject.

With all the repugnance which I feel to bad men, their corrupt associates, and to the different measures effected by their wicked association, in the affairs of our State, it is nothing, because after all it is partial, when compared with the dreadful consequence as well to the principles of liberty, as to their only security the equal political rights of the free States, which will follow the plan deliberately formed to extend slavery over new regions, hitherto unpolluted by it and countries even where freedom is now established.

It has been, and still is, asserted that the V. P. entertains doubts respecting the power, and even concerning the policy of restraining this unnatural and dangerous mischief. There are some truths so plain and incontestable, that no language or

definition can make them more so; and when we find men in doubt respecting the same, we are wholly at a loss to understand them. I will not enlarge upon this point. I hope it is not true that the V. P. has any scruples respecting measures without which our Constitution is worthless and defenceless, and our liberties in the most imminent danger.

I mean on this subject to express myself (tho' with the closest confidence) to you and Van Buren without reserve. Obliged as I feel myself to the V. P., solicitous as I am that he should attain his object in opposition to Mr. Clinton, if he seek by any understanding with others, or by deliberate purpose to give the influence of N. York, or to co-operate with the slave States, or in opposition to the free States, in order to extend slavery into the new regions, I will take no step to promote the purpose or wishes of his opponent, and should find it utterly impossible without degrading my fixed opinions of public and private Duty to do what it might otherwise be decorous and my inclination to do.

Under any circumstances I should feel an aversion to overstep the line that I have usually observed in our contested elections; there is something of presumption in any individuals becoming thus remarkable, and among our best examples, I do not recollect any precedent. On this head, however, I am not decided. I have no further time to add, but to assure you that touching your own course and that of the Duers, and our other friends and connexions, I cannot disapprove of the same.

Affectionately yrs.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

WASHINGTON, Mar. 20, 1820.

DEAR SIR:

I received today from Charles the letter addressed to me by yourself and others relative to the course which you have elected to pursue, in the approaching election. I yesterday wrote a letter to you directed to Albany, as on the preceding day I had done to Van Buren, in reply to letters of the 12th recd. from you. Before I can determine on the propriety of a Reply to the letter recd. today from Charles, I must receive a precise answer to my letters

to you & Mr. V. Buren : the subject on which this answer is expected is of the highest importance.

If I should doubt the propriety of giving such answers as would accord with your wishes, you may with very slight alterations convert the letter into an address to the public in vindication of your course. truly yrs.

RUFUS KING.

ROBT. TROUP TO R. KING.

GENEVA, 22 March 1820.

MY DEAR SIR :

I have just reced. a letter, of the 18th inst. from our mutual friend Morris S. Miller of Utica, in which he informs me that he, Mr. Lynch, Mr. Duer, your sons Charles & John, and others have addressed a letter to you, in which you are earnestly requested to *come out fully* & *at large in favor of Tompkins*—at the ensuing election—Mr. Miller, in addition, expressed a strong hope that I would join you ; and he infers that our two names in favor of Tompkins, will be likely to have great weight in determining the conduct of our federal friends in general. I frankly acknowledge to you that I am *decidedly opposed* to the measure. The state of Tompkins' accounts * is not such as, I think, to justify you & me,

* During the war of 1812, Mr. Tompkins, the Governor of the State of New York, had made "large disbursements under his direction, vouchers for which could not be produced though he had made large advances on his private credit. Against him personally nothing more serious than carelessness was imputed.—Schouler, *Hist. of U. S.*, iii., 198.

It was admitted by the Governor and his friends that as the services for which he claimed compensation, had been rendered to the United States and not to New York, the United States ought to remunerate him." The Legislature of New York, however, had passed an "act for the settlement of the accounts of D. D. Tompkins," on April 13, 1819, and the question now arose as to the construction of the act, through a difference of opinion between the Comptroller and the Vice President, as reported by the former. The result of the examination of this matter by Committees of the Senate and of the Assembly was that in the Senate an able Committee, with Mr. Van Buren as chairman made a report, the conclusion of which was that there would be a balance due to the Governor, which should be paid to him on his releasing all claims against the State, which decision was there adopted. When the matter came up in the Assembly, the Committee, to which it was there referred, reported on April 6th, and recom-

or any other respectable man of the federal party to come out & recommend Tompkins to the votes of the party. It is true that the Committee of the Senate have given Tompkins a good white coating; but on the other hand, the Committee of the House of Assembly have put on him a pretty thick coat of lamp-black. Besides we have very good & valuable friends that take a deep interest in Clinton's re-election. I allude, among others, to Chancellor Kent, Judge Platt, and the Patroon. The latter you know is now a family connection of Clinton. My suspicion also is that our most excellent friend Mr. Jay is for Clinton; and my suspicion is founded on the notice Clinton has taken of one of Mr. Jay's sons, and the known attachment of both of his sons to Clinton's administration. . . . I have therefore just answered Mr. Miller's letter, and told him, that I cannot consent, under any circumstances whatever,* to have *my name used in public* with respect to either of the candidates, or any other matter connected with the election. I hope most ardently that you will also *decline suffering your name to be brought forward for any purpose.* Your sentiments on the question of Clinton's administration are no secret but on the contrary are well known to every reading man in the State. Here let them rest. . . .

Most faithfully yours,

ROBT. TROUP.

mended striking out the provisions of the Senate Resolution, and inserting a provision requiring the Comptroller, should the Vice President not pay the amount found due by him to the accounting office by the 1st day of August, to commence suit against him, allowing the offset of his claim for premiums.

"This report was confirmed by the majority in the Assembly and the bill passed as amended by the select committee, and here all action in the two houses ceased."

For a full account see Hammond's *Pol. Hist. of N. Y.*, i., pp. 521–526.

Mr. King in a letter to his son Charles, April 5, 1820, writes: "I have not any hesitation in thinking that the Comptroller should have closed the V. P.'s accounts according to the construction of the law, as confirmed by his counsel." But he has thought it improper that he should declare any opinion upon these subjects (the V. P.'s accounts among them) in order to be published.

* His agency for the Pulteney Estate was another objection.

M. Van Buren to R. King.

March 23d 1820.

My dear Sir :

I have only time to say that since the receipt of yours I have seen the Vice President & stated to him what I understood was reported as his opinion on the subject of the Missouri question & he informed me that he had never entertained or expressed the sentiments attributed to him, that he did not think that the restriction was unconstitutional, nor had he ever questioned its expediency. At some future day I will give you my ideas upon the question of the expediency of making this a party question. I am persuaded that notwithstanding the people of this state have felt a strong interest in the question, the excitement which exists in regard to it, or which is likely to arise from it, is not so great as you suppose.

With great respect & esteem
in very great haste
I am yours cordially
M. V. Buren.

J. A. King to Tompkins.

Albany, March 27th 1820.

Dear Sir :

In consequence of the conversation which took place between us this morning in relation to a subject of the deepest interest to us all in this section of the Union, I now take the liberty with your permission of addressing this letter to you, in order that you may express in your reply to it your sentiments upon the constitutional power of Congress to prohibit the introduction of slavery into the State of Missouri, as well as the expediency of exercising that power in the case alluded to. This question tho' apparently settled for the present moment by the recent decision of Congress, is in truth far from being so, its influence will increase and its magnitude also, with the erection of every new State within the southern limits of the United States. You will therefore confer a favor on me as well as upon those of your friends whose opinions and sentiments are in unison with mine, to express fully and unreservedly your sentiments upon this subject. It may be well to remark that it was in consequence of rumours misrepresenting

your opinion, upon this subject, being afloat at Washington, as well as here, that I took the liberty of making you the visit referred to, and you will permit me to add that the frank and undisguised expression of your views of this subject claim and receive my warmest thanks.

I have the honor
to be your obed. humb. Servt.
JOHN A. KING.

DANIEL D. TOMPKINS TO J. A. KING.

ALBANY March 28 1820.

DR SIR :

I have not had time since the receipt of yours of last evening to make a full answer. I am surprised that my sentiments upon the subject of slavery or the admission of New States into the Union without a prohibition of slavery therein should ever have been doubted or misunderstood. My opinion is that by the Constitution Congress have the discretion of requiring as a preliminary condition of the admission of a State, not composed of territory not originally in the U. S., that slavery be prohibited in such new State & that it is expedient & just to require that condition to be performed in relation to Missouri and all other territory acquired therewith. In the course of tomorrow I will furnish you an answer to yours containing a full exposition of my reasoning, views and opinions on this important subject.

I am Dr. Sir your obed. Servt.
DANIEL D. TOMPKINS.

J. A. KING TO R. KING.

Albany, March 28th, 1820.

DEAR SIR :

I enclose you a copy of a letter I have written to the Vice President with his answer, and I hope you will consider it as removing all your doubts on that subject. He is preparing a longer and fuller letter, which he says he has no objection to having published. In the meantime it was considered important by us all, that you should be satisfied upon this point immediately.

As the difficulty which seemed of the greatest moment to you is now removed, I hope that you will feel at liberty to reply to the letter written to you ; to which, as we have said before, we do not ask anything more than a general assent and approbation of our course, and particularly that, as the candidate of the Republican party, Daniel D. Tompkins is entitled to our support. It is of infinite moment to us to have your sanction.

Affectionately yours

JOHN A. KING.

R. KING TO MR. GILES.

March, 1820.

Mr. King of N. Y. receives and very heartily reciprocates the obliging salutations expressed by Mr. G. in his letter to Mr. Archer,* the extract of which Mr. Pleasants was good enough to communicate to Mr. K. He is however somewhat at a loss to understand the inquiry which Mr. Giles is desirous Mr. K. should answer respecting what he is pleased to call the principle of voluntary & involuntary labor ; and the project of substituting the latter for the former, ascribed to Mr. K.. Supposing Mr. Giles' inquiry to relate to the abolition of slavery in the States where it exists, in order to introduce a system of agriculture to be carried on only by the labor of free persons, Mr. King, without any reserve admits that any such plan would, in his belief, be most difficult to execute, and that he must be not only a bold politician, but moreover must possess higher powers of intellect than are commonly met with, who should venture to attempt to carry any such scheme into execution.

The subject of domestic slavery is one with which Mr. K. is very imperfectly acquainted and on which he has not bestowed much consideration, and which he professes to look at and reflect

* The extract from Mr. Giles's letter is as follows :

" I would thank you to present my best respects to Mr. King and ask him, if he thinks he has sufficiently reflected upon the subject, to estimate all the consequences of attempting to change the principle of labor established and transfused through a great community for its support and prosperity &c,—whether that principle of labor be of the willing or reluctant kind—and to substitute it with another? Whether he believes after all his reflections, there can be a more difficult problem for solution?" (Quotation dated March 22d, 1820.)

upon solely in its bearing and effects upon great political interests, and upon the just and equal rights of the freemen of the Nation. Concerning the actual economy upon this subject practised by the States where slavery is permitted, Mr. K. is, as he has always been, fully persuaded that it belongs exclusively to those States, to regulate the same, and that the U. S., or their Legislature, have no power to interfere with the States on this matter more than they have to interfere with the laws, usages and customs of any foreign country, where slavery exists. In a late debate upon a question altogether distinct and concerning which the Constitution is most explicit, it having been urged, as argument of expediency, that the multiplication of slaves in the old States was, or soon would be, such as to require their dispersion over new and remote regions, in order to insure the repose and safety of the States, in which the number of slaves might otherwise become too numerous, Mr. K. observed that it must be evident that the effect of this plan of dispersion would be nothing more than a temporary palliative, that the expansion could not be indefinite, as doubling and trippling the number of slaves, must in the like ratio increase the danger now felt; and were there no conclusive objection to the measure, it could have no other effect than to postpone the evil to a future day; and this with the certainty that the magnitude of the evil would increase as time was given to its growth. In lieu of such course, not as a measure proposed, much less as one to be attempted under the power of Congress, Mr. K. suggested that it was possible that the States might respectively devise some scheme to mitigate the actual condition of slavery, and thereby to lessen the evil, to which it might otherwise give birth. They might, for example, assign to the slaves a part of their land, to which they should be attached, and from which they should not involuntarily be sold; the profits of their labor might be divided by some expedient rule between the master and the slave—some such mode as was practised in the antient villenage. But this was a mere suggestion, made without confidence in its practicability; altho' intended to insinuate that there seemed to be something retrograde in its character, in the present improved condition of human society, in sitting down in utter despair that the time would never come, when changes might take place in the present condition of slavery within the U. S.

How, when, or under what circumstances, or under whose auspices this may be attempted, Mr. K. has formed no distinct opinion, and from the very partial consideration that he has ever given to the subject, he now says, as he has often said, that he knows of no Question, connected with the welfare and safety of the country of greater magnitude, involved in greater or more peculiar embarrassment. Mr. G. to whom Mr. K. is not altogether a stranger, it is hoped will correctly appreciate this observation, and the more especially, because it has suited the views of others, whose situation could not have misled them respecting Mr. K.'s expressed opinion, to represent the language and the precise object of Mr. K. to be not only what he at the time disclaimed and still disclaims, but wholly contrary to the express limitations which he made use of. Mr. King can assign no other explanation of this unmerited misrepresentation, than the desire to make a case more easy to refute than that which Mr. K. actually made, and which in his deliberate judgment has not and cannot be answered.

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

WASHINGTON April 1, 1820.

DEAR SIR:

I yesterday received your letter of the 28th. ultimo, with its enclosures. Mr. Van Buren had before communicated to me the same information respecting the V. P.'s opinion on the M. Q., and I immediately informed him in answer to his letter, that I was fully satisfied. I shall regret that the V. P. should take the trouble to write anything further upon the subject, and especially with any view to its publication; which would not be likely at the present time to be of public advantage, and might be otherwise.

Thinking as I have done of the importance of the principle involved in the M. Q. and of the future influence thereof upon our public affairs, I felt a good deal of solicitude, on hearing the whispers that were in circulation here, concerning the opinions of the V. P.; and more so, as in my conversations with him, he gave me no reason to believe that he entertained opinions on the construction of the Constitution different from my own. I am there-

fore gratified to find that these insinuations respecting him are without foundation ; which indeed, had I received no authoritative contradiction of them, I should have inferred from the silence that has lately prevailed respecting them.

I mentioned this subject to the Sec. of the Navy before I suggested it confidentially to Van Buren and to you, in order that the friends of the V. P. should be seasonably apprized of what I had some reason to believe would reach Albany, and become matter of objection in the pending election. Should nothing be urged against the V. P. on this head, I hope that no public opinion respecting the same, will be thought necessary.

I have carefully considered and sought the advice of several friends, whose experience deserves my respect, and whose feelings and wishes even may not differ from my own in the choice that should be made between the V. P. and Mr. C. I am embarrassed only by the apprehension that the V. P. may suppose, that having received a great and gratifying expression of their liberal preference, I owe on the present occasion a return equally generous. I can however rely upon their liberality correctly to appreciate the explanations of the motives, which decide my conduct on this occasion.

I am not indifferent as respects the issue of the election. I feel a decided preference, and what is more important and satisfactory, I cherish stronger hopes of the consolidation of the various interests of the State and of the repose of our public affairs under the V. P. than under Mr. C.

I cannot therefore disapprove of, nor discourage, the like feelings and conclusions of others ; and more especially of the gentlemen who have asked my opinion on this subject ; but in the communication thereof I cannot consent to the publication of the same.

The counsel of prudent and honorable men, who I feel quite sure, deal honestly with me, directs to this refusal ; the conduct of others, whose examples on former occasions merit respect, imparts the same instruction ; the publication that I have been obliged to authorize in reply to Mr. Miller's Address has announced my opinion respecting the course which in my judgment the Federalists, as individuals, ought to pursue in the approaching election ; and, anxious as you appear to be for the contrary, I

am unable to comply with the request which you and others have made, unless I disregard the advice of not a few friends, the authority of former examples, and even the opinion which I have recently made public in my answer to Mr. Miller.

Besides, without the affectation of modesty, there is something more than the mere appearance of self importance than would consist with the observance of true decorum, in volunteering, especially during my absence from the State, my opinion and advice on the pending election ; and judging as well as I am able to do, could I reconcile the same to sentiments of propriety, I am disposed to believe that the desired effect would be very insignificant. Such are my feelings, and such must be my conduct. I state them in confidence, and with no other reserve, in order that those friends, they may be supposed to affect, may fully understand them.

You must pause for a moment and weigh the difference between youth and age : the one is confident and adventurous, the other cautious and hesitating : the object of one is to acquire, of the other to preserve reputation—both are right ; I therefore do not discourage you, nor disapprove of your views ; and I hope that you will make due allowance for mine.

with affectionate regards, I am faithfully yrs

RUFUS KING.

P. S. All our reports are favorable to the success of the V. P., and it is my earnest hope that they may not prove fallacious. . . .

R. KING TO C. GORE.

WASHINGTON, Apl 9. 1820.

MY DEAR SIR :

Our session drags along in the ordinary manner. Western claims, land regulations and private accounts consume most of our time. The law for converting credit to cash sales of the public Lands has been again passed in the Senate, but, as formerly, the Bill is delayed in the House and may be again postponed. The debt for lands now exceeds 22 millions and another year's sales may make it more than 30 mils. Since the year 1805, an annual

Bill has been passed to postpone payments due from the land purchasers and becomes yearly more necessary by the annual increase of the debt. If it goes on in this way, the result will be to draw off our active population, to become purchasers of western lands, which are nominally sold, but which will in effect be acquired, without payment by the purchasers. Better will it be to pass a law assigning to the several States their respective quotas in severalty, of an estate that will be wasted, if longer held in common. The slave question at present is matter of memory only ; but very deep & resentful impressions have been made among the slave States, and towards individuals their feelings are not likely to wear away. If a correspondent impression were made in the free States all wd. be as it should be—the effect wd. be beneficial even to those who are most dissatisfied ; but this I apprehend may not be the fact. The inveteracy of party feelings in the Eastern States, the hopes of influence and distinction by taking part in favor of the slave States, which call themselves, and are spoken of by others as the truly republican States and the peculiar friends of liberty, will keep alive & sustain a body considerably numerous, and who will have sufficient influence, to preserve to the slave States their disproportionate, I might say exclusive, dominance over the Union.

I understand that Maine will return Holmes (as contemptible and vulgar a fellow as any one in the new State) to be one of her Senators. He is (one is ashamed to use the only expressions which describe him) the merest sycophant, and hollow hearted man, who has never understood or felt the direction of conscience, that is to be found among us. He is more proud, and more fully gratified, to excuse & justify slavery, to misrepresent the motives, and depreciate the influence of friends of freedom, than any other man in Congress ; yet this man is to be sent to the Senate to represent the people of Maine.

And in Massachusetts too & elsewhere, there are men who pretend to be intelligent, who deny the power of Congress to restrain slavery where it cannot exist without their consent and who join the slave States after the truth is manifest that the extension of slavery delivers over the govt. & rights of the freemen to the masters of slaves. Thus we have been govd. and thus by our base & degrading divisions, excited by others, and blindly kept alive by

ourselves, we shall continue to be ruled by men who in the name of liberty and by the permission of power are ordained to be our masters, as they are the masters of the black men on whose labor they live. . . . I am truly yours

R. K.

J. A. KING TO R. KING.

ALBANY, April 9th, 1820.

DEAR SIR:

I yesterday received your letter of the 1st instant, and will only reply that however much I may regret your decision as respects ourselves, I cannot at the same time refuse my entire assent to the correctness of the feelings and reasons which have determined the course you have adopted in this instance. We shall now convert our letter to you, into an electioneering address to which we shall obtain as many respectable signatures as the lateness of the hour will admit of. I was, I must confess, somewhat prepared for this decision on your part, from the difficulties suggested in your former letters. But as I was very desirous that we should receive your reply, if you could under proper advisement consent to give it, I did not entirely relinquish all hopes of seeing that result accomplished.

J. A. KING.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, April 10, 1820.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . Both Webster & Everett who were in the Senate when you delivered your Sentiments on the Missouri Question confirm my Opinion on the Fitness and Truth of your Remarks and on the Misrepresentations of your opponents. I have read the speeches of Barbour & Smith of your House, and cannot but think them more arrogant and indecent than any thing that I have seen from that Body, and I, with many others here, regret not seeing your speech to which these purport to be in Reply. . . .

faithfully & truly yours

C. GORE.

CHAPTER XIX.

Van Buren to King—Approves his Answer to Letter for King's Reasons—Gore to King—Regrets the Condition of Affairs—C. King to King—Not pledged to answer Letter sent—C. King to King—Closeness of Money Market—King to C. King—Situation of Treasury bad—King to Gore—Tariff and Spanish Negotiations—King to Gore—Spanish Negotiations—Virtual Repeal of Pension Law—King to Mason—Florida and Missouri Debates—Financial Conditions—King to Gore—Changed his Room—Work done during Session—King to Gore—President's Florida Message pacific—Negotiations unsettled—King to Mason—Missouri Question—The North wants Force—Goldsborough to King—Does not believe he favored the Address of the Seceders in New York—King to Goldsborough—Says he correctly understands him—Address for local Purposes.

M. Van Buren to R. King.

April 13, 1820.

My dear Sir :

I know your goodness will have suggested my apology for not acknowledging the receipt of your two last communications at an earlier period, as well as for not now giving to them that minute reply which under other circumstances it would give me pleasure to do. The truth is that for the last ten days I have scarcely had time to take my regular meals, & am at this moment pressed by at least half a dozen unfinished concerns growing out of this intolerable political struggle in which we are involved. I agree with you fully as to the Holland Land Company concerns & have given the business such a direction as, while it defeats Mr. Clinton's & Mr. Granger's political plans, will preserve the public interest. Mr. John A. King has shown me your letter detailing your reasons for declining a public expression of your preference in the ensuing election in this State ; they are satisfactory to me, because they are regarded so by you, for we certainly could have

no right to ask, nor ought we to wish, that you should have done so if you had the least objection to it, or entertained the smallest doubt as to its propriety—I entertain the strongest convictions that we shall succeed. The circumstance of its being extensively known that you had thus been written to & no reply appearing, will give our adversary nearly all the advantage which he would derive from being permitted to say that your opinion was adverse to us, & I am well satisfied that at the eve of the election, when it is too late to communicate with you, they will publish the circumstance & with their usual boldness & disregard to truth assert that you did not answer the letter because you were opposed to the Vice President, or even if necessary that you sent an answer to that effect which is suppressed.

I send you a hasty sketch of my remarks in the Senate which I throw on your indulgence.

Yours very sincerely,

M. V. BUREN.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, April 18, 1820.

MY DEAR SIR :

I received and thank you for your Letter of the 9th. I see with deep Pain & Regret the arrogance of our Southern Allies & the base Servility of some of our own Citizens. That Maine will send Holmes as Senator is not to be doubted, and I have as little Doubt that some of more Talent in Mass'ts. will labour all Summer to gain Credit against the next Winter with the existing Admon̄, at Washington, by endeavouring to promote such an Election as was given only to the first President, and for a man, notwithstanding the unremitted Praise of all Federalists, who has called to Office no one, who was not a thorough going Supporter of all the Virginian Pretensions to exclusive Rule. To the base spirit which produces this Conduct was owing the Vacillation of this State on your late important Question. . . . believe me truly your affectionate & faithful Friend

C. GORE.

C. KING TO R. KING.

NEW YORK 18. April 1820.

DEAR SIR :

I do not think that any body can have pledged you to answer our letter, or have said publicly that it was expected from you to do so, tho' it undoubtedly has become a matter of more publicity than we wished, that such a letter had been written to you. I have not heard any suggestions made as to your not replying to it. You will see it is published with about 40 names. . . .

yours very truly

CHAS. KING.

C. KING TO R. KING.

N. YORK April 19, 1820.

DR SIR :

. . . A singular and rapid change has occurred within the last month in the state of our money market. Money, which could with difficulty be loaned a month ago at 5 pr. ct. is now not to be had at 7 pr. ct. The Banks are curtailing their discounts, as, from the low state of their specie, they needs must; and a very general and extensive pressure for money is experienced. I know of no other way of accounting for this, than by the immense amount of our imports and of orders yet to be executed in France and England. That this is the leading cause is the more probable, as notwithstanding the fall in Stocks & produce, which the scarcity of money produced, exchange on England is gradually advancing, and large sums of specie are constantly going both to France & England. . . .

yrs very truly

CHAS. KING.

R. KING TO C. KING.

WASHINGTON Apl. 22, 1820.

DEAR SIR :

. . . The situation of the Treasury is bad. A loan in addition to the diversion of the Sinking Fund will be requisite to enable the ordinary business to proceed. I don't mean that the diversion of the Sinking Fund is either expedient or just ; it will

nevertheless take place. We hope to adjourn by the 8th May, and the Spanish negotiation will be pressed to a conclusion before that date. . . . _____ yrs R. K.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

Friday Evg. 28 Apl. 1820.

DEAR SIR :

After a long session the H. of R. have this evening passed the Tariff Bill to be engrossed & read a third time by a majority of 12 or 15 : its fate in the Senate, which stands adjourned till Monday, is said to be doubtful.

Certain portions of it, which would have borne hard on Navigation, or rather Commerce, are amended ; still in the articles of Iron, Hemp, Duck, and Copper the Provisions are injurious to navigation & ship builders. The Duty of 10 cts the gallon on molasses is ill judged & oppressive, as well as almost ruinous to the distilleries in your quarter : the East India Trade, which is the business in Massachusetts will be subject to further embarrassments, and on a false theory respecting the exportation of Dollars.

Our Span. Negotiation is not absolutely closed tho' it is said to be desperate ; a message from the Pr. will communicate the actual state of affairs to Congress before its adjournment, and thereby free himself from all responsibility.

The Question in this event will be to authorize the Pr. to occupy Florida. I shd. not object to this measure were there no danger of war ; which neither our Treasury, nor the state of the currency, nor the embarrassment of every branch of industry wd. permit.

The Tariff and the Florida Business may still detain us a week or more, notwithstanding the desire of adjournment.

I am affectionately yrs RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

Sunday 30 Apl 1820.

MY DEAR SIR :

. . . I made a short visit yesterday to the Pr. ; the issue of ye Span. negotiations was not then ascertained but expected to be brought to a point within a day or two.

On passing thro' Paris Genl. Vives told Gallatin that he was not the bearer of the Ratification of the Treaty, but had power to consent to our occupation of Florida preliminarily, and thus to enter into further negotiations with the U. S. On his arrival here, when asked for the Ratification of our Treaty, he declared he did not possess it, and when inquired of if he has power to consent to our occupation of Florida, he also replied in the negative : it becoming manifest that on this basis no further negotiations would be continued, he is supposed to have asked for a moment's pause, and so far as conjecture may be cited, it would not be extraordinary in this posture of affairs shd. the General on reexamination, discover that he is authorized to consent to ye occupation of the Floridas. In this event the negotiations may be resumed, and continued as long as he chooses : tomorrow or the day after will enable me according to present opinions to send you more precise intelligence : this can be regarded in no degree leading to particular result.

The Pension bill passed by Congress & wh. without doubt will be approved by the Pr., tho' called an act in addition &c, is in fact a repeal of the revolutionary pension Bill passed in 1818, and the enactment of new rules & regulations with wh. all persons already on the pension Bill must comply, in order to receive any future payment of their Pensions.

The former bill was incautious and too comprehensive ; instead of including only soldiers, who had served three years or until the end of the War, every person who had served nine months was comprehended by the bill, so that more than 16000 Pensioners were on the Roll on the last day of the last year ; when the whole army at the end of the war was only 13000 non-comd. Officers & Privates. The Pensions on the 1. Inst. payable to the old Army amounted to about 2 mil. Dol., $\frac{3}{4}$ of which is payable to Pensioners residing in the States east of Pennsylvania and the other $\frac{1}{4}$ in the other States & Territories.

Whether this circumstance has had its effect in revoking the Law, I cannot say, but no Senator east of Pennsylvania voted for the Repeal.

The treasury is poor, and this will bring a temporary relief.

faithfully yours

R. K.

R. KING TO J. MASON.

WASHINGTON, May 4th, 1820.

MY DEAR SIR :

It is some time since the receipt of your obliging letter, of the 15th ultimo ; it ought sooner to have been acknowledged, but my attention had been of late a good deal engaged in watching the course of the New York election : the struggle is over, but who cries victory, we here are unable to ascertain. My wishes have been on the side of Tompkins, believing that under him, the State may be more composed than it would be under Clinton. Our session is near its close : except the Bill changing the mode of selling the public lands, nothing of importance will have been done, tho' much has been discussed, which stands postponed, for another session. Had not the friends of the Tariff embraced a system too comprehensive and complicated, they would have succeeded ; the cotton & woollen manufacturers, disconnected with their associates, would have received the protection asked for ; but the bearing of the Bill on ship building & navigation was insufferable. The auction and cash payments of duty Bills failed also, being reported as parts of the Tariff System as it was called.

Our Spanish affairs have often changed their phases, during the winter and the expected news from Spain since the Convocation of the Cortes, will in all probability postpone any definitive measures respecting Florida ; about which less solicitude exists than formerly. Some desire the Province of Texas lying along the Coast, & west of the Sabine, to be also obtained ; others have become less desirous respecting the Floridas ; which will only add further strength in the Senate to the slave States, which by the multiplication of new states has become a controlling power in our government tho' a minority. I have however no doubt that ultimately we shall possess the Floridas.

In respect to the Missouri Debates in which I took a part, which became the theme of gross misrepresentations and abuse ; altho', as the newspapers have shown, much has been said, the argument whether the power or the policy, be the inquiry, remains unbroken in favor of the restriction. Indeed nothing having the character of a Law, or constitutional or statesmanlike argument has been offered to the contrary, and in my conviction none can be invented. All the speeches hitherto published have

been prepared by those who delivered them: there was no note taker present in the Senate and I have not put a pen to paper in order to preserve what I said on this occasion.

The Presidential Caucus was a mere abortion; the measure was adopted more by the vanity of Genl. Smith than from all other motives. There will be no opposition to Mr. Monroe that I have heard of; none is expected even from New York, whose Legislature in all probability will be anti-clintonian.

If Tompkins had been chosen Gov. of N. Y. there might have been, or even yet may be, a Caucus for his successor; but I consider this event uncertain & not likely to be definitely ascertained at least in favor of Tompkins before Congress adjourns. . . .

Our Treasury is exhausted. No notice was personally given of its condition; the Executive removes, but does not propose to impose Taxes; the reduction in the military appropriations of this year, including the fortifications and ordnance Department, exceeds two millions. The suspension or repeal of the Pension law, will be another saving, and yet the Gov. must borrow from 2 to 4 millions this year and the prospects of the next year are still more alarming.

The project of the new Tariff, if it succeeds, must reduce the import and tonnage duties still lower, and its establishment must produce the necessity of a system of internal Taxes, which the Western States have no inclination to impose.

A motion to reduce the Army is before the House, & if no fears respecting Florida prevent, will prevail: the Navy will follow next year. So we go.

Excuse this rambling letter and believe me very truly your respectful & faithful servant,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

Monday, 8 May 1820.

DEAR SIR:

. . . Congress will adjourn at farthest on this day week. Otis adjourned himself, and with his brother Mason went off yesterday. I gave orders this morning to move from the gloomy rooms where Lewis was formerly, to the apartments wh. Otis has occupied during the winter, so that I am as it were at home again,

and now write to you with the Churchyard, the Potomac, and other old & familiar, and at this hour, pleasant objects before me.

The tariff Bill, auction Bill, & Bill requiring the cash payment of Duties, have all been postponed to the next session ; and except the auction Bill I am not dissatisfied in this result—The Law changing the credit, to the cash system of selling the public Lands, is the only beneficial & important Act of the session : the Missouri Bill was the fruit of cowardice, or worse. So much for Politicks.

I remain yr constant friend

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

WASHINGTON Tuesday Evg., 9 May 1820.

DEAR SIR :

The Florida Message was sent to the two Houses of Congress to-day, and the tenor thereof is pacific as was anticipated.

It seems that explanations were wanted by the Spanish Govt. concerning the views of the U. S. in respect to the Spanish Colonies : other points such as, the piratical equipments in the American Ports, the magnified expedition of Long against the Texas, and the opposition to the Grants made by King Ferdinand to the Duke d'Alazon & others, were also mentioned as requiring explanations, but the chief purpose seems to have been to obtain assurances, that the U. S. would take no step, equivalent to a recognition of the Independence of any of the South American Provinces. It seems that Genl. Vives soon became convinced that no such engagement on this point would be made, or even allowed to become the subject of discussion ; that while the U. S. have been disposed, and are still willing, to observe a just neutrality between Spain and her Colonies, so long as the civil war is carried on ; they will decline to enter into stipulations either with Spain or the Colonies to this effect, but will reserve to themselves to decide on every thing connected with this subject, as the principles of justice, and of policy may at any time recommend.

Besides a discussion on these topics is distinct and altogether separate from every article and portion of the Treaty lately concluded, and would be in effect the entering upon a new negotiation & the abandonment of the late Treaty.

Altho' Genl. Vives told Mr. Gallatin and the French Minister of For. Affairs, that while he was not the bearer of the ratified Treaty, he was nevertheless authorized to consent to our occupation of the Floridas, in case he should receive the explanations that he was commissioned to demand; yet he here explicitly disowns that he is authorized to consent to our taking possession of the Floridas, and in addition, urges the difficulties in the way of every measure wh. he might stipulate, arising from the late important changes in Spain. On the whole the course of prudence, all things well considered, seems to be that of leaving the Spanish Negotiation for the present where it stands, and this I conjecture will be the opinion of Congress.

I am Dr. Sir

Yr. faithful friend

R. K.

R. KING TO J. MASON.

JAMAICA, L. I. May 25, 1820.

DEAR SIR:

As Virginia has appealed to the respective States in the Missouri Question, I hope that your Legislature will not only sustain the appeal, but give judgment in the cause.

You are in the Legislature, and will of course, attend to the subject, should yr. Gov. in imitation of Wolcott, bring it before you.

I have no wish to recur to the subject during the next Session of Congress. We shall be the same persons and the result would not vary. Holmes of Maine who is come to the Senate, would be on the slave side; & New Hampshire has been divided. Altho' the question is not immediately to be discussed again in Congress, the principles will be constantly felt, and those that are correct, want strengthening & confirmation. New Hampshire can and ought to lend her support. I wish that your Parrot would retire and give you his place. The North wants force; numbers, which are mere numerals in politics as well as in finance, are not to be relied on.

On all controverted points, in every National Question, we fight Militia against Regulars; and as in war, we suffer grievous defeats; until by more concert which we have little prospect to

effect, or by the influence of pride, which disdains inferiority, we select and continue our best men in Congress, no alteration can be accomplished; but we shall forever be governed by the minority, whose interests materially differ from our own, & from that of a majority of the Nation.

If you could come from N. H. and Webster from M. I should feel more courage and confidence;—think of these things.

I am always & truly yrs.

RUFUS KING.

R. GOLDSBOROUGH TO R. KING.

EASTON, E. S. OF MARYLAND, May 30th, 1820.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have delayed writing to you upon a subject on which I anxiously desired to commune with you, until your return home, when you wd. have a fuller opportunity of ascertaining the state of things which has so much interested us from that quarter.

It is necessary that I shd. be very frank on this occasion, and I hope the friendly disposition you have done me the honor to manifest towards me for several years past, will cause you to ascribe my inquiries to those motives alone which spring from the highest confidence in you, and the greatest veneration for your character both as a Public and Private man; for such I assure you, Sir, are my only motives, and such alone are my feelings towards you.

The late events in N. York, immediately anterior to the election have produced a great sensation here among our friends, who are all men that have cherished your name most among the favourites of the country. The terms and character of the address of the Seceders have roused a most indignant feeling; and a general opinion is expressed which attributes to you the course that has been taken. Knowing the influence wrought upon my mind by several years association with you, an influence which I never wished to disguise, these persons have in great numbers applied to me for my opinion and unreservedly expressed their own. Their opinion I have promptly and with all my force resisted, and I have undertaken to assert, and I have done it with severity, that I was persuaded you never approved of that Address, and, most probably, were never consulted about it. I

thought it unlikely that you wd. take any active part as to the Candidates for Governor, but that it was most probable if you suffered yourself to feel a wish at all upon the occasion, you wd. rather incline to Mr. Tompkins.

I have conceded that it was possible, and maintain that it was not wrong, if those Gentlemen who seceded had consulted you upon their plan, that you wd. have said, that there was nothing improper in those or any other Gentlemen declaring themselves friendly to the election of Mr. Tompkins, or of their inviting other friends to do the same. This was the utmost extent I thought you wd. go: but so far from abetting or approving of the Address, I felt convinced that there was no man who wd. more decidedly reprehend the course it took, and the terms of reproach it cast upon the Federal Party. With my feelings and opinion towards you I cd. not hesitate to maintain this course. The warmth with which I have resisted this matter, has produced a kind forbearance generally on the part of those who differ from me, and who, let me tell you, constitute almost all of my Associates, our friend Mr. C. Goldsborough excepted.

The Address from the Seceders was peculiarly unwelcome to us, both from the sentiments it contained and the time of its appearance, as it was calculated to produce very mischievous effects upon our great struggle which will take place five months hence to recover the lost dominion of the State, in which we shall probably succeed; and success this year, it is conceded on all hands, will ensure success the next, when our Senate is to be chosen, which will keep us federal for *five years to come after next year*. It was therefore fitted to do us irreparable injury, and this has had no little influence in fanning the flame of indignation which has burst out. The Demc. Party seized upon it instantly and used it most actively to their own purposes. But we still have confidence in our own strength throughout the State, and we mean to exert it to the utmost.

In this state of things have I acted wrong? and if wrong, in what? If I have been guilty of an error, I assure you, my dear Sir, it was accompanied by the utmost devotion to you and an honest zeal to serve you. Our leading men have all hitherto held you in the highest respect and admiration, and it was to preserve you unimpaired in their affection, and because I thought I was right, that I have assumed the ground I have.

I feel as well persuaded as any man that the Federal Party, as such, can never rise in the General Government, and perhaps the keeping it alive might rather operate agt. our wishes at a Presidential Election after Mr. Monroe's next term expires. But in Maryland we are fully convinced that the preservation of the Federal Party is the only means of security in the State, and that there is no possible chance of giving her weight in the scale of the Presidential Election to a Gentleman from the North, unless the State is Federal. These two great and imposing considerations will certainly justify us in engaging in the struggle and keeping alive the contest. The same causes do not exist in the North and East of us, and therefore the same reason does not exist why a tacit and easy amalgamation shd. not there take place. The Northern and Eastern Section of the Country owe it to themselves to compromise all political dissensions among themselves, in order that they may be the better able to meet that new state of Parties, the foundations of which are already laid; and if they can unite the three new States, west of Pennsylvania to the Mississippi, with that State and Delaware as their Southern frontier, they will be very formidable and will in all probability rule the destiny of this Country until the Day of Disunion. To that Northern Section, Maryland must sooner or later be attached, and federal Men in Maryld. will soonest see and feel that necessity. I cd. detail various reasons for this opinion, but I will only add that *Maryld. must go with the Naval Section and that the feeling which tolerates slavery and the population composing it are both greatly diminishing.*

No man dreads a Dispoliation of the Union more than I do, both as it regards the great interest of the Republic and the particular interest of Maryld., for in any division by an East and West line She must be frontier. Yet when the prognostics are not only numerous and strong, but the beginnings of things seem already to have existence, it is childish to shut our eyes. Common prudence and common sense wd. say, choose you the safest side of the Wreck.

I hope My dear Sir the freedom of remark I have used will not be considered as officious or uncivil, as nothing wd. give me more concern than to violate towards you the smallest rule of decorum; and if I have arrogated a pretension to which I am not entitled in so free a communication as I have designed to open, I ask your

forgiveness for a man who has been always covetous of your good opinion and willing to serve you in any manly & independent course.

Accept dear Sir my best wishes and believe me very faithfully and sincerely

Yr friend

Robt H. Goldsborough.

R. King to R. H. Goldsborough.

Jamaica, L. I., June 4, 1820.

Dear Sir :

I yesterday received your letter of the 30th past : its frankness is gratifying to me ; and I will add, that in the circumstances which you describe, and under the impressions, which some persons (to whom I must be personally unknown) have erroneously and to my disadvantage received, your silence would not have corresponded, either with the generosity of your own character, or the duties of that friendship, which so much to my satisfaction subsists between us.

But between friends, and in affording the explanations even, which truth and justice authorize, there must be some reserve ; self-respect enjoins it, and nothing beyond what may be necessary, can be expressed in vindication of our reputation & honor.

This law becomes more imperative as we advance, when reputation becomes established not only in the judgment of friends, but also in the public opinion.

I cannot more explicitly, and satisfactorily reply to your letter, than to say, that you have correctly understood and expressed my political principles and opinions, none of which have been relinquished or changed, on the occasion to which you have referred.

A very peculiar, and most extraordinary condition of Parties exists in this State ; it would require more time and labor to give the origin thereof, and to explain the same to you, than I have courage to employ ; and when done, the same, as I hope, would be found altogether inapplicable to your situation.

All that I have seen, and all that I have thereby suffered, instead of changing, have served to confirm those principles and

opinions which were acquired from the association that it was my good fortune to enjoy with the Great men, who after acquiring our Independence, and founding our liberties, have gone to their reward.

In relation to the Address to the federal Electors of this State which has excited so much dissatisfaction in your quarter, I take the liberty to observe, that I have been assured by some of the persons who signed it, that the scope and object of the Address, which I never saw before its publication, are local, & confined to this State: and notwithstanding its language is too general, and in this respect unguarded, that it was not the intention of the subscribers to apply the same to any except to the Electors to whom the same is directed.

With great Esteem & Regard I am dear Sir, yr. ob. & faithful Servt

RUFUS KING.

CHAPTER XX.

King to Gore—Disapproves of the Neglect of the Classics at Harvard—Gore to King—Agrees with him—Deadly Poison among Politicians on National Questions—Mason to King—New Hampshire; decided Course against the Virginia Resolutions—King to Mason—Approves of the N. H. Resolutions—Urges his Return to the Senate—Gore to King—Virginia Resolutions in Massachusetts—Bp. Hobart to King—Desires a General Theological Seminary in New York—King to Hobart—Declining to serve as Trustee—King to C. King—France's Claim as to commercial Privileges in Louisiana—J. A. King to King—Convention in New York—King to C. King—Missouri to exclude free Negroes—Unconstitutional—King to C. King—Collector in New York—Removal of Postmasters—King—Views on Exclusion of free Negroes in the Constitution of Missouri.

R. King to C. Gore.

Jamaica, L. I., June 5, 1820.

My dear Friend:

I regret that during Frederic's [his son] fourth year the classics are to form no part of his studies; a year which wd. be more important in the acquirements wh. might be derived from their study than all which has gone before.

The truth is we have no scholars, or so few that the value of the ancient authors is neither understood nor properly estimated: the young men are to study Chemistry, & Philosophy, and Eloquence; and are to depend on Blair, instead of Longinus, and on modern Poetry and History in preference to the fine Models of both Greek & Roman Masters.

I discard the pretension that we are all to become Chemists; few, very few, of the Great Statesmen of old or mod. times were even Mathematicians: in saying this I do not depreciate the Sciences. I honor, and w'd prove my veneration for learned Chemists, tho' I believe while we have smatterers in abundance,

we have no man who deserves to be considered learned in this Branch.

We have our Bowditch, and Adrain who are almost the only Mathematicians who can read la Place.

It is with Mathematics, as with music, unless there be a natural propensity, neither is worth pursuit, and the former only so far as the ordinary calls of life require the same.

I earnestly wish that the Faculty of Cambridge, wd. engage as a Tutor a real scholar, who shd. be thorough in greek & latin : it might excite some mortification in those who are unqualified in this respect, but it wd. create an Era in our system of Education : let it be once established & and there will be no fear for the future. . . .

Since my return home I am free from politicks,—our election being over, the topics are farming, the raising of stock &c : our season has been very wet, and unusually cold ; everything wants warm weather and the influence of the sun. . . .

I am faithfully yrs

R. K.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, June 14, 1820.

MY DEAR SIR :

. . . On the Subject of the Virginia Resolutions on the Slave Question, I observe that no Branch of our Government has mentioned the Matter. Whether Governor Brooks intends to send them with a separate Message, which I had hoped, I do not know. I endeavored, through C. Justice Parker, who is his Relative, and who, I have thought, frequently advises him, to influence him to what I considered a wise and just Course, as respects his own Character & the Interest of the State. But there is a deadly Poison operating on all our political men, in Regard to every thing National, and more especially on this Question of Slavery. There is no man of any knowledge in the State, or any political Consideration, that does not in Conversation (as I believe, & I have talked with all I meet) acknowledge the Infirmity of our Conduct the last Winter, and deprecate the Delay of the Legislature, as weak & disgraceful to the public Reputation. Some of our People having saved themselves at Home, still wish

& believe they can attain Distinction at Washington. And the Rulers and Representatives of the State are, on this Subject, much below the People themselves. It is confidently asserted that Mason could not, should he be offered as a Candidate, now obtain fifty Votes in Boston as a Member of Congress. In our Chief there is no Vigour of mind, and but little Knowledge, and on Individuals of this character cunning men operate, to deter them from acting, by alarming their avarice & their Fears, as to the State Claims on the U. States ; thus expecting to obtain Consideration with those, who appoint Ministers abroad. It is the Temper of the times to laud the President and the Sec'y of the Treasury, as wise, virtuous, and prudent as Washington & Hamilton, for having involved the Nation in Embarrassment and Poverty, and then we say, we have no parties, the Government pursues all the Plans of the first administration and surely we can have no Reason to censure. . . .

With what you say relative to the Studies at Harvard, I perfectly accord. I have uniformly opposed these attempts at Chemistry, Mineralogy, &c.—the latter hitherto with success. It is the Vice inherent in the Constitution of the College. There was some reason for it formerly, when Cambridge afforded the only Seminary of Learning. It is now the Vice of the Country and of the times to be like the Germans, Faiseurs, smatterers in every thing and profound in nothing. So great Hold has this Disposition to learn a little Science and neglect the Languages, that even Frederic, the last term, went to Dr. Kirkland to request he might be excused from studying Greek, with which the President, of course, refused to comply.

I have been endeavoring that the University should procure a profound Latin Scholar from Germany as a Tutor & Professor, and I once thought that we had succeeded. . . .

Faithfully & Affectionately your Friend,

C. Gore.

J. Mason to R. King.

Portsmouth, June, 23, 1820.

My dear Sir :

I have just returned from a short session of our Legislature, where my first object was to procure a suitable disposition of the

Virginia Resolutions on the Missouri question. I shall send you by to-day's mail a report of a committee & resolutions of our Legislature.

At the beginning of the session it was the intention of several of the Democratic leaders, to put the subject by, without doing anything with it. As the whole Senate & a vast majority of the House of Rep's were of that cast, I was fearful that (an) attempt would succeed. In drawing the report & resolutions, I thought it necessary to be exceedingly cautious that there should be nothing to carp at. I fear this excess of caution, has given them the air of too much tameness. I had to draft them hastily & without any aid or advice. If they do not disgrace us I shall be glad.

A fine temper was manifested in the end & the report & resolutions were agreed to in both branches with entire unanimity which had not been expected.

Pretty strong feelings & opinions were raised. Three members of the House of Rep's avoided the question by bolting. One of the Senate was accidentally absent. The question was taken in both Houses by yeas & nays.

I made a speech of about one hour & a half in which, after concisely stating the argument on the constitutional, question, I dwelt on the interest we had in the question & the danger to which the free states were exposed by the extension of slavery. I was heard evidently with much satisfaction.

Our little state is at present & will I think remain firm on this subject.

If the Boston folks did not generally pursue such strange courses, it would seem extraordinary that Gov'r Brooks omitted to communicate the Virginia resolutions to his Legislature.

I am exceedingly sorry that Holmes is elected, as you foretold he would be, a Senator from Maine.

I am faithfully & affectionately yrs

J. MASON.

R. KING TO J. MASON.

JAMAICA, L. I., July 6, 1820.

DEAR SIR:

So far from thinking that you stopped short of the true point, your Report & the Resolutions of your Legislature, without re-

ference to the domestic considerations to which you refer, are just such as they should be, to produce the reflections that may lead to reformation.

Your argument is persuasive as well as convincing; and the suggestion that your scheme might be considered as acquiescence in the slavish construction of the Constitution, is a seasonable rebuke to Massachusetts whose errors and repentance are equally deplorable.

States like Men who fail in self-respect, are without title to the respect of others.

After the separation of Maine, Massachusetts was bound to retrieve her ancient reputation, and to obtain justice, she must show the world, that she merits it.

Yr. obt. & faith. Sert. RUFUS KING.

P. S. In a letter last evening, received from Mr. Gore, he says that he is told that the Virginia Resolutions were not sent to Massachusetts. Has Virginia restricted them to the States whose Senators asked for the extension of slavery?

I wish very earnestly that you would settle the consclusion firmly in your mind, that you ought, from motives, in every sense honorable, and give me leave to say, obligatory, to desire, to return to the Senate of the U. S., and as soon, as it may be, in your power to do so. The highest interest of your Country, your own reputation, and the very extraordinary condition of the Representation of the Northern States, all unite in calling for those sacrifices which, I fear, you have not sufficiently undervalued!

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, Aug. 6, 1820.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

. . . Mason thinks, notwithstanding what our newspapers have declared, that the Virginia Resolutions were sent to our Governor; of this I cannot speak. But this I believe may be considered true; that while one of our Representatives was making, & causing to be published, a Speech in favor of restricting Slavery, he was constantly pressing on Brigadier Sullivan & Col. Quincy to keep back all Resolutions of our Legislature on the Subject. . . .

I remain very truly your affectionate Friend,

C. GORE.

J. H. Hobart to R. King.

New York, Oct. 23, 1820.

Dear Sir:

It is with the greatest reluctance that I take the liberty of soliciting your attention to Church affairs—not because I suppose that you are indifferent to them—but from the consideration that you are so much occupied with high civil concerns.

The influence of this sentiment has hitherto prevented me from troubling you with details, to which, tho' I felt much interested in them, I would not presume to think that you would attach equal importance. I would not now intrude upon you the views and plans contained in the accompanying communication, if I were not most deeply impressed with the conviction that their successful operation involved the character of the Church in this diocese, & the highest future interests of the Church throughout the Union; and if I were not also deeply impressed with the essential importance of your name & influence to give the contemplated society at the outset that impetus without which it is vain to hope for its prosperous and permanent career.*

I remember being much struck with the wisdom of a remark which several years since you made to me, that the resources of the Chh. in this City, were the great security for the dignity and prosperity of the Chh. throughout the Union, and that they ought to be carefully cherished and guarded. In accordance with this sentiment it has always appeared to me that the unrivalled resources and advantages which we here enjoy for theological education, on the proper direction of which so essentially depends the future character of the Chh., ought not to be placed beyond our control. For the General Convention, organized on the principles of the old confederation, admitting a vote by States, the vote of N. Y. in that body is no more than the vote of Maine or Delaware, where our Chh. scarcely exists; and it was impossible therefore not to apprehend that a general institution, to which N. Y. would most largely contribute, might not only ultimately be placed under the influence of others—a circumstance which, if that inference were correct, would not perhaps be of so much importance—but under the control of those, who, in the fanatical spirit of superior sanc-

* Incloses notice of R. King's election as "Trustee of the Prot. Episl. Theological Education Society in the State of New York."

tity, aim to destroy, or to alloy, those antient and sober features of our Chh. in which she so strongly resembles her venerable parent, by which she traces her origin to the Chh. of the first ages, and which hitherto securing to her the preference and confidence of the wise & good have enabled her to disperse the truths of religion, in their purest and most beneficial influences, to mankind.

The leading circumstances in the business of the theological school, since the last General Convention, were stated in a pastoral letter, which perhaps you have seen, but a copy of which I now transmit. There might have been other details, which however, I did not deem it proper to give to the public, and with wh. it cannot be necessary to trouble you. In my address to the Convention, my object was to present, as far as possible, the business of theological education in this diocese, under views that would be offensive to none; and to rest our duty to make provision for this object among ourselves on the strong basis of the *extent of our resources* and *the preeminence of our advantages.*

I cannot venture to think that the plan in all its details is unexceptionable. It is not altogether what many of us would wish, were it not necessary to reconcile conflicting interests and to enlist popular sentiment in favor of the system. But in its leading points we indulge the hope that it will obtain your approbation.

A meeting of the Trustees in order to take preparatory measures is to be held in Trinity Chh. to-morrow afternoon at 4 o'clock. This hour is fixed on, in accommodation to gentlemen of business & to several of our friends whose presence is important, and who will be previously detained in the Court of Chancery. The Trustees consist of some of the most influential or active Episcopalians, & it is all important that at the outset a strong impression should be made. Addresses to them at the time by laymen of elevated character and commanding influence will operate incalculably more upon them, and thro' them upon the public, than all the pastoral letters or addresses wh. I could make, or all the exhortations of my brethren of the clergy; and I confess to you that my hopes of success will be much diminished without this all important aid. It is contemplated at the meeting of the Trustees to propose resolutions expressing their determination cordially to co-operate in promoting the important objects of the society; & an opportunity will be thus afforded of making such remarks as

gentlemen present may choose to offer. Mr. Wells and Mr. Ogden will be there and speak, and probably Mr. Harison, if he is well enough. But it is most deeply felt by them, & by others, and by none more deeply than myself, that your presence on this occasion, and even a simple expression of your favorable wishes are of more importance than can be attached to any other person. I beg you to excuse the liberty I take in stating this sentiment—it is deeply and sincerely felt; and my apology must be the great importance of the contemplated measure. If it should fail, the Chh. here and the Chh. at large will lose the benefits of theological education where the resources and advantages are greatest; and the influence of this diocese will also be lost, in forming the future character of our Chh., and in guarding it from the innovating and fanatical spirit, which I am sorry to say is advancing and using new arts to gain the ascendancy. The Milnors of N. Y. & the Hawleys & Henshaws & Keys of the South are rallying around the institution at New Haven, because they have reason to think that it will be favorable to their views, and will break down N. York. Even from personal and official considerations I should wish to prevent their triumph—but I should lament it from its fatal influence on higher interests.

You have more than once stepped forward and rendered essential services to the Chh., placing me under obligations which I shall never forget, and wh. I shall never cease to acknowledge. Allow me to say that now is a crisis of a most interesting nature, in which your influence may determine its successful issue; for (excuse the freedom) such is the station which you occupy in the opinions and feelings of the community, that I shall not doubt of the success of our plan, if, at its commencement, you will thus publicly patronise it. The same sentiment is felt by the leading clerical and lay friends of the Chh. here and elsewhere, who with me feel a solicitude which I cannot express for the favour of your presence. We only want your presence *this once*, with such remarks as you may think proper, approving the leading objects of the plan. We promise not to trouble you again on the subject; and I must ask your pardon for being the organ of their wishes, and thus strongly expressing my own.

I am, dear Sir, with the highest respect,

most sincerely yr ob fd & servt, J. H. Hobart.

Permit me to add, that your presence has been so much talked of and wished, that I cannot dismiss the apprehension that if you are not there, it may be attributed to disinclination to the plan.

R. KING TO RT. REV. BP. HOBART.

JAM., L. I., 24th Oct., 1820.

DEAR SIR:

I last evening received and carefully read the letter which you so kindly did me the favor to write to me. I wish that I had been earlier apprised of the proposed plan of establishing a theological Seminary in this Diocese, and regret that it was not in my power to express my unwillingness to be chosen one of the V. Presidents of the Society *—before my name was placed in the Catalogue.

I have not had time to examine the subject, and for this reason, joined to a disinclination to be engaged in a business not absolutely free from difficulty, I must beg leave to decline the honor of the appointment. I intreat of you to find for me an excuse for this decision, which shall leave wholly unimpaired the esteem, respect, and friendly considerations, with which

I am, my dear Sir, yr. ob. & faith. Servt.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO C. KING.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 19, 1820.

DEAR SIR:

. . . Tho' the Govt. appears to be without information, there seems to be some reason to believe that the Florida question was referred by the King's Ministers to the Cortes, a committee of which body has had the same under consideration. It seems that the French Govt. required of Mr. Gallatin, authorized on our part to treat on the subject of Navigation & Commerce, to allow the admission of French vessels into Louisiana on the same footing as the vessels of England, grounding the claim on the article of the Louisiana Treaty, by which it is stipulated that the vessels of France shall be admitted into the Ports of Louis-

* He was chosen a Trustee not a V. P.

iana on the footing of the most favored nation. Mr. Gallatin answered that he could not consent to such admission, unless France would by admitting our vessels into their ports on the footing of French vessels, give us the equivalent compensation, by which England obtained this privilege. The answer is said to have been that the cession of Louisiana was the compensation, and that in virtue of the stipulation on our part, the vessels of France were entitled to be recd. in Louisiana on the most favored footing allowed, whether gratuitously or for a compensation, to the vessels of any other foreign power.

Not only is this untenable claim made, but compensation for the suspension of the privilege is required, and the negotiation is transferred to Washington, where the plea of want of powers would not exist. It is possible that this unfounded demand, for such it doubtless must be considered (the construction of the terms granting the rights of the most favored nation being so often and so universally settled), aims at raising up a claim that may to a certain degree operate as a set off against the claims of compensation made on our part; or it may be a device to avoid treating with Mr. Gallatin (* on which interpretation it must be regarded as the expression of a wish on the part of the French Govt. that Mr. Gallatin shd. be recalled). Mr. Neuville, who is expected to resume the negotiation here, will, I conjecture, discover the same sentiments and opinions, that he must know prevailed here and produced the Tonnage Duty on French vessels. It is, and was, regretted that the law was not postponed in its operation, so that a knowledge thereof should have put every one on their guard. The President very properly has recommended, and Congress doubtless will readily adopt, suitable measures for the Reimbursement of all such Duties as were paid in cases where the Tonnage Duty was not known at the commencement of the voyage. The great reduction in the estimates of expenditures of the current year, will, as we are told, and as the Prest's message wd. seem to suggest, dispense with the necessity of Loans & Taxes.

I am &c., R. K.

* Private.

ALBANY, Monday night, 11 O'clock, Nov. 20th, 1820.

DEAR SIR :

The assembly has this moment adjourned to meet again to-morrow at 9 in the morning. We met at 6 in the evening in order to receive the Bill relative to a Convention which had been sent to the Council of Revision in the morning. The Bill provided 1st for a Convention with full powers. 2d for an election of Delegates on the 1st Tuesday in February. 3d for a meeting of the Delegates on the 1st Tuesday in June. 4th for the submission of the Conventional act as a whole to the people in their town meetings on the 1st Tuesday in November,—and 5th upon its acceptance and ratification by a majority of the people, for the proclamation of the Governor within 10 days thereafter proclaiming the fact, and that it was from that time, the Constitution of the State. At 10 o'clock the Council returned the Bill with the two following objections more at large however than here stated. 1st That there was no evidence that the people were desirous of a Convention, and that, if there were any evidence of their wishes upon this subject, it would have been proper to have referred the question to them in the first instance for their decision. 2d that the Conventional act should not be submitted as a whole, but that each amendment should be separately referred to the people. The opposition on the part of the Governor's friends has been inconsistent in the highest degree. In both Houses there was an unanimous vote for the 1st section of the Bill which provided for calling Convention with full powers. The details of the Bill however were contested one by one : the Bill nevertheless as reported passed both Houses without amendment, in the Senate by a majority of 19 to 10 and in the Assembly by a majority of 20. The objectionable feature and that which was undoubtedly the cause of its being returned by the Council, was the day or rather time fixed for the election of delegates. This would have taken place about a week before the period at which the new Council will be called into action, when every heart is full of hope prompting each man to vigorous exertions. We have understood that Judge Yates and Woodworth dissented and that the Chancellor, Judge Spencer and the Governor drew up the objections. What course our friends will now pursue remains to be decided. They may refer the Bill and objections to a Committee

in order to have a report, which may go upon the journals and may assume the character of a protest. The question will then be taken upon the final passage of the Bill according to the rule prescribed in the Constitution, which being done, we shall immediately adjourn.* The election of Mr. Taylor as Speaker of the H. of R. is the source of much regret to us all here. If Van Buren had been in Sanford's place, this would not have taken place. Van Buren is clearly gaining friends and cannot fail of being the successful candidate for the Senate. . . .

Affectionately yours,

JOHN A. KING.

R. KING TO C. KING.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 21, 1820.

DEAR SIR:

A committee of each House is charged with the Constitution of Missouri, and I am doubtful whether any business will be done before the question of the admission of the State be determined. The Clause of their Constitution by wh. it is made the duty of their General Assembly to pass Laws excluding free Negroes & Mulattoes, is repugnant to the Constitution of the U. S. and on every consideration should have been omitted. Had this been done, exceptionable as the Constitution may appear to those who thought, and still think, that it should contain a provision like that of the States N.W. of the Ohio, prohibiting slavery, the question of the admission would have been taken without debate. The Convention of the People of Missouri could not have been insensible, that with a becoming moderation on their part, this would be the course, and the departure from the same appears like a premeditated purpose of coming into the Union in a manner contemptuous to the States which have been unwilling to see

* The Bill was lost. Mr. Hammond in *Polit. Hist. of N. York*, vol. i., p. 544, says: "It is due to candor and truth to state that the Clintonians, as a party, were notwithstanding their vote on the first clause of the bill, opposed to any convention with unlimited powers. . . . They believed the Convention would be exclusively controlled by the republican party and they feared . . . that the judiciary system would be abolished and a new one established, by which the judges and chancellor would be, if I may be allowed to coin a word, *constitutionized* out of office.

the extension of slavery ; it is perhaps doubtful whether this unnecessary attempt at something like a triumph of the principles of slavery over those of freedom will be successful.

faithfully yrs,

R. K.

R. KING TO C. KING.

Private.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 22, 1820.

DEAR SIR :

No nomination is yet made of any office ; the delay, as it would seem, will not diminish embarrassments, if any exist, for in addition to the projects which you mentioned as being on foot in N. York,* a Paper was yesterday handing about among the N. York delegation to which several of the N. Y. members had signed their names, recommending Mr. Wendover to the Pr. as Collector. The origin of this measure, I understand to be among those who are friends of Gov. Clinton ; whether it be entirely accurate, I cannot decide ; but it is understood that Mr. Taylor in the course

* The nomination referred to is that of Collector of the Port of New York. Mr. Jonathan Thompson had been recommended to the President, as most acceptable for the position and Mr. King had interested himself in having him nominated. It would appear that Mr. Ferguson had many friends favorable to him among the merchants there and a new candidate was now put forward. Mr. Thompson was nominated and confirmed by the Senate.

R. KING TO C. KING.

Private.

SENATE CHAMBERS, 29 Nov., 1820.

DEAR SIR :

On Mr. Thompson's nomination being called up to-day, Mr. Sanford & myself according to usage were expected to say something respecting the Candidate. I did not distinctly hear Mr. Sanford's observations, wh. were however favorable. I observed that several persons had been spoken of as fit Candidates for this Collectorship ; that they were respectable persons without doubt, who favored them. "That I knew something of Mr. Thompson, who had been Collector of Internal Taxes ; that I considered him to be a man of integrity, with good capacity for the office to wh. he was nominated, and that I believed that his appointment would produce general satisfaction." The nomination was confirmed nemine contradicente.

yrs, R. K.

of the struggle to appoint the Speaker waited on several of his colleagues, Wendover among them, and made his profession of faith in order to do away the charge of being a Clintonian. "It is not true that I am a Clintonian ; I have no connection with that Gentleman ; I do not visit him, which I might however do without impropriety ; I at the same time disavow being a Bucktail" ; and when asked, if neither a Clintonian nor Bucktail, what are you, his reply was, I am a Republican. By this device it is understood that he gained the wanting votes, and among them, Wendover's. As one good turn deserves another, it is not extraordinary that Mr. Wendover is recommended as Collector.

The Clintonians here are encouraged in their hopes, and leave nothing undone to advance their views ; in this spirit I understand that Meigs, the P.M., has been called on for the letter of Van Buren to Henry Meigs, wh. he sent to the P.M., respecting the removal of certain Postmasters. Meigs, it is said, stated the demand to the Pr.; what advice was recd. is not mentioned ; but he yesterday furnished a copy of the letter, which of course is to be forwarded to the Gov. Perhaps there may be some inaccuracy in these particulars, but Storrs says they are correct. For my own part I see nothing of any consequence in this affair. Van Buren, as well as any other citizen might complain of the unfaithful conduct of certain Postmasters, and truly charge them with impeding the circulation of papers in favor of Tompkins' election, and ask that some of them be removed as the only means of correcting the above ; but it is very contemptible in Meigs to be frightened out of the just exercise of his duties, and against all prudence to deliver up copies of Papers, however innocent, wh. are intended for unfair public and personal objects.

I still cannot think that in regard to the collectorship the President will make any mistake.

yrs, R. K.

The following letter, though without the name of his correspondent and apparently unfinished, so clearly expresses the views of Mr. King on the provisions of the Constitution adopted by the Convention of Missouri, relative to the exclusion of free negroes, etc., that it is here given.

R. KING TO ———

Friday, 24 Nov., '20.

DEAR SIR:

We are still without executive nominations, and both houses are adjourned till Monday. The solicitude wh. manifests itself concerning the admission of Missouri convinces me that no business will be done until the question be settled. I think I discover more temper among gentlemen who, tho' little doubtful of the Senate, are anxious respecting the majority of the House, than I have ever observed on any former occasion.

Past usage, the nature of the compact of admission, the tenor and provision of the law of the last session authorizing the People of M. to meet in Convention & to form a Constitution, wh. they were required to lay before Congress, all concur in proving that an act of Congress approving the Constitution & admitting the new State into the Union is necessary to, & must precede such admission. Still a project is on foot to introduce the Senators elect from Missouri, into the Senate, and to order the oaths of office to be administered preparatory to their taking their seats; sh'd this be done the H. of Rep. may refuse to approve the Constitution, and deny to the Representative Elect from Missouri his seat in the H. of Rep. If a majority of the Senate sh'd sanction this great irregularity, which I cannot however believe will be the case, it will present a question of painful importance to the minority respecting the conduct which it may be their duty to pursue.

That the clause in the Missouri Constitution making it the duty of the Legislature thereof to pass Laws excluding free negroes, and mulattoes from coming to and settling in that state, is repugnant to the Clause in the Const'n of the U. S. which provides "that the Citizens of any state shall be entitled to the privileges and immunities of Citizens in the several States," seems to be too plain to require proof or argument.

The children born of free persons in any of the States, are by such birth Citizens thereof, and being so, are entitled to the Prs & Ims of Citizens in the several States—in other words, they profess a capacity to enjoy all such prs & immunities in like manner and under the like limitations & qualifications as are imposed on & required of the Citizens of any State into which they choose

to remove—and it wd. be equally competent for Missouri to exclude a naturalized Citizen of Pennsylvania or of any other State or any other description of the native Citizens of any State, as to exclude free negroes & mulattoes who are Citizens.

It is indeed a small affair in comparison of the Resolution to exclude slavery beyond the Mississippi ; but it evinces the temper & feelings of Missouri—not satisfied with permission to form an unrestricted Constitution, by which the right and security of a majority of the freemen of the nation will be affected, and their opinions relative to the power of Congress in this matter disregarded if not violated—not content with forming a Constitution wh' not only does not exclude slavery, but provides various restrictive regulations concerning the emancipation of slaves, whereby their bondage will be without hope, the People of Missouri have inserted a clause in their Constitution, which unless they thought meanly of those who have been anxious to prevent the spread of slavery, they would have carefully omitted.

CHAPTER XXI.

King to Gore—French Navigation Proposition inadmissible—Bp. Chase to King—Petition to Congress for Lands to Worthington College—King to Gore—Course to pursue relative to Missouri's Constitution—H. Lee to King—Friendly Expressions—King to Gore—Property Qualification for Electors not advisable—King to J. A. King—Treasury Balances due from Persons—Among others the Vice-President—Clinton should be steadily opposed—King to C. King—Plan to increase the Number of Judges to obtain a Convention should be abandoned—Gore to King—Property Qualification no Protection.

R. King to C. Gore.

Sunday P.M., 26 Novr., 1820.

My dear Sir:

. . . As yet no business is done by Cong. and none will be done before the Missouri Decision be made—tho' the Senate does not probably create any solicitude, the House occasions a good deal. I think the probability to be, that the Constitution will be remitted to Missouri, and a Bill passed by Congress to authorize the People of that territory to revise and amend the Constitution, preparatory to their admission into the Union. Spanish affairs stand still, the Florida Treaty being referred to the Cortes, whose decision is not made. The French desire an arrangement by wh. they are to be allowed certain advantages in the coml. intercourse, by which they may be compensated for the inferiority of their ships and seamen; in other words, they wish that we shd. assume the basis that the navigation be equally divided, and that such Laws be passed as shall in practice accomplish such division.

The Project is visionary and impracticable, and we cannot consent to any settlement, except such as we have with Eng: for none other is sound or expedient, and besides, if we yield any

thing more than equality to one Nation, how can we refuse it to another.

Neuville has encouraged the British to think that our Law was for the advantage of the shipowners ; and that the Planters were not content to continue it. If he comes over with this hope, he will return disappointed, and the negotiation will be again remitted to Paris. Neuville has also intimated that our Law wd. be evaded by importing French goods to Florida, & exporting our Cotton from thence to France—with this view the Govt. of Florida has opened a Port in St. Mary's River, tho' there is no settlement on the Florida side of that River, and a French vessel wh. arrived there lately has been seized and libelled by the American Collector in that Quarter. We are quiet under the old use of Florida, but our repose may be interrupted if unfair & mischievous use be made of this Province of Spain. Our Govt. will at any rate break up this attempt to evade our Laws. Otis has just arrived ; Gorham came a day or two ago.

affectionately yrs

R. K.

BP. CHASE TO R. KING.

OHIO, 28th. Nov., 1820.

DEAR SIR :

When at Judge Ruggles, last summer, he did me the honour to assure me of his good wishes in the matter which is so important to us—our petitioning Congress for a donation of lands to Worthington College, Ohio.

Accordingly as instructed by the Board of Trustees of that Seminary, I have sent on to his care a Petition praying for that donation from the unsold land lying to the north and west of us.

I need not repeat to you how much we rely on your counsel and endeavours in our behalf. If we be disappointed in this application it will be sore indeed to us. It cannot be said that our expectations, now so ardent, of aid from Congress were not well founded. To be sure this Boon was never in so many words promised to us from the National Government : but are there no expectations which grow out of the nature of things in their relation each to the other, which expectations it would be as unjust

to disappoint as any founded or written compact? If there be any such, we think that those which we have entertained of the liberality, not to say justice, of Congress in giving and allotting some due proportion of the soil on which we tread to support of the Higher Branches of Literature are, as such, to be considered. If this is not done for us in the West a comparative barbarism will ensue dishonorable to our Country.

If it be said, there are other Institutions in our State provided with landed funds, let it be answered that those Institutions are at the extremities of our State, and so situated withall, as to be unable to accommodate the far greater part of the population of Ohio. But suppose them well endowed—they are so distant from those parts accommodated by the Worthington College, as to preclude any impropriety in fostering the object of the contemplated donation. Ohio embraces more numbers of acres than all New England, and shall not this vast tract of land be assigned, in some proportion of its extent, for the support of Learning?

And what is one or two townships of land for the support of a College in the middle of a State compared with the benefit which will result?

But, dear Sir, I entreat your pardon for detaining you. Our College, tho' by reason of much personal sacrifice, is flourishing beyond expectation. The best families in Steubenville, Zanesville, St. Clairsville, Chillicothe and Dayton afford us their patronage; and bad as the times are, the number of our Students amounts to 40. Being in the centre of the State, and in an uncommonly healthy situation, surrounded by a class of inhabitants remarkable for civil and moral deportment, we do hope for success in our application; and our hopes are doubly sanguine when we think of your support in our favour.

Respectfully, I am, Sir, your Friend & very humb. Servt.,

PHILAN. CHASE.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

December 1, 1820.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . We as is usual have done very little business—the Missouri subject engages the time and thought, and industry of the friends of her admission—delay is always favorable to re-

sults wh. the Govt. wish to succeed—our part or rather my own will be defensive—we once thought of proposing to amend the Resolution to admit, by pointing out such provisions of the M. Constitution as are repugnant to that of U. S. and for this defect disapproving the Constitution, and sending it back to the People for revision & amendment—in this I think we might succeed so far as regards our objections to ye. actual Constitution, in which case on the return of the Constitution we should and with some reason be considered as bound to accept the amended Constitution & to vote for the admission of M. without restriction in the matter of slavery. If to avoid this difficulty we propose to add the clause of restriction, we open the discussion of the last year. In these circumstances let those who have contributed to produce the actual embarrassment, take their own measures to get rid of them. We may act defensively, vote for what we approve, & agt. what we disapprove; in this course come what may, we shall be free to act consistently, and without entanglement from former votes.

The close of this business is uncertain; it is said that Eustis will be for admission; whether this be correct I cannot tell; others who had scruples of constitutional power, will find the sincerity of these scruples brought to the test; for surely the plain repugnance of the M. Constitution to that of the U. S. will not be concealed from the eyes of those who found constitutional difficulties in restricting Missouri.

The Pr. is in fine temper, the prospect of a unanimous Re-election very naturally excites these kindly feelings. The first drawing room was the evening before the last—I went to prove my loyalty: on arriving at the Palace, two soldiers without arms, were at the gate of entrance, two more at the door, and two others at the gate of going out; for the order is that all go in at one & the same gate, set down at the door, & pass out at the other gate; this avoids the confusion & danger of the former Pellmell—in coming out the carriages are called up & coming in as they entered, take up and retire as before.

The attendants were not very numerous; it being the first, the fashionables did not come, but I yesterday heard that our good, & pure Republicans of Virginia & elsewhere are displeased with this military parade, as they call it, the same smelling strong of

Monarchy & military Govt. This might have been anticipated, and I hope was—and as the Election takes place on Wednesday next, it cannot be used agt. it, & therefore may probably be persisted in.

affectionately

R. K.

H. Lee to R. King.

Stratford 12th. Dec. 1820.

Dear sir:

I should endeavour to express my thanks to you for the favour the P. has shown me in granting the application for my brother's (S. L. Lee) warrant; but it would imply the dependence of my gratitude upon the success of your friendly & powerful countenance. The measure of my feeling on that subject was such before I left you & I only now say that your kindness in this instance has only added to the sentiments of veneration and friendly esteem which my earliest recollection of myself and my first acquaintance with you implanted and increased in my bosom, and which the children of my father have inherited from him and which the rest will copy from me.

Until I can hear from the mother of the subject of your patronage, who has been for several months, in Phila. with a sick daughter, I shall not be able to embrace the favourable occasion you have had the goodness to mention of introducing my brother into active service.

With the warmest sentiments of respect & gratitude

I am, dear Sir, your faithful servt.

H. Lee.

R. King to C. Gore.

Monday, 18 Decr. 1820.

My dear Friend:

I have yours of the 7. and, with the news papers of a late date, am inclined to think that your Constitution, with those of the other States, is to become more democratical; and to say the truth the experience of the pecuniary qualifications, which have been required in the States where the same exist, does not say much in their favor. I have not observed, that the States in wh.

a property qualification is established, either choose wiser men, or are less democratical than those States where the property qualification for electors does not exist. We are so nearly alike, and have so much intercourse, that it has appeared to me pretty certain that the popular claim wd. prevail over that of property. Such was the example of ancient times, and the same is likely sooner or later to be the issue of Constitutional Reforms among us.

All the new States, whose Constitutions passed under the Revision of Congress, disregard property qualifications. Virginia adheres as yet, but she was obliged to make practical concessions to the men of the Mountains a few years back, and ultimately will also yield up the whole ; as she has no free populace, it will be of less importance.

I am always yrs

R. K.

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21, 1820

DEAR SIR :

As our Missouri discussion is for the present suspended, we have very little to excite or employ ourselves. The Finances are certainly in much disorder, and not only the sources of revenue are neglected, but the accountability in the expenditures is most miserably defective.

We have a Book from the Treasury Department laid on our tables of outstanding Balances, due from persons intrusted with the pub. money, amounting to 15 millions of Dollars. It is doubtless certain that much of this sum has been applied for the pub. service, and the agents have neglected to furnish their vouchers and settle their accounts ; while a large proportion of this Debt has been fraudulently misapplied and spent by those to whom the same was intrusted. It specially appertains to the Head of the Treasury Department, not only to devise and propose plans of revenue, but also to watch over and to examine in all its detail the public expenditures ; suggesting from time to time such checks and securities as the careful & faithful administration of the Finances call for. The Senate and H. of R. are not qualified to look into these details or to suggest remedies agt. the course of

peculation and frauds which are swallowing up the public Taxes. Times were when these things were better managed.

I am sorry to see among the defaulters the name of the Vice President, who is charged with a deficiency of 4000 dollars loss on the sale of pub. certificates wh. the accountant states cannot be allowed to him without legislative provision ; also a balance of 11,000 dollars stated to be due from him in the settlement of his accounts.

I know nothing of the particulars of the V. Pr. acct. ; but I do know that he was called upon by the President to perform the duties of almost every Department, in prosecuting the late war on the whole frontier of N. Yk. ; that he moreover was required to raise money in the best way he could ; that very great sums of money were put into his hands, and disbursed by him in the course of his pub. services ; that he sustained in this service great losses is alleged and not to be doubted ; but that he has been allowed that sort of compensation which would enable him to balance his account I have not understood ; tho' in other instances where large sums of money were in like manner intrusted to distinguished individuals, allowances of this sort have been made.

I see that Mr. Clinton & friends are industrious in their labors to vindicate themselves, and to depreciate their opponents, among whom you are not omitted. This is all a matter of course and should have no other effect than to make you double your diligence. Clinton and anti-Clinton should be the language in Queens. Federalists and Republicans have no longer a controversy ; which exists only between the friends and opponents of Mr. Clinton, in the towns, counties & districts ; the trick of the Clintonians, will be to give to the controversy the character of federal and republican—on the other hand Mr. Clinton's opponents may fairly say that no such controversy exists ; and that the true and only dispute is whether Mr. Clinton & his partizans, men of all complections and characters in politics, shall continue to rule and control the State, and in doing so keep up an irreconcilable animosity and strife between people in almost every county, town, & family throughout the same—or whether Mr. Clinton shall retire and some unambitious, honest and capable man, individuals of which character may be found in

every county, shall be chosen Governor, and the people of the State reunited & restored to that condition of repose and harmony at home, and influence abroad, which never will be attained so long as Mr. Clinton is continued in his actual situation.

R. K.

A letter from Charles King, Dec. 19, 1820, having suggested to Mr. King the idea, entertained by himself and others, that a way in which the opposition of the Council of Revision to a Convention could be overcome, would be to "appoint three additional Judges," an increase which "has been urged again & again by the Judges themselves" on account of the delays now experienced in discharging their duties; that the ends of justice would be promoted by it; that if on trial the Judges should be found too numerous, the convention to be called could modify the judiciary department so as to "insure an unpolitical tribunal"; that the "Council of Revision might make these appointments at once" there being no law against it. He says

"we submit this project to your judgment, and if it shall be adverse to it, we shall probably abandon it."

R. KING TO C. KING.

W. 24 Dec., 1820.

DEAR SIR:

By the terms of office the Judiciary is exempt from the instability which belongs to, and is mingled up in the other Departments of our Govt. Our system would not be representative, unless the Legislature and Executive bodies are affected and were controlled by the opinions, the prejudices and the caprice of the people; while the Judiciary would fail in the discharge of the duties assigned to it, and our Government would prove insupportable, unless the judicial power be in a great measure above the influence of popular impulse and thereby enabled in security to consult and be guided by the great principles of truth & justice, which everywhere and always exist, and which, inferior and feeble as our nature is, are sufficient to direct the judicial power, constituted as ours is, in the honest and salutary performance of its duties.

The rivalries and disputes, that are incident to, and inseparable from, the choice of the legislative and executive Departments, are restrained, and in some degree made harmless, by the undisturbed agency of a just, enlightened & permanent judiciary. The failures which occur in this Department proceed from the personal defects of individuals, and should be regarded as omissions & exceptions, falling under the cognizance of those who have authority to correct the same, and not as reasons to condemn and give up the Department.

If such be the office of the Judiciary, great pains should be taken, in periods of high party excitement, to protect the judicial power, and to exclude the Judges from all participation in the controversies which may arise. It would therefore be matter of regret, in the present position of things, that any measure shd. be undertaken or recommended, which may have the appearance of reforming or altering the Judiciary in any manner, or for any purpose, except such as may be deemed strictly relative to the better discharge of its duties.

Altho' a temporary object might be gained, the example would be pernicious ; the sober and cautious with the men of moderation, who are more numerous and have more influence in the issues of the elections, than may be supposed, may become alarmed and driven on the side of those who will cry out loudly against, and denounce, those who resort to the expedient of recomposing the judicial Department.

But laying these considerations wholly aside : would the project succeed should it be undertaken ? A law wd. be requisite, as no salary could otherwise be obtained. Is there any probability that the Council of Revision would consent to such a law ? They have individually heretofore expressed their approbation of the measure ; but as Mr. Coleman says "tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis." They approved of a Convention and the Gov. recommended it, yet they interposed their vetos agt. the Convention, and would above all doubt do the same agt. the Bill augmenting the number of Judges ; in whose selection they would be sure to have no influence.

The Conventionalists are now charged with the intention to break down the Judiciary. Will not this proposal to increase the number of Judges by wh. means they expect to secure the

Convention, wh. has no connection with this power, serve to give color to the justice of the charge? If the measure succeed, it will excite alarm; if it fail, those who defeat it will be extolled to the skies, and proclaimed as the friends and saviours of the State.

Furthermore the addition of Judges will not correct the delays, which are experienced in the judicial Department. If cases are thereby more expeditiously passed thro' the Circuit Courts, they will proportionately accumulate before the Supreme Court, wh. could go on no faster with eight than four Judges. The defect is in the organization of the Judiciary, not in the number of Judges. Another, a simple & better organized judiciary might be made, but not without a Convention. This could be done without impairing the just rights of the actual Judges. If the project wd. be a misapplication of the Judiciary, if it will fail to expedite the administration of justice, and if likewise it would receive the vote of the Council of Revision, ought it not to be abandoned?

The desire of a Convention is too deep and general not to prevail; a *little* patience only is required; and in politics, as in every other business, good results should not be disappointed by our being too much in haste.

R. K.

C. Gore to R. King.

Waltham, Dec. 27, 1820.

My dear Friend:

. . . . I am much inclined to the Opinion that the pecuniary Qualifications required for a Vote, especially so small as in Massachusetts, has no Effect in the Protection of Property, or Support of Order, especially in the Country. And upon all occasions where numbers are wanted for the dominant Party, such Shifts and Evasions are resorted to, as totally defeat the Rule. I think the apportionment of the Senate, according to Taxation, a valuable Feature in the Constitution and hope it will prevail. In all the antient Governments, so long as Property, in some form or other, operated to have a qualified Weight against Numbers, it was beneficial & salutary to the Rights of all, and promotive of National Prosperity; but whenever numbers, in

many Instances excited by the oppression of the Rich, obtained the Control, their Rapacity destroyed the Wealth of their Opponents, and soon obliged themselves to take Shelter under the powerful Dominion of some bold & fortunate Demagogue. Our Habits, Manners, Education and the Extent of our Country, with the want of any very large Cities, or numerous assemblies of men offered considerable Chance for the Permanence of our Systems & our Liberties ; but this constant Resort to the Consideration and Alteration of our Fundamental Rules, with the knavery & Baseness of Party Spirit in finding Schemes, by which the Leaders of Faction free themselves from the Restraints of the most plain & solemn laws, admonish us that justice will not always prevail. We are in Love with Change not for the Sake of Reformation, as Lord Bacon advises, but we have the Fickleness of Children, & the Giddiness of youth intoxicated with their own Vanity, and overweening confidence in the Visions of a distempered Fancy, unchastised by the Experience of past Times & wiser Men. Observe how some of our Demagogues prate of ancient History, and dogmatize on Principles of Freedom, and of social Order, as though they were intimately acquainted with the one, and subjected their Minds and Imaginations to the other. While, however, we cannot but remark the intrepid Ignorance, and imprudent Conceit of some men, in the Convention, it is with great Satisfaction we see in others, and as yet apparently the leading members, much moderation, great Wisdom, temperate Discussion, sound & sober judgment.

. . . Your faithful Friend,

C. Gore.

CHAPTER XXII.

J. A. King to R. King—Vice President's Accounts—Balance due the Government—King to C. King—Want of Harmony in the Cabinet—Bogert to King—Crawford a Country Attorney—King to J. A. King—Convention in 1788—King to C. King—Crawford's Policy unwise—Objects to cutting down Army—Van Buren to King—Van Rensselaer fears Effect of a Convention—Asks King to show him there is no Danger to Property and Principle—King to J. A. King—Denounces Opposition to the Convention—Crawford's ill-advised Schemes—Stockton to King—Introducing his Son—King to J. A. King—Approves referring the Call of a Convention to the People—Land Question—P. Butler to King—Bank of United States to limit Proxies—C. King to King—Governor's Message on Interference of General Government in Elections feeble and undignified—King to C. King—Governor's Message shows Want of Prudence—Land and Bankrupt Bill—J. A. King to King—Senatorial Caucus—Van Buren to Secretary Thompson—Nomination as Senator—King to J. A. King—Florida Treaty—French Claims.

J. A. King to R. King.

Jamaica, Jany. 1, 1821.

Dear Sir :

. . . I exceedingly regret to learn from your letter, that the V. P. is again presented to the public as a defaulter. The Government has not certainly dealt liberally with him, considering his services and the unfavorable auspices under which he was invested with an unlimited command ; he had a right to have expected a more generous course of conduct towards himself ; at least I think the concealment of so miserable a balance as has been found against him. If others in similar situations have been allowed a commission, he in an especial manner was worthy of such an allowance and it should not have been withheld from him. . . .

Affectionately yours
John A. King.

R. KING TO C. KING.

WASHINGTON, 6 Jany., 1821.

DEAR SIR:

. . . You will observe that the H. of R. are debating on projects of economy, the issue whereof may break down both navy and army. There seems to be no person in the H. of R., who understands the views of the Govt., if it may be said they have any concerted views. If, as some say, there is little concord, harmony, or concert in the cabinet, all this apparent desertion of the administration and the great departments is not extraordinary. Mr. Crawford's department is ill conducted: he shows neither zeal nor talent, but seems to proclaim that the People cannot pay taxes, that money can only be obtained by borrowing, and that the annual loans must become larger unless the expenditures be diminished. . . .

RUFUS KING.

C. I. BOGERT TO R. KING.

JAMAICA, Jany. 8, 1821.

DEAR SIR:

. . I should be very sorry that you have done so little at Washington, but for an old adage, that when party spirit is high, it is the safer course to legislate as little as possible. You must however dispose of the Missouri question and help Crawford out of his difficulties. Would it not be well to provide him with an able accountant, while he is in office. I fear he is what a friend of mine (who saw him in Paris) thought of him—a mere country attorney. . . .

C. I. BOGERT.

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

WASHINGTON, Jany. 9, 1821.

DEAR SIR:

. . . I yesterday saw & read Mr. Duer's speech in Orange. I think it very able and satisfactory. He might have strengthened his argument by the Proceedings of the Legislature of 1788, calling the Convention with full powers to adopt, as they did, the Constitution of the U. S. The immense power thereby

taken from the State Govt. and transferred to that of the U. S., was effected without any previous advice of the People, or subsequent Ratification of the Acts of the Convention—a case incomparably more important than the present one.

My present recollection does not serve me so far as to recollect the names of the Council of Revision at that time. Geo. Clinton was Govr. and Yates Chief Justice—these were opposed to the new fedl. Constitution. . . .

with regard, &c.,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO C. KING.

Saturday, 13 January, 1821.

DEAR SIR:

It is true that we have lost a greater number of members than during any former session *; at present with the exception of Mr. De Witt from Ulster County, who tho' very low is recovering, we have no members seriously indisposed. I myself am affected by a catarrh which yields more slowly than I could wish. I have omitted my attendance in the Senate a few days past but ride out daily, and hope to be in my place on Monday next. This little indisposition arose from my dining yesterday week with the Br. Minister; the day was very cold; we dined in a large barn of a room, wh. had not been warmed, and will not be so, during the winter. I sat near to the door of the room thro' wh. the dinner was served, and there was so much moving & changing of the scenes, that the door was always open, & I suffered very much from the cold.

The Army bill is still on the anvil; how it will come out I cannot predict. I do not think the extent of Staff necessary; and perhaps we could spare something of the Regiments, but I dislike the cutting down system, especially as I feel persuaded that the object cannot, & in policy ought not to succeed, of continuing solely to depend on Import & Tonnage for Revenue. Com-

* There appears to have been a great deal of typhoid fever in Washington at this time, which, as is remarked, had seriously affected many members of Congress, and much anxiety was felt among Mr. King's friends, who had heard of his indisposition and consequent inability to be at the meetings of the Senate. On the 15th he was able to resume his seat.

merce may and shd. do her part, and I fully believe that to relieve the embarrassment & distress of the Country, especially of the Inland, a plan of internal taxes shd. likewise be put into operation. It wd. create a stimulus wh. is much wanted, and tho' it may appear paradoxical the imposition of the tax, would create the means of paying it. If 25 Cents on Whiskey shd. be imposed, and the same sum added to for. Spirits on their importation, we shd. raise up a market for the grain wh. now is without use or price.

There is no concord, and I fear little wisdom in the Cabinet in these matters : but flattering as the Exports certainly are Mr. Crawford will another year be obliged to propose taxes instead of loans. always yrs. R. K.

M. Van Buren to R. King.

Jany. 14, 1821.

My dear Sir :

Our Legislature convened again on Tuesday and are proceeding with composure and propriety. The convention bill has been discussed for two days and will tomorrow be rejected, it requiring you know two thirds to pass it. The whole subject will then be recommitted to a select committee who will probably report a bill authorizing the sense of the people to be taken at the Spring election and if they approve, directing the immediate choice of delegates to the convention & the submission of their doings to the people.

Connected with this question of a convention is a matter to which I wish to call your more particular and friendly attention. Although I have certainly not taken a lead in this business, being some what timid in all matters of innovation, still I am thoroughly convinced that temperate reform & that only is the motive of those of our friends who urge it most strenuously. The apprehension that the generally approved parts of the Constitution, or the rights of property & opinion, stand in danger from the contemplated measure is I believe entirely groundless. There are however some who have much at stake, who I fear think otherwise, & among that number is your friend Mr. S. V. Rensselaer. The extent of his political influence furnishes a strong temptation to Mr. Clinton & his desperate followers to infuse into his mind

the strongest apprehensions, & their labours are assisted by occasional paragraphs in our news-papers. These thoughtless and senseless effusions of the moment, which occupy the minds of their authors no longer than while they are penning them, are dressed up by our adversaries with great form & solemnity & appropriated with much address to the promotion of their ends.

I have observed with much regret that those efforts have been in some degree successful and am very anxious that Mr. V. R. should be undeceived in this particular &, knowing your friendship for him and his respect for you, I hope you will embrace the opportunity, presented by his visit to Washington, to converse freely with him on the subject. A careful view of the present parties in this State & of the materials of which they are composed ought to convince him that if there is safety for property and protection for principle to be expected from any quarter it certainly is from the Republican party. Where I ask are that portion of the community who, having by their frauds become bankrupt in property and credit, have therefore everything to hope & nothing to fear from confusion, to be found? Let him tax his recollection & he will say they are in the ranks of Mr. Clinton. Where are those political blacklegs who have alternately belonged to, deceived & betrayed all parties, & who at a moment of quiet are politically defunct?—let him apply the same process & he will find them pillars in the Clintonian edifice. Where above all is that nefarious band of speculators who in 1812 & 13 preyed upon the very vitals of the government and by their corrupt practices brought disgrace upon the State which time alone can obliterate —practices which nothing but the pacifying influence of the recent scrutiny, aided by previous public indignation, could have prevented from contaminating our old and demoralizing our young men? Why they are all, all props & their leader is the very keystone of the Clintonian arch. Of such materials is the *active & efficient* portion of the Clintonian party formed. Who compose ours? I say & say truly the Yeomanry of the State, who though they have not individually the largest, have collectively the greatest interests at stake; whose fidelity for twenty years is the strongest evidence of their future adherence to principle, & whose very errors (viz. their abandonment of the government in 1809-10 & 12 when they were not satisfied that all was right)

afford the strongest confirmation of their integrity. Mr. V. R. ought to know that from a party thus constituted there is nothing to fear & from them he especially has nothing to apprehend. I know them well and the feelings which move them & I know that there is no man who, notwithstanding his political asperities of the moment, has a stronger hold upon their best feelings than he has. The unquestioned integrity of his private character, his acknowledged benevolence, his amiable disposition, & above all the mild & unostentatious manner in which he enjoys the wealth he possesses, have produced those feelings, & to ensure their continuance it is far from necessary that he should act politically with us. Much as we would feel ourselves honored by his cooperation we do not require it & we are safe without it. All we wish is that his countenance be not openly given and his influence lent to a man of such desperate fortunes & unprincipled views as De Witt Clinton is known to be. On this point there is great solicitude among the more reflecting portion of our friends. They are sensible of the momentous interest which Mr. V. R. has in a wisely constituted and well administered Government: they duly appreciate the feelings which that interest, the delicate state of his health and the situation of his family are likely to excite, & they feel a commendable solicitude that his mind should be put at ease; that he should be perfectly satisfied; that let the popular excitement produced by the political machinations of the man who has, it is confessed, caused the present ferment, be ever so great, there will in the tumult of faction be found in the ranks of his adversaries those who will be able & willing to protect him & all his interests from its violence.

You will see by the papers that your son has come in for his share of the Clinton abuse (who is the undoubted author of Heraclitus); he treats it with the contempt he ought. I have been strongly pressed by *my adversaries*, but of that I wish you to say nothing publicly, to let Judge Yates go to the Senate & take his place on the bench (which they graciously suppose I could do), but I have, for reasons which I will hereafter give to you, determined to breast myself to the opposition which is to be made on the Senator question.

Very sincerely your friend,

M. V. Buren.

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

Private.

WASHINGTON, January 19, 1821.

DEAR SIR :

I have your letter of the 12. According to appearances no Bill concerning a Convention will pass during the Session, and the next elections will be made under the impressions which the advocates & opponents of a Convention can excite. I observe that the opponents are decrying the Convention because great party excitement exists, and would be likely to manifest itself in the Convention, but who is to blame for this? why did not the opposition adhere to their first purpose, and unite with the actual friends of a Convention in calling it? Is it quite sure, that they w'd not have persisted in their first intention, had they met with an opposition? and did they not in fact draw back as soon as they discovered that the measure was approved by all? if so does it lie in their mouths to complain of Divisions, & the excitement of Party!

The pub. affairs here are in a most extraordinary condition. Mr. Monroe is reelected unanimously or nearly so, and nevertheless the plans or measures of Govt. are without friends in Congress; by which I mean no one offers himself to explain or to support those measures wh. are supposed to have the recommendations & favor of the Extive.; reform & economy are the measures & powerful words before wh. army, navy, fortifications, magazines, salaries and improvements of all sorts are to bow.

There does not appear to be great concord in the Cabinet: the Gentleman at the head of the Treasury holds the public purse, and with or without design, knowingly or ignorantly, his whole scheme "of improving the Revenue & for supporting the pub. Credit" consists in cutting down the expenditures, and borrowing money. As yet we have done no business, nor does it seem likely that much will be done.

With esteem &c

Yrs., R. K.

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

Sunday, 21 Jan., 1821.

DEAR SIR:

I have thought it likely that the Convention Bill would fail, and doubted whether the Bill to consult the People on the subject would pass; on further consideration I think you should not depart from the latter course, but taking the formation of the Bill into your own hands should pass the same. If the Gov. and his friends dissent because the provisions of the Bill do not agree with their objections to the first proposal of a Convention, they must do so; but the consulting Bill will pass, their objections notwithstanding. If they agree, the effect may be to increase the harmony of the Convention and so far to promote concord, as well as satisfaction, in relation to the alterations that may be proposed to the Constitution. If you see the Patroon, tell him that I do not release him from his promise to make me a visit here during the session.

We have a difficult subject before us respecting the land Debt of 22 millions. The project will be to give the debtors time, and also to diminish a portion of the Debt: my own views are to induce the Debtors to surrender the lands that they are unable to pay for, and to propose a plan making it their interest to do so. *The Debt cannot be paid;* time will increase, not diminish the impediments which do & will prevent payment—the Holland Lands, & the Lands are better situated; the capacity of the Debtors is greater; but even their Lands will not enable the purchasers to reduce them according to the contracts: the State shd. remain impartial in the disputes wh. will arise, and in doing so, will be able to protect the Debtors more effectually than they will be able to do by any other course. Tell Van Buren that I yesterday recd. his letter of the 14th, and that I am well prepared in the subject which he recommends to me.

Farewell,
Yrs, R. K.

PIERCE BUTLER TO R. KING.

PHILADELPHIA, January 22, 1821.

MY DEAR SIR:

I request of you to peruse the enclosed papers—one of them was sent by Mr. Roberts, a Member of Senate, to Mr. Cheves,

with the blanks fill'd up, I presume by himself; the other paper * is an opinion of four persons of this City. There is strong cause to believe that Mr. Roberts' amendment, as he terms it, is the result of a letter written to him by one or two persons in this City, who were Directors of the Institution when it was plundered. They were left out of the Direction; not having the confidence of the Stockholders they cannot get elected; they, therefore, try to injure the Institution. They are known to be intimate with Mr. Roberts. From my long knowledge of your mind I will not add a word more, than to assure you that I never entered into any combination, nor asked any man to vote with me.

With the highest regard and esteem
your sincere friend,
P. BUTLER.

[Endorsed by R. K.: "Mr. Roberts' amendment to bill respecting Bk. of U. S. to limit Proxies &c. ansd. amendment wd. be rejected. R. K."]

C. KING TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 22 Jany., 1821.

DEAR SIR:

The message of the Governor seems to me both feeble and undignified, and lays him open to much merited castigation.

Of the truth of proceedings at the Navy Yard I have no doubt —because I know John Decatur to be just the hairbrained thoughtless fellow, that these proceedings indicate. But what then? Is

* This paper is one signed by Pierce Butler, Stephen Girard, Gustavus Colbern, and Langdon Cheves, attorneys for stockholders of the United States Bank, resident in South Carolina, giving reasons for opposing the amendments to the charter of the Bank, proposed by Mr. Roberts of Pennsylvania to be made in the bill before the Senate. These amendments were: 1st, that no attorney in voting for the directors of the Bank shall give more than a limited number of votes, the blank in the bill to be filled with "thirty"; 2d, that the validity of the power of attorney shall be limited to a short period of years—say two.

The reasons for objecting to these limitations are clearly and forcibly stated by the gentlemen above named in this paper, concluding, "In short, the amendments in their tendency are calculated to embarrass, by increased and unnecessary difficulties, in the exercise of an undoubted and undoubtedly equitable right, those who can by no diligence be fully represented, and to put their rights into the hands of those, who cannot, but by their own negligence, fail to be represented as fully as they are legally or equitably entitled to be."—EDITOR.

the government to be assailed & brought into disrepute, because one who holds its commission is more candid & less cunning in the exercise of his undoubted political rights, than other men? Or is it only criminal, in the eyes of Mr. Clinton, that a United States officer should be active against, & not for him?

I think the whole communication evinces that the Governor in making the assertion did not expect to be put to his proofs, and that when evidence became necessary, was abundantly puzzled to rake together even such trash as he has submitted.

Will any notice be taken of this proceeding at Washington?

I am Dr. Sir

Yrs ever

CHAS. KING.

R. KING TO C. KING.

WASHINGTON, January 26, 1821.

DEAR SIR:

I have yrs of the 24th; as with you the weather is severely cold; for several days past the glass at 7 ock. A.M., has been 5° below 0. We have recd. the Gov's. Message, which, were further proofs wanting, would satisfy the most doubtful that he is utterly deficient in prudence; there seems to be but one opinion here, at least so far as I am informed, and that is unfavorable to him.

We have before us a most difficult enquiry in the subject of the Debt due for pub. Lands. I have today offered a plan which with suitable correction & amendment may produce good results in this perplexing business. Of the Bkrupt Bill, I scarcely know what to say to you. The plan of settling the Land Debt will be liberal on our side and ought to have its effect in favor of our commercial Debtors. Still the issue of the Bk. Bill is quite precarious. Florida Treaty not arrived: when it is, opposition to it will be made; if ratified, the Comee. will probably be three, for wh. office there are scores of candidates—among others, as I was yesterday confidentially informed by Genl. Chandlers of the Senate, is my brother the Gov of Maine.*

Yrs R. K.

* He was afterwards appointed.

J. A. KING TO R. KING.

ALBANY, February 2, 1821.

DEAR SIR :

We last evening had a Caucus for the purpose of designating a Candidate for the Senate of the U. S. ; our whole number is 90 exclusive of my two Colleagues. 83 were present, the others being sick or absent from the city. Genl Root was one of the absentees, having fallen two nights before in descending the Hill and broken his arm. The meeting was opened by Col. Young of the Senate, who briefly stated the object for which it was called and expressed a hope that any discussion which should take place might be conducted with temperance and good feeling. Mr. Romaine from New York then nominated Mr. Sanford, and Mr. Eldred from Otsego, Mr. Van Buren. Mr. Crolius then rose and asked gentlemen to offer some reason for the nomination of Mr. Van Buren in opposition to Mr. Sanford against whom no charge or complaint had been made. If there was cause for dissatisfaction he should be glad to know it, and if it was well founded he would be the first to oppose his re-election ; if however it should be satisfactorily proved that he had been an undeviating republican and a faithful senator in the councils of his Country, that he should then rely upon the support of every man in the Meeting and by an unanimous vote re-nominate Mr. Sanford as a candidate for the Senate of the U. S., of which body he had been so long a distinguished member. He was followed by Mr. Romaine, who, in an animated speech, called upon gentlemen to pause before they sealed the political usefulness of Mr. Sanford, before they passed a vote of censure upon the long and unimpeached services of that gentleman, by giving their support to Mr. Van Buren. If Mr. Sanford should fail to receive a majority of the votes of this meeting the consequence would be the destruction of his political character in the public estimation, and a suspicion that he had either neglected the duties of his high station or had fallen from the faith which he had so long professed. He mentioned among other instances of a re-election your own case, able and experienced and a friend to your country as he admitted you to be. Still that you were a federalist, and if in such a case Republicans could consent to a re-election how much more were they bound to return a gentleman, an acknowledged Republican,

against whom no charge was made and to whose public services all were willing to bear testimony : he spoke of his great knowledge and experience in commercial affairs and that in this respect his loss would be severely felt. Col. Young replied, and in the course of his remarks explained the peculiar circumstances which conspired to return you to the Senate by an almost unanimous vote, and in doing so spoke of you in a warm and gratifying manner. He said that so long as you remained in the Senate, the commercial interests would be ably advocated and that he knew of no interest which would not be at all times vindicated and maintained under your guardianship. A proposition was then made that we should proceed to a ballot ; and that its decision should be binding ; which was agreed to. Upon counting the ballot Mr. Van Buren had 58 votes and Mr. Sanford 24 and one blank. A resolution was then offered by Mr. Romaine that Mr. Van Buren be supported by this meeting as a candidate for the Senate of the U. S. and unanimously adopted. Another resolution was then offered by the same gentleman, declaring the undiminished confidence and trust which they reposed in the Honble Nathan Sanford ; this was also carried without dissent. The choice will be made on Tuesday next when Mr. Van Buren will receive the whole vote of the Republican members of the Legislature. The Committee upon the Convention Bill have decided to have but one reference to the people and that to be of the Conventional Act.

Affectionately yours
JOHN A. KING.

M. VAN BUREN TO SMITH THOMPSON.

ALBANY, Feby. 2, 1821.

MY DEAR SIR :

The Republican members of the Legislature held their caucus last night on the subject of Senator to Congress, and after a fair, temperate & manly debate unanimously concurred in the nomination of your hble. Servt. for that place ; on the ballot the votes were for Mr. Sanford 24, for myself 58. One of Mr. S.'s friends and six of mine were absent. The appointment takes place on Tuesday ; the utmost harmony & good feeling prevail & the caucus nomination will without doubt be supported without a single ex-

ception. Several of the gentlemen who voted for Mr. S. were as well pleased with the result as if they had succeeded. But they thought it proper to vote on the first ballot as they did, and no effort of any kind was made to prevent them from doing so. The Clintonians are sadly disappointed; they expected much trouble, and were prepared to avail themselves of the opportunity it would present to reek their vengeance on me. The appearance of his Excellency on the streets today, is regarded by the public as evidence of the severe mortification he experienced from his disappointment in this particular. I had made up my mind to decline in favour of Judge Yates, but I found that he had taken so active a part agt. me, and that I had been so villainously abused by his friend W. P. Van Ness, that it was due to myself to persevere, and put the Yates influence at open defiance; which I did. I certainly lost by it one, (Henry's) vote and perhaps his Uncle Veeder, but certainly no more. Show this if you please to Mr. King. . . . Very sincerely your friend

M. V. BUREN.

N. B. The meeting unanimously passed a resolution expressive of their confidence in Mr. Sanford.

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

Sunday, 11 Feby., 1821.

DEAR SIR:

Make my congratulations to V. B. whose letter to the Secretary of the navy I have seen; I will write to him shortly. The green bag has made no proselytes here: on the contrary it has dissatisfied those, or at least some of them, who were friends of Mr. Clinton. The Paper of last evening will inform you how the Missouri Question stands; it seems likely that the Report of the Comee. may be accepted. The Resolution respecting South America,* may affect the conclusion of the Florida Treaty; which is said to have been recd. by Genl. Vives, the Span. Minister. He may regard the Resolve as changing the state of things, existing when the King

* Mr. King writes on the 11th inst.:

"The Vote of the H. of R., on the motion of Mr. Clay yesterday relative to South America and a mission to that country may, as I fear (tho' I hope without sufficient motives), embarrass the conclusion of the Florida Treaty, which it is said has been received by Genl. Vives."

of Sp. ratified, and instructed him to exchange the Ratification here: in this case he may suspend the execution of his orders, until he has recd. new instructions. This wd. be much to be regretted, as it is manifest, that the western States, at least some of them, are dissatisfied with the Treaty, because altho it obtains Florida, it does not extend Louisiana on the Gulph of Mexico so as to include the province of Texas; a Region desired for new slave States and more frontier on this Gulph—neither of these objects are desirable by the Union.

R. King to J. A. King

Sunday, 18 Feb., 1821.

Dear Sir:

. . . The Span. Treaty, as I hope, will be dispatched tomorrow, and in this case the Ratifications will be exchanged the day after: this is the more desirable as any change in Spain might again suspend Genl. Vives' power and the late difficulties be left unclosed.

What Mr. Neuville will finally do, I cannot with any confidence predict; he says that his powers are ample, and his dispositions earnest to adjust our commercial difficulties; but he doubtless has instructions wh. may so limit his powers as to defeat the only settlement we desire; that is, a full equality of privileges & exemptions in the navigation & trade between the two Countries. France alleges that from the superiority of our navigators and other causes operating in favor of our Commerce, she ought to have certain advantages more than those of equality: this we deem unreasonable, especially as we have no scale to go by, and other Nations might urge the same claims: the issue of the negotiation is I fear somewhat uncertain.

The Missouri Question continues unsettled, and insinuates its spirits into all other business. I have taken no part whatsoever in it this session, deeming the present difficulty nothing in comparison of the Restrictions which we urged and lost last year. The business would long since have been settled, and Missouri admitted, had not the overbearing temper and contemptuous treatment of the friends of Missouri, towards their opponents, prevented the same.

Last year Mr. Randolph said the dough faces of the north came over to them ; they had as many as they wanted, and could have had more : now he likens his opponents to sheep, who are the most timid of all creatures, fleeing at the mere appearance of danger—&c.

Six or seven of our Delegates have given in, Meigs, Storrs, Case, Tompkins, Guion, Harkley & I believe Smith. I may mistake ; but might not be wrong in conjecturing the motive wh. influences them. It is probable that Missouri will be admitted before we adjourn. . . . Yrs

R. K.

CHAPTER XXIII.

King to C. King—Clay's compromise Proposition—Gore to King—Threats of Disunion from the South—Eaton to King—Opinion of King from Nashville—President's Coronation—King—Advisability of a Convention—W. King to King—Massachusetts' War Claim—Commissioner under the Spanish Treaty—S. Thompson to King—Apprehension that no Treaty with France will be made—Fears the Result of the Senatorial Election on the Convention—Cass to King—Hears he has some unfavorable Impression about him—King to Gore—Visitor to West Point—Suggestion of more Teaching of Civil Engineering—King to Gore—Elected a Member of the Convention—Articles to be amended—Worthington to King—Crawford says he was not opposed to King's Election to the Senate—King—Conversation with Spencer and Jones relative to his Election.

R. King to C. King.

24 Feb., 1821.

Dear Sir:

Mr. Clay has got up a joint committee of 23 on the part of the House & 7. on that of the Senate respecting Missouri: Mr. Randolph is a member, who said, on his nomination, "The cards are packed, Sir, and I decline playing; I never play when I am sure of losing, or if I win have no security of payment"; he was however appointed. I also am named of this Comee. on the part of the Senate. The Comee. meet at 5 oC this evening, but I shall not attend. R. K.

C. Gore to R. King.

Waltham, Feb. 26, 1821.

My dear Friend:

. . . I cannot altogether lament the ill Temper occasioned by the Missouri Question, as it educes the threats of Dismemberment from the wise men of the South. And I cannot but hope that

some other men, beside Parson Cushman, may be excited to show, by merely stating the Fact, that the Complaint of Geographical & Sectional Union may be justly made to the Supporters of Slavery, while the non-slave holding States desert the Cause of Freedom, at the Expence of their political Interest. We are, however, showing our Patriotism by continually lauding the admin. of the Union for their Wisdom, their Impartiality, and their total Disregard of party Politics. The Democrats are undoubtedly satisfied with this, while they retain the exclusive Right to all Places of Emolument & Distinction. . . .

faithfully & affectionately your Friend

C. GORE.

J. B. EATON TO R. KING.

WASHINGTON, 5 March, 1821.

DEAR SIR :

I take the liberty of enclosing a piece taken from a Nashville paper recd. today ; do not suppose me the writer, I assure you I am not.*

* The newspaper extract above mentioned, calls attention to the fact that prejudices against our public men are eagerly seized upon to confirm their western brethren in the belief that they are not disposed to harmonize and co-operate with us in either our " social or legislative interests. . . . The bill for the admission of Missouri into the Union presents to the nation a scene as unpleasant, as it seems to us to be impolitic. Differences of education to a certain extent will account for these differences of opinion, but nothing should impair our confidence in one, who not only contributed to our National Independence, but who has to the present period borne a highly honorable and distinguished part in our political councils. No man, perhaps, rendered himself more obnoxious to the people of the South and West than did that distinguished statesman, Rufus King, by his opposition to the admission of Missouri into the Union as a slave holding state. It has been alleged that he, Mr. King, was desirious to draw a line of demarkation between the slave and non-slave holding states, and I have seen upon some men's tongues a trembling thought, almost moulded into words, that he sought a severance of the Union.

" Without having made Mr. K's. acquaintance I have lately been induced to admire his manly, dignified and intelligent course, and prejudiced as I was against him on my arrival, I now readily admit that I know but few men in our country who have claim to equal merit ; his mind soars above the sordid meanness of party influence, and bases itself upon its own perspicuous views of justice and equality ; it finds a co-ordinate greatness in the rectitude of his heart. He looks at his country's policy and interest, through the same optics, which ex-

I have been to the Coronation today, & of all the mobocratic collections I have seen, it was a match for any ; after an hour's pressure through an immense crowd, I had the good, or bad, fortune to gain admittance to the Rep. Hall ; the ceremony was over, and the President (at Mr. Doherty's table) was manuscript in hand delivering to the good people in waiting *a speech ;* what it was I can't inform you, the Intelligencer tomorrow will tho' : I remained but a few minutes, and was much happier to get out, than was I to get in.

In the hope that you will reach your destination in health and safely, I beg leave to subscribe myself

your friend

J. B. Eaton.

hibited to him her former oppression—the same with which he witnessed her march from colonial servitude, to *freedom* and *independence ;* influenced by no other feelings than those for which he was so eminently distinguished during our revolutionary struggle, (love of liberty,) he pursued with zealous and firm step, the dictates of a mind, strong in its youthfulness, and ripened into *greatness* by the experience of three score years.

" I think I am at liberty to infer from some of his recent acts, that he is an admirer of the character of Gen. Jackson. You will naturally enquire who is there knowing him, that is not. I admit there lives not on earth, a man whose virtue is more inflexible, none more devoted to his country's good, none less influenced in his private or public acts, by private or public opinion, none more prompt in his country's service, when exigencies demand his services, and none whose promptitude has been rendered more efficient in events of the greatest magnitude ; at home we know him to be hospitable, benevolent, and charitable. It is the possession of these inestimable virtues so conspicuous in his character, that have caught upon the manly spirit of Mr. King, and made him our hero's hero in times of legislative persecution.

" Mr. King was one of the committee of the Senate on the Seminole question ; he was however in the minority ; but conscious of the wrong, the injustice and injury which the majority of that committee were disposed to do the Gen., he exerted himself to his utmost before it, to infuse his own just opinions into the report which they made upon that subject ! but had it been *subsequently* debated in the Senate, he would have arisen in his mightiest strength. I am confirmed in my opinion of his attachment to the Gen. by the elegant eulogy he pronounced upon his character, on the Choctaw treaty's being offered to the Senate for ratification. But in all things, the political career of Mr. King will bear the strictest scrutiny, tending in all its points to the welfare of the government, to the promotion of harmony and good feeling amongst the states, and to the preservation of that great political instrument, of which he himself is a signer."

P. S. I was wiser * than Eaton, I staid at home. In one thing we agree, that is in wishing you a safe arrival at your own domicile, and my best wishes await you there.

WMS. of Mississippi.

Mr. King had been informed by letters from his son in Albany that it was probable that the bill for calling a convention in New York would be passed; among his papers the following gives his opinion as to the wisdom of such a course. On the 15th of March the bill passed the Council of Revision unanimously.

In R. King's Handwriting.

I was gratified with the prospect that all would consent to the call of a Convention to alter the Constitution [of New York], thinking that in this temper the best men would be chosen to compose it. Study and reflection have taught me that there is not, and in our political system that there cannot exist, any other security for Life, Character or Property, but the Judiciary. Without an independent Judiciary, no form of constituting the Legislature, or of checking its authority, can give this security. Fortunately good opinions in the salutary agency and control of the Judiciary very generally prevail. In free Govts., this Department peaceably and with general acquiescence, performs what in other Governments can only be done by the army.

It seems to me impossible to prevent, were it desirable to do so, the meeting of a Convention with power to alter the Constitution; and with the opinions that I entertain of the importance of the Judiciary, I am fearful that the late interference of the Council of Revision may excite unfriendly and altered opinions in respect to the Judiciary.

WM. KING TO R. KING.

PORTLAND, May 7, 1821.

DEAR SIR:

I expect to be in Boston the last of this month, as the Legislature of Massachusetts will then be in session. I am desirous that

* *Dubitatur.* E. of Tenne.

they should adopt measures similar to those adopted by this state, acknowledging the authority of the President of the U. States to decide when the militia is to be ordered out for the defence of the Country, &c, &c. I think you remarked, when I last had the pleasure of seeing you, that you considered the decision of Massachusetts wrong in that particular, and that they would not be likely to obtain their war debt before the decision was corrected; if you still entertain this opinion, you will render an acceptable service to the people of this State, as well as to those of Massachusetts, if you will write on this subject to some of your friends at Boston, say Governor Brooks (who thinks with us), Mr. Otis and Mr. Cabot, advising to the adoption of a course in the Legislature which will render our War claim less exceptionable at Washington. I am sensible you will not be well pleased to engage in this business; it cannot fail, however, to be interesting to you to do so. Massachusetts while she will add to her influence in the concerns of the nation, will also derive a pecuniary advantage from the measure, for which, if it succeeds, they will feel much indebted to you.

I am now closing my Executive business here and have made up my mind as soon as it is accomplished to accept the appointment of Commissioner.* One of the inducements and I assure you not the least, is to enable me to pass a little more time with you at Washington. . . .

very affectionately yours,
WILLIAM KING.

SMITH THOMPSON TO R. KING.

WASHINGTON, May 12, 1821.

DEAR SIR:

. . . I owe you an apology for not sooner answering your letter on the subject of our relations with France. I have been waiting under a hope of having it in my power to communicate some favorable information, as I know you feel anxious, that a good understanding should be restored. I am however very apprehensive nothing will be done. The negotiation has not entirely broken off, but does not seem to be progressing to any useful purpose. Mr. Neuville cannot be brought to anything approach-

* Under the Spanish Treaty.

ing reciprocity. He appears to have such a strong impression of our superior skill in navigation, that for France to retain any portion, she must secure to herself some considerable advantages. There is every feeling and disposition in the President, and indeed, I think, great anxiety to come to some arrangement. But it will not answer to depart too much, even for a short period, from the great principle of reciprocity.

We are yet in a little suspense as to the result of the Senatorial election in our State. I feel very solicitous about it particularly at this time, because I fear it may have an influence on the proceedings of the Convention. I have heard it suggested that it is intended to direct, or provide for the election of a Governor, next Spring. And should the appointing power be vested in the Senate in the place of the Council, and the majority in that body should be against the Republican party, it might lead to that measure, which according to my present impressions would be unwise & impolitic, if nothing more. It would be considered a violent measure and personal in its application, and out of the State, if not in it also, would be placing Mr. Clinton before the public as a persecuted man. Violent measures to answer a temporary purpose are generally shocking, impolitic. I am happy to learn that our friends intend sending you to the Convention. I hope you will not decline, it is an important trust. The ultimate success of the measure will depend much on the character, weight and influence of the members of the Convention.

yours very sincerely
SMITH THOMPSON.

LEW. CASS TO R. KING.

DETROIT, May 22, 1821.

SIR:

I am apprehensive from circumstances, with the detail of which I need not trouble you, that some part of my official conduct has made an unfavorable impression upon your mind. The regret which I should feel, were my ideas upon the subject correct, may be judged by the unusual course, which I have taken. The good opinion of every man is desirable, but to forfeit the good opinion of those, who occupy important stations in the public councils, and whose names are identified with the history of our country is

a serious misfortune. I am certain that if any portion of my publick conduct has excited suspicion in your mind, it must have been misrepresented to you or misunderstood. I claim no exemption from errors, which are common to the most infallible judgment, but I feel I have a right to say that those errors, where they have existed, have resulted from the head and not from the heart. I request from your candour a disclosure of the circumstances, if there are any, which have operated to my prejudice on your mind. I trust I shall be able so to explain them, as to satisfy you, that my conduct has been correct.

Nothing but the deep solicitude I feel upon this subject, would have induced me to address you ; a solicitude founded upon a conviction of the integrity of my own intentions, and upon the reflection, that those intentions have been misunderstood by one, whose name has been associated since my earliest recollection, with all that was eminent and worthy in our country.

With great respect, Sir, I have the honor to be

your obt. Servt.

LEW. CASS.

[Endorsed by R. K : " Respecting, as I understand, the Treaty made by him & McArthur with the Ohio Indians. Ansd. 26th June—explaining my objection to the Treaty made by him & McArthur."]

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA, June 22, 1821.

MY DEAR SIR :

For a fortnight past I have been absent from home, attending the examination of the Cadets at W. Point. The condition of the school is not well understood at Washington, and as few were less informed than myself, I the more readily accepted the invitation of the Secretary at war, to attend the late examination. The actual Superintendent Major Thayer is a correct man, possessing a good degree of information, having had an opportunity to examine and study the system of instruction taught in the French military schools. There are about 250 young men at W. Point. The education is chiefly mathematical, the teachers are generally good, and many of the Cadets have made considerable proficiency

in their studies. As the qualifications for admission are very low, the improvement is on the whole less than it should be ; more should be required to obtain admission, and if instead of confining the studies to mere military mathematics, the branch of civil engineering were taught, greater public benefits would be derived from this Academy. Wars and the demand for instructed officers are not frequently to occur, but the science, which may be employed in constructing canals, roads & bridges, is always in demand, and those who possess the same would meet with constant and profitable employment. . . .

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA, June 23, 1821.

MY DEAR FRIEND :

. . . We have just passed thro' an election of members to a State Convention, which is called to revise our Constitution, and among the persons chosen I have been named by this county. The issue of the election is not sufficiently known, to determine the character (as respects parties) of the members. In the city the Bucktails have prevailed by a great majority, and they seem confident that a majority of the Convention will belong to this class.

The articles of our constitution, that are generally spoken of as defective, are those which provide for a Council of Appt., a Council of revision, a Court of Errors, and whh. create a discrimination in the qualifications of Electors. The two first will be readily adjusted : a Revision of the judiciary System, including the tenure of office, will be drawn under discussion by the project of abolishing the present Court of Errors ; and the attempt to equalize the qualifications of Electors may lead to the claim of universal suffrage.

It is to be hoped that a sufficient portion of prudent men will be found in the Convention to overrule the indiscretions and check the excesses of such men as may be inclined to go too far in their schemes of reform. As the acts of the Convention are to be referred to the People, for confirmation, this precaution will operate in favor of moderation.

I do not understand the grounds on wh. the People of Massachusetts rejected the proposed amendment limiting the number

of Reps. & Senators, and confirming the rule by wh. the Senators shall be appointed between the Districts. A less number than may now be sent is certainly desirable, and rejecting the provision for apportioning the Senators, leaves the present rule in force, wh. is the same as the rejected provision. If this provision was rejected because it is in contemplation to apportion the Senators according to numbers, I can understand the measure, and shall expect an amendment to be proposed that will effect this purpose. The clause abt. the College is rejected because the People desire, as I conjecture, that the College shd. not be above the regulation & control of the Legislature.

Our Convention will meet at Albany towards the last of August; a hot town, for a hot season. We must strive to keep ourselves cool, or the internal and external heat may lead to mischief. . . . faithfully yrs,

R. K.

T. WORTHINGTON TO R. KING.

CHILICOTHE, July 18, 1821.

DEAR SIR:

You will no doubt remember you authorized me to state to Mr. Crawford information you had received relative to your late election as Senator. I then ventured to assert that the information was not correct. Whilst last at Washington I mentioned this matter to him and received from him the most positive assurances that the information given you is not true. He says it is possible he may have written a letter in which your election was mentioned but he is absolutely certain that he never wrote one in which any sentiment is expressed adverse to your election and that he never interfered in it in any manner whatever. That a just regard for the situation in which he is placed (which he considers as absolutely forbidding his interference in the State elections, except the one of which he is a citizen, and even then as little as possible) had and would prevent his taking any part whatever; that he has uniformly expressed these sentiments and as constantly acted accordingly. I regret you did not sooner communicate this information to Mr. Crawford. I feel confident it would have given him pleasure to have given you the statement now made. I consider him incapable of duplicity

and among the valuable traits in his character I have esteemed & respected him for the frankness with which he has uniformly acted so far as I have had an opportunity to judge.

With sincere esteem and respect.

T. WORTHINGTON.

Endorsed: "*Notes. Conversation with Ch. Justice Spencer and Elbert Jones.*"

N. B. For a few days after arriving at Crittenden's, all were at one table; the N York Delegates Paulding, Stagg, Wheaton, Edwards, Laurence, Monro, Jones, Jay & Buel of Troy, and myself were of the Genl. Mess. We spoke of a separate Mess before coming to Albany; nothing was settled; Jones spoke to me respecting it. I said we wished a Mess, separate from the table of the house, it being open to all travellers; that the gentln. of N. Y., with Monro & myself wished it, and that he, Jay & Buel with such others, if there were any then in the house belonging to the Convention, shd. unite with us: the Columbia men not then arrived. I spoke to Crittenden; he gave us a separate room. Buel, Jones & Jay dined with us; Mr. Rhinelander, who was in the house, also joined us, for a day or two. Williams & Van Rensselaer then arrived, & Jay, Jones & Rhinelander withdrew, and united with the Genn. from Columbia at the common table. Jones occasionally came into our Mess room in the evening, tho' neither Jay nor Rhinelander did.

ALBANY, Sunday, 26 Aug., 1821.

Arrived at Albany & took quarters at Crittendens. Tuesday, Aug. 28, Convention assembled, and in course 28, 29, & 30 organized the House. Friday 31. Aug, appointed a Comee. to report the manner of taking up the Business. The Comee. reported to divide the same into distinct parts and to refer the same to 10 different Comees. of 7 members each. The Report was adopted on Saturday 5th Sept, the President nominated the Committees. Thursday 30, Augt, returned Ch. Justice Spencer's visit: he was at home and observed that he was desirous to mention to me that he had not been unfriendly to my reelection to the Senate in 1819, tho' he was apprehensive that contrary impressions had been made on my mind; that he had reason to believe that Gov. Clinton en-

tertained the like opinion ; but that circumstances existing in the Republican party did not enable them to concur in my reelection, without sacrificing themselves. I replied that I had no cause to complain in his respect ; that I had in the summer of 1819 understood from Chancellor Kent that he (the Ch. Justice) had desired him to inform me that the friends of Mr. Clinton wd. concur in my reelection at the next meeting of the Legislature ; that I complained of no gentleman of the Repub. Party, from wh. I had no claim to be gratified ; but that from the correspondence between Gov. Clinton & myself I had just reason to expect that he wd. before the day of election have explained himself to me on that subject.

In respect to the Govr. I had entertained no unfriendly public feelings ; that when he was chosen Govr. on the resignation of Gov. Tompkins, I had believed, as I still did, that he might have united all parties in his own favor ; but that after the summer before the session of the Legislature in the beginning of 1819, and especially after the temper manifested during that session, I had relinquished that belief and formed the opinion that Gov. Clinton was unfit for his office ; that the connexion between him & those of the federal party was with views to wh. I was a stranger ; that my interest apparently made no part of them, and while I did not complain of a fixed purpose to abandon me in order to sustain Gov. Clinton, I did complain that no one of the federal gentlemen, who had coalesced with Mr. Clinton, previously informed me of the course, wh. they had concluded to pursue, while by votes wh. could, as respects me, decide nothing, they appeared to sustain my interest. And this division respecting me, between the Feds. & Clintonians was made public, at the time when they were so well united & so powerful as to be able to promote the political views of Mr. Clinton, or rather of their coalition. The same Union would have reelected me, but other views prevailed ; and as it was expected that I shd. be contented with the apparent support of men, who well understood that they were insincere.

Ch. Justice Spencer said that it wd. have been right frankly & previously to have explained themselves ; that the fact was undoubted that had the coalition made a Clintonian Council & reelected me to the Senate, it wd. have ruined the Party of Mr. Clinton ; that this was the true and undoubted reason, why I was

not reelected ; that the name of his son was used without his expectation, he had not sought the office : that they had however been disappointed ; that Mr. Clinton could no longer be supported ; he was now out of the question ; his coldness & reserve and other forbidding qualities had left him without support ; that notwithstanding all wh. has been said to him, his manners were such that men who resorted to him in friendship & with a wish to support him, came from him not only disgusted but changed from friends to enemies.

Friday, Aug. 31st.

Returned a visit to Judge Platt. Conversation general and cautious, except that Judge Platt said Mr. Clinton was no longer in question, meaning, as I understood, that he wd. no longer be supported as Govr.

In conversation with Mr. Elbert Jones yesterday, or the day before, he expressed a solicitude respecting the measures of the Convention, and in particular of the Right of Suffrage ; intimated that it was the expectation of my friends, that I shd. exert myself to maintain the freehold qualification in the choice of Senators ; that to secure this provision, he shd. be willing to give to the electors of the Convention the right of electing both the Govr. and Assemblymen ; that some of my old friends thought that I observed a reserve towards them, wh. they were unable to explain ; that the course pursued by my Sons was in direction of all those, who had acted with me in public affairs ; that I had made no explanation of my sentiments on this subject, & had done nothing to show my disapproval of their conduct.

I answered that on this subject, respecting my Sons, I had no explanation to make ; they were free & competent to judge of public affairs & to pursue such course as they might choose. On the other portion of his observations, I repeated in substance what I had told Judge Spencer ; that in respect to certain gentlemen, whose opinion & censure had been communicated to me at the time, I had such opinions as their views & actions warranted me in forming. Appearances & professions were worth nothing when contradicted by facts. The coalition with Mr. Clinton put me out of the place, which they professed to believe me entitled to. It was mere selfishness & hypocrisy, with which, I must have been weak indeed, to have been deceived.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Convention of 1821 for Amendment of the Constitution of New York—King a Member—Moved an Order of Proceedings—Council of Revision abolished—King's Speech—Term of Governor—King to J. A. King—Right of Suffrage—Speech against retaining the Word *White* in the Constitution—Objects to universal Suffrage—King to J. A. King—Possible endeavor to restore a Council of Revision—Officeholders prefer it—J. A. King to King—Some Friends say he does not take sufficient Share in the Debates—King to C. King—Objects to the Election of Judges—The Judges should withdraw from the Convention—King to J. A. King—Appointment of Magistrates and Sheriffs—King to C. King—Objects to Appointment of Magistrates at Headquarters—King's Speech on Appointment of Justices of the Peace—Speech on choosing Sheriffs—Should be by the Civil Authority—The Judges withdraw—King to C. King—Great Disappointment because Justices not to be chosen at Albany—King to Gore—Remarks on the Character of the Convention and Results so far obtained—Gore to King—Letter of affectionate Regard.

The Convention which had been called in the State of New York assembled in Albany on August 28, 1821, and chose Daniel D. Tompkins as its President. Mr. Rufus King, who had been elected a delegate from Queens County, addressed the Convention on August 30th, suggesting that it was

"highly important to proceed correctly and judiciously in the outset of the business of this Convention . . . to preserve the greatest possible harmony and good feeling; . . . that he would propose the formation of a committee to devise the manner in which it was expedient to take up the business; . . . that such a course, emanating from a numerous committee, would not be likely to excite jealousies, nor to meet personal opposition, but would, in his opinion, lead the Convention to such a calm, tem-

perate and wise deliberation upon the matter before them, as the nature of the subject required. . . . These considerations forcibly urge the observance of moderation, mutual confidence and the most exemplary prudence in our proceedings." *

The motion was unanimously adopted, and the next day the President reported the names of thirteen members, the number proposed, to constitute the committee, Mr. King being the chairman. This committee reported the same afternoon, distributing to ten different committees the subjects to be discussed, to report whether any or what amendments to the existing constitution they might deem expedient. Mr. King was named chairman of the committee on the legislative department.

The first committee to report, advised that the Council of Revision be abolished, which, having been amended to read should be "abolished," was unanimously adopted. Attempts were made at different times to change this decision, but, in whatever form they were presented, they met with the same fate. The committee proposed instead of the Council of Revision that a bill passed by the two Houses of the Legislature must be sent to the Governor for his approval, when it would become a law. If he disapproved, the bill was to be returned to the House in which it originated, where it should then be reconsidered and, if passed again by two thirds of the members present of both Houses, become a law. In case the Governor should not return it in ten days, it would become a law. This was passed and finally adopted by a vote of 100 to 17.

On September 6th, Mr. King addressed the Convention in a speech of some length † advocating this amendment, showing its wisdom, and especially since the unanimous abolition of the Council of Revision, which consisted of the Governor and the judges of the Supreme Court. They had decided that

* The editor refers for this and other speeches of Mr. King to *Reports and Proceedings and Debates of the Convention of 1821*, by Carter and Stone. Albany, 1821. This, p, 31.

† *Ibid*, page 76.

it was wise to disconnect the legislative and judiciary, so that the latter should no longer be vested with any portion of the revisionary power.

"As respects the power of the executive, the object of placing the same" [the revisionary] "in this department should be rightly understood. To exhibit the greatness or comparative importance of the executive can never be a motive with the people to give large powers to this department. But as very large powers are given to the legislature which may be, as they have been, abused —the people for their own security, and in order that the powers placed by them in the executive and judiciary may not be trampled upon, will invest in the executive a power that may be adequate to protect the people, as well as the executive and judiciary departments, against the irregular acts of the legislature. It is therefore for the safety of the people, and in order that the three departments of government which they have established may be protected against the unjust proceedings of the legislature, that this power is proposed to be lodged in the executive. It is not the man who may chance to be governor, but the people themselves, who, through him, interpose their authority to check the irregularities of the legislature. . . .

"The authority of the constitution of the United States, to which all the states, which may have different state constitutions, have unanimously consented, outweighs that of certain of the states, which from peculiar circumstances, may have either omitted or diminished the revising power. . . . Instead of danger from the power proposed by the report to be vested in the executive, is there not much reason to fear, that the power will be more rarely used than it ought to be?"

The committee on the executive reported on the 7th of September upon the changes to be made. The executive officer was to be a governor, to be elected by ballot by the electors qualified to vote for the most numerous branch of the Legislature, and to hold his office for two years, instead of three years, as under the existing constitution, and with certain qualifications as to freehold, residence, age, etc.

Upon this report there was very considerable discussion,

beginning with propositions to make the term either one or three years instead of two. The first vote taken accepted the term of two years. A few days afterward this decision was reconsidered and the period of one year was adopted by a vote of 55 to 53. The reports say that

"Mr. King spoke at length, and with great force, against the substitution of one for two years; but the frequent low tones of his voice rendered it impossible for us to report his remarks."

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

ALBANY, Sept. 18, 1821.

DEAR SIR:

Our progress in the Convention is slow, but I preserve my confidence in the moderation and good sense of the members. Some few agitators will do their best to affect alterations wh. wd. be matter of regret; but their success is dubious, and their failure not improbable. On reconsideration in a thin house Genl. Root prevailed by 55, to 53 to make the Gov's term annual: nearly all his strength was present; the absentees are generally for 2 years; some of the one year men are shaking, and I have no doubt that two years will be established.

We are now engaged with Mr. Sanford's Report: the Patroon has moved an amendment, wh. is nominally withdrawn, in order to try the question on striking out the word *white*, by wh. the colored people wd. be included. I think it an uncertain question. . . . The Patroon proposes that every citizen who has resided a year in the state and six months in the town or city where he claims to vote, who shall have been assessed & paid within 2 yrs any State, town or County or City tax, and the sons of persons qualified as aforesaid between 21 & 22 years of age, shall be an Elector &c. On motion of Judge Childs none but a native Citzn. can be Governor.*

Adieu with love to all

R. K.

It may be here mentioned, that when this decision of the Committee of the whole was reported, at a later period, to

* The committee had reported that he must have "residence of fourteen years in the United States."

the Convention (Oct. 27th, page 54 *) a motion was made to substitute two years for one. Gen. Root said in opposition:

"We are told that the governor should be elected for two years, that he may be independent. Independent of what? Independent of the people for whom he was elected."

Mr. King spoke in reply, making a strong argument in favor of two years. He said:

"In the application of the term *independent* to the executive, was not intended an independence of the *people*, but a situation in which the governor might not be the mere instrument of the *legislature*. . . . That within the short period of an annual term, it was not to be expected that the governor could acquire all the information which was necessary to enable him to preside with usefulness, with credit to himself, or to the state. . . . It should be recollected, that it is not for the sake of the person, who is governor, that a longer term is desired; but on account of the people, for whose benefit alone the governor is chosen. . . . By responsibility, we mean the obligation due from one to whom power is given by another, to account for the faithful execution of his trust. Thus all private and public agents are responsible to those who employ them; but in the one case as in the other, time and opportunity must be allowed for the due consideration and performance of the duty of the agent. The time and opportunity should bear a due proportion to the magnitude of the trust, or of the duties to be performed. If the duties are few or unimportant the time for their execution may, without injury, be short; if otherwise, and the confided power be great and complicated, sufficient opportunity should be allowed to the agent, not only to become acquainted with such duties, but for the discharge of the same; and it would be unwise to require an account before such opportunity shall have been afforded."

The question was settled by adopting the two years' term by 67 to 47.

* The paging indicates that of the Report of the Convention, unless otherwise noted.

In a letter to his son, Sept. 24th, Mr. King said:

"We are engaged in the right of suffrage and, at present, in a motion of Ch. Jus. Spencer to give the election of senators exclusively to electors having a legal or equitable interest in his own or his wife's right in any lands or tenements in this state, of the value of 250 Dolls.; over and above all debts charged thereon.* The Chief Justice, Chan. Kent, Root, Livingston, Cramer, Buel, Tompkins and Williams have hitherto managed the debate."

The motion of Judge Spencer, after a long debate, in which Mr. King does not appear to have taken part, was rejected by a vote of 100 noes to 19 ayes.

On September 12th the report of the committee on the elective franchise was made, giving the right of suffrage to "every *white* male citizen," etc. Mr. Jay moved on the 19th

"that the word *white* be stricken out. Chancellor Kent supported this motion and among other reasons suggested that the exclusion of negroes might be opposed to the constitution of the United States, which provided that 'the citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several states.'"

To this it was answered that the constitution of the United States applied only to *civil*, not to *political* rights. Mr. King in reply said that he would at this time reply to one idea †:

"That the constitution of the United States is beyond the control of any acts of any of the states. It is a compact, to which the people of this state, with those of the other states, are parties, and cannot recede from it without the consent of all. With this understanding, let me ask, what is the meaning of the provision quoted by the gentlemen from Albany (Mr. Kent)? Take the fact that a citizen of color, entitled to all the privileges of a citizen, comes here. He purchases a freehold; can you deny him the rights of an elector, incident to his freehold? He is entitled to vote because, like any other citizen, he is a freeholder; and every freeholder

* Page 215. † Page 191.

your laws entitle to vote. He comes here, he purchases property, he pays you taxes, conforms to your laws ; how can you then, under the article of the constitution of the United States, which has been read, exclude him ? The gentleman from New York (Mr. Radcliff) thinks that the meaning of this provision in the constitution of the United States extends only to *civil* rights ; such is not the text ; it is to all rights. This seems to me to lay an insuperable barrier in our way. I am at the same time free to confess that I am fully alive to the difficulties of this question, tho' I do not feel that they do now press upon us. I am not sure how a black, unless born free, may become a citizen ; a man born a slave cannot be a citizen ; a red man cannot be a citizen ; they cannot even be naturalized, for naturalization can only be effected under the laws of the United States, which limit it to the whites. The subject is evidently full of difficulties, though, as I before said, they are not now pressing. But the period is not distant when they must be.* As certainly as the children of any white man are citizens, so certainly the children of the black men are citizens ; and they must in time raise up a progeny, which will be disastrous to the other races of this country. I will not trouble the Convention further ; but I thought it due to the occasion to express my opinion of the constitutional barriers which interpose to prevent our retaining the ' white ' in the clause."

It would require more space than can be given here to follow the various propositions which were discussed in the Convention, and therefore notice will be taken only of those in which Mr. King's views were expressly given both in the Convention and in the correspondence. Upon no subject was there more earnest and lengthened discussion than on that of the elective franchise. Mr. King in a letter to his son Charles, Sept. 30th, says :

" We have spent several days in attempting to ascertain the qualifications of the electors of the executive and legislative officers : a vote passed on Friday 28th, by a small majority, which is but universal suffrage.† . . . Should the right of suffrage

* Slavery was in existence in New York until 1827.

† This was on a motion of Mr. Wheeler, requiring only age and residence as qualifications for electors.

be made universal, the foundation of the constitution will be such as to impair any safe reliance on the superstructure. . . ."

In the Convention, (page 286), he is reported as expressing similar sentiments:

"If any gentleman had supposed him to be in favor of universal suffrage, as their language would seem to imply, they had grossly misapprehended his sentiments. In his view such an extent of the elective franchise would be in the highest degree dangerous: no government, ancient or modern, could endure it. So far as he was acquainted, public opinion did not require it: he was certain this was so in the quarter of the country which he represented, and he believed the same sentiments were entertained by the people of the west. He was acquainted with the country whence most of them emigrated, and with their fathers, and was confident the sons of such sires could not entertain such ex-extravagant sentiments. The protection of property and the encouragement of honest industry constituted the basis of civil society, and were the primary objects of government. The possession of property was generally an indication of other qualifications. He would exclude all who had not the capacity to discriminate between candidates, nor the independence to exercise the right discreetly. In his view universal suffrage was perilous to us and to the country; and if it were sanctioned, he should regret having been a member of the Convention."

It may be noticed that when this subject was resumed and finally passed upon Mr. King voted against the article as adopted, in which the only property qualification was that which required "men of colour" to possess a freehold of $250.

There was a long debate on the appointing power of civil officers, attempts being made for a restoration of a Council of Revision, instead of giving this power to the Governor and Senate. Mr. King thus alludes, in a letter to his son of October 2d, to an aspect of the question which made the solution of it difficult:

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

Tuesday Evg., October 2, 1821.

DEAR SIR :

. . . We made progress onwards to the Senate as the consenting body on the Governor's nomination. There we are to spend some time and still more on the appointment of Justices of the Peace by the People. Tho' the Council of Revision was unanimously voted out, there is a liking still to some other Council to be chosen by the People to assist the Governor ; but its friends are fearful. . . . The People are wise and fit to elect all the great officers, Gov., Senators and Assemblymen, but unworthy and not safe as electors of Justices of the Peace. The plan by which certain local chiefs can obtain these offices at Albany, suits office holders and demagogues better than election by the People. On this point the members of the Convention are much divided. The college of electors, even of New York, is shaken, and at a meeting of the City members last evening, I suspect that the result has embarrassed its friends. This breaking in upon old habits, by wh. certain classes, or their chiefs, have made use of their situation to distribute the offices, disturbs office holders and alarms their creators. A little more time may afford some encouragement, but now the Convention is in great conflict and disorder. Meetings from house to house are more attended to, than concerted measures within the Capitol.

Yrs R. K.

J. A. KING TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, Oct. 3, 1821.

DEAR SIR :

I have heard that some complaints are made in New York that you do not take the share in the debates, which it was hoped that you would have done, and that when you do, your remarks are frequently in so low a tone as to be inaudible to a portion of the Convention. I think that things have now come to that pass, that all those considerations which may have hitherto restrained you, should be laid aside and that your future course in such part as you may choose to take, should be more distinctly marked and felt ; this would afford an opportunity to

those who are in sentiment with you of also taking their ground in a more energetic manner. My solicitude and anxiety on your account has induced me to hazard these remarks, and at the same time being unwilling that smaller and inferior men should reap the harvest of public gratitude when the master workmen are in the field.

affectionately yours JOHN A. KING.

This criticism was not well founded, for an examination of the proceedings of the Convention will show that where it was wise to do so he was always prompt to take a proper share in shaping the results. He himself shows how certain parties sought to control the convention.

R. KING TO C. KING

ALBANY, Oct. 4, 1821.

DEAR SIR:

. . . A proposal will be made to elect the Justices; this will be done by one of the N. Yk. Deputies; notice is already given that added to this proposal, a motion will be made also to elect the Chancellor & Judges, while all prudent men, know that this would evince great want of experience, and be materially injurious, to the establishment, of an upright, and learned Bench. It is not extraordinary after the practices by which some of our Judges have become obnoxious political partizans, that discontent, and insecurity as regards the Judiciary should exist among the people, and particularly so among those who are of the Convention.

It must be already, or in our progress will become, evident to the Judges, that the best interest of their stations, whether as personal or public considerations, required that they shd. have confined themselves to their office, and declined becoming members of the Convention.

Their being so disserves those interests, and principles, the support whereof calls for all the influence and discretion of the ablest and wisest men of the Convention.

Without concert with these gentlemen, men are thrown into connexion with them, in debate, as well as in votes; their union

in these cases occasions not only displeasure, but distrust, in the minority, who imagine a feeling, which does not exist in favor of the conduct & character of the Judges.

The Constitution will not be as sound, and provisions which we may regret, may obtain insertion in the Constitution, by the pressure and agency of the Judges ; and it is not sure that personal provisions respecting them, and wh. discretion wd. not approve in ordinary circumstances, may not be brought forward and established.

In general the surface is smooth, tho' much of the motives which stir men up exists among us—If the Judges would withdraw and attend the sittings at Utica, their and our condition wd. be benefitted : they last evg. had the subject under consideration. It is probable that one only of the members will withdraw, and go to Utica.

I wish much to speak out, & openly on this subject : but you can imagine difficulties wh. restrain me. On this particular matter, if any of the Gentn. give me the opportunity, I will explain myself fully tho not disrespectfully to them. I much desire that they wd. withdraw.

Yrs truly

R. K

R. King to J. A. King.

Albany, Saturday, 6 Oct., 1821.

Dear Sir :

. . . The Convention is engaged on Van Buren's report ; and the mode of appointing magistrates and sheriffs is the immediate subject of embarrassment. It is said that of the 356 towns in the State 300 or more are federal, but as the County courts are generally, if not universally republican, in our mode of nominating or appointing, the actual ascendency will be maintained ; in the other, the magistrates will partake of both characters in the political parties ; thus a temporary cause is to have a permanent effect in establishing provisions of the Constitution : the determination of this point, is uncertain ; much excitement is created by it and indications of a want of moderation are visible. . . .

R. K.

R. KING TO C. KING.

ALBANY, Tuesday, 9 Oct., 1821.

DEAR SIR :

The Suffrage question as reported by the Comee. of 13. is established ; it is in effect universal suffrage ; the colored people except such as own freeholds of 250 Dol. are exempt from direct taxes, and denied a suffrage.

We are again on the appointing power, particularly on that of Justices of the Peace—the question occurs on a motion to reconsider the vote which negatived the appt. by town meetings. It is doubtful whether the vote will be reconsidered—had the Judges been out of the Convention, this, and other important questions wd. have been otherwise settled : the jealousy is extreme, and will probably assume a personal direction ; in which case the effect can not be doubted.

It is perseveringly insisted on, that the control of the appointment of magistrates must be at head quarters : nothing short of this, as we are told, will prevent the State's falling under the influence and direction of bad men, at whose head would be soon —— & ——. I know nothing of the political bearing of the question, but from the greater difficulties which attend any other mode, I am persuaded that election in towns would afford the best magistrates. This however will, as I conjecture, fail—and fail by the presence and interference of the Judges. . . .

I conjecture that much apprehension exists in respect to the judiciary report ; and that doubts exist whether it will be for, or against, the interest of the Judges to be present on the discussion of the questions which will then occur. I cannot feel any hesitation in concluding that their presence will be of no benefit to themselves or to the department to which they belong. . . .

yrs

R. K.

After considerable discussion on several occasions, the Convention, in committee of the whole, decided to make the appointment of justices of the peace an act of the county authorities. The supervisors and the courts of common pleas were each to select a list of as many justices as were to be chosen, and then to meet and compare the names upon

their lists; if they agree then the persons named shall be justices; if they shall disagree, those on which they agree shall be justices and the remaining number shall be chosen from the others by joint ballot of the supervisors and judges. On the final adoption of this section, the last clause directed that the names respecting which the county officers disagreed were to be sent to the Governor, who should fill up the required number from them.

Mr. King in his remarks upon the subject said: *

"The chief object (of the amendment) is to separate from the seat of government the appointment of the justices of the peace; whether such appointment be made in town meetings, or in any other satisfactory mode within the several counties, is not so material as that it shall be withdrawn from the governor and sent into the counties. . . . The question is whether a town meeting be competent to elect a justice of the peace. What qualification is necessary to make this appointment? The ability to distinguish among the candidates, so as to select him who possesses wisdom, integrity, and learning sufficient to discharge the duties of the office: and who are so capable of knowing these qualifications in the inhabitants of any town, as the inhabitants themselves? I am for confirming to the people the choice of their own magistrates; and confidently believe that we shall thereby obtain a more honest, enlightened and prudent magistracy than has before existed among us."

In the matter of choosing sheriffs, a different principle was to be recognized. Mr. King remarked that †

"In the election of the magistracy in the different towns of this state, the *capacity* of the people to choose was alone drawn in question. . . . But the case of the sheriffs was far different. . . . The executive was charged by the constitution with faithful execution of the laws. . . . If there was any power which in its very nature required to be indivisible, it was the executive. . . . To divide that power is to weaken and destroy it. . . .

* Page 381. † Page 386.

But that portion of the appointing power, which is executive in its very nature, must be given to the executive department. Such is the power of appointing to the office of sheriff. . . . The sheriffs are ministerial officers, directly connected with the supreme executive. *He* is responsible for the execution of the laws, and *they* are the agents and instruments with which he is to execute them. . . . They must be responsible to the executive and derive their authority from that source. . . . In order to secure this responsibility, the executive power must be united, consolidated and connected in all its ramifications with the supreme government of the state."

The Convention however decided that the sheriffs and county clerks should be chosen by the electors of the respective counties every three years.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

ALBANY, Oct 14, 1821.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I received in due course, and before I left Jamaica, your letter enclosing that wh. Ch. Justice Parker had written to you, respecting the amendments wh. were proposed to your Constitution; and some days since your affectionate letter of September.* We have

* C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, Sept. 21, 1821.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I was gratified by your letter from Albany, for although out of the world, I am still interested by what my friends (especially yourself, with whom I bless God I have enjoyed an uninterrupted harmony for now nearly half a century) do in its affairs and in promotion of the public good and their own fame.

I still linger out a painful and useless existence with sufficient disease to smother the little light and intelligence I once possessed and of sufficient force to benumb all those faculties which either give or receive joy without power to end the source of pain and sorrow. I, however, ought not to complain; for I have all the relief that skill can afford, and every attention that the most unbounded affection and most assiduous care can afford. Surely then I ought to bear with patience what I can neither cure nor avoid and from what we are not permitted to escape. . . . Mrs. G. enjoys good health and

been together almost seven weeks ; and in the way we proceed, I can see no period when we may expect to complete our work.

Our Convention are not a numerous body and it seemed reasonable to hope that on this account, as well as on some others, the whole body being natives of this, or the neighbouring states, we should proceed harmoniously ; and that the general principles or experienced truths, by which we should be guided in repairing our Constitution, would not be denied or contested. A little harmony is a dangerous thing, and occasionally excites, or encourages, a sort of confidence, which disqualifies rather than assists men in the arts as also in the sciences. One every day becomes more and more confirmed in the fact, that education and early habits have more influence on our opinions than the reflections and examinations of mature life. Our population is nearly divided between the old and the new inhabitants. The latter are out of New England, whose laws, customs and usages differ from those of N. York. These considerations have no small influence in creating unexpected difficulties and delays in the business of the Convention. They are felt in almost every measure that we examine, and from the portion of reading and information that we possess, every rule or maxim which is made use of to settle points of discussion, are themselves made the subject of more discussion and proof. So that these truths which might under different circumstances be made use of to prove other truths, are themselves questioned. This difficulty, felt on all occasions, will I apprehend be much increased, when we come to the judicial department ; there being an opinion entertained by too many persons not only that a separate Court of Chancery is useless, but that the Nisi Prius system sh. be changed for district courts. Should this error prevail, we shall destroy the judicial department in this State.

I see little prospect of getting thro' with our business before

desires her affectionate regards to you with best wishes for your health & happiness.

Faithfully & affectionately your friend

C. Gore.

Many other letters show how faithfully and lovingly he was at this time caring for and watching over his friend's son, Frederick, who was pursuing his studies at Harvard and who looked up to him and his wife with as much fondness as to his own parents.—Editor.

the early part of Nov., and fear that we may be detained beyond that time.

It was my hope and intention to have been able to make you a visit this fall, but Congress will meet on the 3d. of Dec., and I shall barely have time to put my affairs in order for the winter before I shall be obliged to set out for Washington. I add at present affectionate regards to Mrs. G., and assurance of the attachment with which I am my dear friend always and faithfully yours,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO C. KING.

Oct. 20, 1821.

. . . The appointment of the Justices in the Counties has excited great uneasiness among the members of the Convention. Had not this plan been agreed to, I have no doubt that they w'd have been made elective by the towns, a measure more abhorred than that wh. has been agreed on. In the other case is a sketch of my observations on the plan to elect sheriffs wh. has been adopted : it will turn out badly, at least so I fear.

The whole of the Judges will go to Utica. They will ask leave of absence tomorrow or Friday. I find that the party who desired to bring the final appointment of Justices of the Peace to Albany are deeply disappointed & discontented : the defeat of this plan is ascribed to the City Delegation, and a spirit of jealousy if not animosity becomes more evident in respect to the probable influence which the City will acquire under the new order of things.

It may be desirable to appease this temper, & perhaps something ought to be attempted in this respect.

R. K.

On Oct. 22d Mr. King writes to C. King:

"The Chief Justice today asked leave of absence for himself & Colleagues for a fortnight to attend the term at Utica. They leave town tomorrow and on their own account, as well as on account of the depending business, their absence will be advantageous.

"The Ch. Justice observed that in accepting his seat, he had ex-

pected that the business of the Convention would have been finished in time to attend the Utica Term ; but this not being the case, he thought it to be his paramount duty to ask leave of the Convention to be absent for a fortnight in order that he & his colleagues might attend the term. R. K."

CHAPTER XXV.

King to C. King—Political Aspect of the Convention—King to C. King—Power of Impeachment in the Assembly—Pledge of School and Canal Funds—King objects to incorporating in the Constitution the present legal Provision to abolish Slavery in the State—King to C. King—Proposition to adjourn for a Time and to confer with their Constituents—Plan to change the Judiciary—Conversation with Chancellor Kent especially relative to Power of Juries in Cases of Libel—Van Buren to J. A. King—Glad to be a Member of the Convention—Adjournment of the Convention—King to Gore—Estimate of the Work of the Convention—King to Gore—The Albany Scene instructive to him—King—Memoranda—Election of Speaker of House of Representatives—Missouri's Exclusion of free Negroes unconstitutional—Choice of Postmasters in New York—Spain and St. Mary's River—French Demands relative to Commerce in Louisiana—General Lee's Son appointed a Midshipman—Ingraham and Pleasanton Papers relative to Mr. Monroe and Clinton in 1816—King to C. King—Chaplains of Congress—King to J. A. King—Thinks better of the Constitution—Fears as to its Adoption—Failure to be regretted.

R. King to C. King.

Albany, Oct. 15, 1821.

Dear Sir :

The affairs of the Convention are to my apprehension in a condition little satisfactory. . . . I begin to feel no small uneasiness in respect to the issue of our meeting. Perhaps the mode of our proceedings, wh. is unusual, and the want of a better knowledge of men's views, may create unnecessary alarm : I hope this may prove to be the case. I find less communication of the views of men with whom I am disposed to cooperate, than I had expected ; suspicion and jealousies, are more extensive than we could have anticipated.

The Deputies from the City are under embarrassment ; they are opposed here, and not supported at home. The men, with whom

I am, appear to be honest men, who aim at the public good ; but their influence will be entirely destroyed, if their opponents become convinced that they are not only unsupported, but that their views are disapproved by their Constituents. Opinions to this effect are industriously circulated here.

I do not know to what extent former jealousies of Tammany Hall have prevailed among the leaders of the North ; but I think I can perceive, that there is no confidence or cordiality between them. All this will work not favorably, in the further progress of the Convention. If it be the opinion of the City, that a central power in respect to Appointment shd. be established here, let it be openly avowed ; in this case the Council of Appointment may yet be reinstated, for the V. Pr. said on Saturday "that it was not within the wit of man, and that he defied the wisdom of the Convention, to devise a better plan than the Council of Appointment" —coupling this declaration with the disapprobation of the appointment of the Magistrates in the Counties, which is asserted to prevail in N York, it will not be extraordinary if we shall see strange proceedings on this subject ; for my own part, I am unable to measure the depth, or breadth of the politics wh. prevail around me. I have no other guide than that of my own experience, assisted by the principles which I know to be honest, and applicable to the work before me.

I often wish that I had not come hither : and fear that nothing will occur to change my anticipations : but enough.

R. K.

R. King to C. King.

Wednesday, 17 Oct.

. . . The power of impeachment is vested in a majority of the members elect of the Assembly, and all Officers holding their offices during good behaviour may be removed by joint resolution of the two houses of the Legislature : Provided that two thirds of the members elect of the Assembly, and a majority of the members elect of the Senate concur therein. It was proposed, & *negatived*, that on such resolution the Govr. in his discretion might remove.

The constitutional pledge of the School Fund, and of the Canal

Fund, are very important decisions : it created the most earnest debate we have had. I send you the decision on the final question. I foresee great difficulties respecting the judiciary report. When we have got thro' with the Senate Districts I shall think myself a little relieved, and be at leisure to get some exercise, which I feel the want of.

R. K.

Among other provisions proposed in the Convention was one relative to slavery in the State to be incorporated in the constitution.* Mr. King objected to this :

"A few days ago, a motion was made to shorten the time during which the remaining slaves within this state should continue to serve their masters, and to declare in the constitution, that slavery does not exist in the state. The consequences of this declaration would be the immediate freedom of these persons. It is known that many of them are old, and that all are without the habits which would enable them to provide for their own subsistence. By the law of the state they will be free in 1827, and, in the meantime, measures may be devised for their support and protection when emancipated ; for this reason, and it was a sufficient one, the convention negatived the motion.

"It is now proposed to insert in the constitution a provision confirming the law by which the slaves within this state will be free in 1827. By voting for this provision, those who the other day, voted against immediate emancipation, will manifest their motive, in doing so, to have been in kindness to the slaves, and the provision will also restrain the legislature from prolonging slavery beyond 1827. Nothing concerning slavery is now in the constitution. The votes of those, who with me were opposed to immediate emancipation, require no other explanation than the pernicious effects to the public, as well as to the slaves themselves, of such emancipation. On this account therefore the provision proposed to be inserted in the constitution, is not requisite.

"As a check on the legislature, it is equally unnecessary. The truth and force of public opinion on this subject, is a sufficient restraint on the legislature, and there is therefore no reason to

* Page 497.

apprehend that the legislature, from any motive, can be prevailed on to postpone the day of emancipation. If a constitutional provision on this subject be not necessary it should not be made, because every act of this character adopted by one of the states, does not fail to excite strong feelings in other states, which in these respects are less happy than ourselves. Against this provision it is moreover urged, that if we omit to mention it in our constitution, it may hereafter be forgotten that slavery once existed in the state. The suggestion may appear to be more specious than solid though it is possible that we may be as fortunate as our ancestors.

"It is now the proud boast of England, that the moment a slave stands on the soil, or breathes her air, he becomes a free man. Yet we are informed that time was when England sold Englishmen into foreign bondage; and that so great was the number of English youths sent for sale to the Irish markets, that Ireland passed a non-importation law to keep them out. If this practice of ancient times be almost sunk in oblivion, does not the circumstance encourage us to hope that the enslaving of black men may hereafter be forgotten; and should we not forbear to make our constitution a record thereof?"

A committee of thirteen was appointed to take into consideration the various propositions relative to the division of the State into senatorial districts. Mr. King was chairman, and in a letter to his son Charles of the 20th says:

"Committee will unanimously report in favor of a division of the state into 8 equal senate districts, so that each district will choose four senators, and one of them annually. Perhaps this division of 8 equal districts will be made permanent, and no other power vested in the legislature except to equalize them, but so that contiguous territory and the counties be always preserved."

In this same letter he speaks of the report on the judiciary—in which many changes were expected to be made both as to its constitution and especially as to the chancery powers.

"Some would abolish the chancery as a separate court & give chancery powers to the district courts and court of appeals. What is the general temper of the House it is difficult for me to decide; but I have no difficulty in saying what all intelligent men in the Convention by this time understand, that if the judiciary system should be changed or broken up, as there is reason to apprehend may happen, it will be in consequence of the odiousness of the conduct of some of the present judges. The feelings of men are deep and strong on this subject, and the smallest encouragement would lead to steps which would crush the offenders at once."

The chancery court was not abolished, but the Legislature was authorized to grant equity powers to other courts, subject to an appellate jurisdiction of the chancellor.

R. KING TO C. KING.

ALBY., Sunday, 21 Oct., 1821.

DEAR SIR:

I perhaps went too far in saying that nobody here talks of adjourning; today for the first time it was suggested to me, that it would be expedient to commit the various measures and resolves, to wh. the Convention shall have agreed, to a Committee to arrange the same either in connexion with, or as a supplement to, the Constitution, and to adjourn for two or three weeks to give time to the Comee. to perform this service, and to the members to confer with their Constituents. I cannot believe that this opinion, or wish is of much extent. It is certain that deep dissatisfaction exists among the western members, and some others, respecting the local appointment of Justices of the Peace. They are also displeased with the constitutional pledge of the salt tax & tolls; a temper which leaves no doubt, that, without such security, the revenue from this source would be before long diverted or repealed.

The letter continues with an account of the proceedings of the Convention, especially in reference to the proposition to abolish the court of chancery and to establish district courts and a supreme court with chancery powers.

There is some cause to believe that Ch. Justice Spencer is in favor of the plan of District Judges, who are to hold circuits within their respective Districts ; the appeal from these courts to be made to the Supreme Court, which would by this plan, be relieved from going on the Circuits, & allowed to remain stationary at the Seat of Govt.

If instead of the project of the Ch. Justice, the whole judiciary system be broken up, including the Supreme Court, it would have been wiser that he had been silent. The Chancellor, [Kent] who has the confidence of the Convention, is indeed a favorite, made a learned, and sensible speech to-day on the subject of the Chancery Court. The simplicity and frank manner with which he speaks, united with his learning, gives to what he says much influence. On Saturday last he took an indiscreet part, in a discussion on an amendment to the Bill of rights, as it is called, wh. provides in suits on Libel that the truth may be given in evidence to the Jury ; and if in their opinion the same was published with good motives &c—the same shall be a full justification. The article as drawn up by the Ch. Justice, reserved to the Judges the power of preventing the evidence from going to the Jury if in their opinion such motives did not exist. . . .

The question was taken up Ayes & Noes, and decided in favor of the power of the Jury by all the votes except 10. or 12.

I saw the Chancellor this evening, and told him that while it was apparent that his character & influence were such as his friends must be gratified with ; he could not be insensible of the entire loss of confidence, with wh. certain of his Brothers were regarded : that they had not only deeply impaired their own reputation but essentially and most injuriously affected the Department to wh. they belong. He must see, and lament, the temper which is almost universal, respecting the Judiciary, and the imminent danger to wh. it is exposed : it was by no means certain, that the Supreme Court could be preserved ; on the contrary it is even probable that some step may be taken by which the Judges will be removed.

With his character, & the public esteem wh. he possesses, I took the liberty to caution him in the part he might take in this very important occasion ; alluding to the debate respecting the power of Juries in case of Libel, I remarked that he had gone

too far, not only as respects the Law, but especially in appearing to countenance and defend those, who should be left to take care of themselves ; that if he was on the edge of the whirlpool, there was no prudence in plunging into it.

He said he had inadvertently engaged in the question, and was carried farther than he had intended ; he was quite sensible of his own situation, & not unapprized of that, in which others were placed ; he shd. in future abstain. After speaking of the past, he said that the receit of the—Dollars from—could never be explained away—adding "hærit lateri lethalis arundo." *

R. K.

M. V. Buren to J. A. King.

October 28th, 1821.

My dear Sir :

The papers have informed you of all that has been done on the stage which I hope you may be able to approve. What has passed behind the scenes they have not spoken of because they were not advised : still there has been a great deal transacted there worthy of note. The past state of things has admirably served to elicit character & shew that inconstant creature man as he is. . . . In endeavoring to effect what I thought was right I have had at various times to come in severe contact with three distinct interests in the Convention, viz The old Federalists & Clintonians, the New York delegation & the high minded gentlemen and a small number of Mad-caps among the old democrats, who think nothing wise that is not violent, & flatter themselves that they merit Knighthood by assailing every thing that is memorable in old institutions. I flatter myself however that those collisions have been more unpleasant than unprofitable, and although I am very sensible that until I feel disposed to conciliate them, I will be exposed to the detraction of some dozen hair brained politicians—men who can neither acquire public confidence, nor retain it when invested with it by accident. I am very well pleased with the actual state of things & happy in the circumstance of having been a member of the Convention. . . .

Yours truly

M. V. Buren.

* Case of Judge Van Ness, see Vol. VI. of this work, p. 310.

The Convention closed its proceedings by the adoption of the revised constitution by a vote of 98 ayes to 9 noes, on the 10th day of November, 1821. Mr. King, who had been throughout its meetings a regular attendant every day, and an earnest participator in all the important debates, gives in a letter to Mr. Gore an estimate of some of the provisions of the constitution of which he doubted the wisdom.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

ALBANY, Nov. 9th, 1821.

MY DEAR FRIEND :

Our Convention have finished the amended Constitution, which is to be offered by a vote of tomorrow to the People for their acceptance or rejection. After assenting to many amendments it was concluded to offer the same together, and not in separate articles ; but as it was somewhat difficult to compare the Constitution, as it would stand in connexion with the proposed alterations, it has been decided to incorporate what remains unaltered, with the proposed amendments into one instrument ; this has been done.

On two important subjects the amendments are not such as I could have wished them to be.

The Right of Suffrage is too comprehensive, & the Judiciary less independent in respect to their salaries, and perhaps not so well arranged in other matters as might have been expected. The Chancery Power is preserved ; and the common Law Courts, tho' altered by the establishment of Circuit Courts & Judges, may be made respectable : but the most important measure decided on will be a new commencement of our Govt. on the 1st of Jany. 1823 ; at which period the Legislative, Executive & Judiciary, as now existing, expire. Elections for the two former Departments are proposed to be made in Novr. 1822. In respect to judicial officers, their commissions will expire at the end of 1822, but the Judges & Chancellor will hold their offices till reappointed or till successors are named in their stead.

By this decision, six months of the Govr's. & Lieut. Govr's. term will be cut off ; the class of Senators who hold for 4 years, that for 3 years & that for 2 years will also be abridged in their several terms. The Chancellor, the 5 Judges of the Supreme

Court, and the 50 first Judges of the County-Courts, all holding their offices for good behaviour, or until 60 years of age, will fall under this regulation. The alteration of the political year, which is to begin with the Kalendar year instead of the 1st of July, made this abridgement necessary in respect to the Executives & Legislature.

The new modelling of the judicial Departments, which reduces the Supreme Court to a Chief Justice & two associates, instead of four, and commissions the County Courts for five years instead of a first Judge during good behaviour, & four other Judges at pleasure, has been thought to justify this change in the judicial Department.

The Gov. is reduced from 3 to 2. years ; the term of 4 years and their classification is preserved to the Senate ; the Assembly as before are for one year.

But important restrictions are imposed on the Legislature. Lotteries are prohibited, public monies can not be hereafter appropriated to private or local purposes, unless $\frac{2}{3}$ of the whole number of each House concur, and the like assent is required to create, continue, alter, or remove any body politic or corporate.

The School fund, abt. 80,000 Dol. annually, is made perpetual ; the tax on the Canals, and the duties, now worth 60,000 Dols. annually, on the manufacture of salt, with certain other duties are constituted a Fund, which is pledged for the payment of the intt. & reimbursement of the principal of the Debt incurred & to be incurred in making the Canals.

No member of the Legislature can receive an office from the State during the term for wh. he was elected, & a like restriction in respect to U. S. Offices. The whole is a mixture of things good, and things doubtful. Tomorrow I expect to return home. The Constitution will meet great opposition.

Farewell

R. K.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

Nov. 25, 1821.

MY DEAR FRIEND :

It is only a Fortnight that I have been at home, and having yesterday gone to town to make a few arrangements preparatory to

my departure for Washington, I met in the Street the Otises, on their way to Congress; and was rejoiced to learn from them that your health is better—God grant that it may remain so.

The Albany scene was far from being a gratification, tho' it was instructive to me, and served in an extraordinary manner to prove, how very uncertain must be the hopes of those, who suppose that knowledge and experience will suffice to procure and establish a free form of Government.

Tho' as to many of the parts, indeed the most important provisions, of the proposed amendments, the same were in my judgment more imperfect than I believed they ought to be, still as to the vote upon the whole, I approved; not because the plan was in my opinion unexceptional, but because a better could not now be obtained, and for yet a stronger reason, because the failure of this plan, will immediately be followed by another Convention, which, as I became convinced, would propose a more defective scheme.

I am unable to predict the result of the reference to the People; my conjectures lead me to the conclusion that in the new settled parts of the State it will be approved, tho' some of the Articles will not be acceptable—in the old Counties, the extension of the right of Suffrage, a subject which all understand, will displease; the restrictions imposed on the Legislature are good, and in this State important. The check on the Judges is expedient; and will serve to exclude them from political intrigues and to confine their talents to their judicial duties. yrs

R. KING.

Memoranda by R. King.

Nov. 23, 1821.

Congress met Nov. 13: the first & second days passed without the H. being able to elect a Speaker; the votes were divided between Mr. Taylor of N. Y., Mr. Lowndes, S. Car., Genl. Smith Md & Mr. Sergeant Phila. On the third day Mr. Taylor was chosen. Several of the N. Y. Delegation at first did not vote for Taylor because he is a friend of Mr. Clinton.*

Mr. Taylor suspecting this went to several of those who dislike

* See *Memoirs of J. Quincy Adams*, v., 434, 436, *et seq.*

Clinton, and told them he was no Clintonian, adding to some of them that he was no Buck-Tail ; that it was of importance to his reelection to Congress to be chosen Speaker, &c. ; and these persons who had withheld their votes now voted for Taylor. Wendover probably did so, as a few days afterwards, the Clintonian Delegates signed a paper recommending Wendover to be collector of the Port of N. Yk.

25 Novr. The Missouri Constitution engages the attention of Congress. Much real or affected zeal & concern is expressed on the subject among the Members of the Senate ; a plan to introduce and swear the Senators elected by Missouri has been agitated. The clause making it the duty of the Legislature to exclude free negroes & mulattoes, is considered to be repugnant to the Consn. of the U. S., as the children born of free persons in any State are Citizens thereof and as such entitled to the pr. & im of Citzns. in the several States—as the Comtee. of the House have reported a Resolution of admission, it will be expedient that the Senate shd. wait for their decision : in conferring with the Presidt. he agrees in this opinion.

Saturday, 25 Nov., 1821.

N York—The President informed me that he shd. send the Nom. of Gen. Thompson as Collector on Monday to the Senate ; that respecting the Charge of interference in N. Y. Elections it was unjust, he never had interfered, and that the Pt. Master Genl. had never shown him Van Buren's letter, he never heard of it till lately, & that the P. M. Genl. had recently told the Secy. of the Navy, that he never had conferred with the Pr. respecting the Post Office, or concerning any post Master in N Yk ; that whether the Candidates were for or agt. Mr. Clinton he never inquired, and this circumstance was not regarded in considering their qualifications.

Spain. Forsyth's last letters were of Sep. 25. The Florida Question was before the Cortes in secret session. The Min. of For. Affrs. was favorable to the Cession, and Forsyth believed the Treaty wd. be ratified : Mr. Adams seems doubtful. The late attempt to establish a Span. Port on the St. Marys, where there is no settlement, may be by the authority of the Gov. of

Florida, or Cap. Genl. of Cuba. The vessel sent there, by de Rhams of N Yk, has been seized, and the case is referred to the Judiciary. Mr. Roth had claimed the interference of the Gov. to release this vessel; was ansd. that the Question belonged to the Judiciary. France by her Minr. intimated to Gallatin that our Tonnage Law could not be enforced, that it might be evaded thro' Florida &c: this attempt may be in this spirit.

French Govt. claim a favorable allowance on acct. of our superiority in ships & seamen, are willing to make an adjustment by which the navigation may be equally divided, and for such purpose to agree that the Laws be made & modified so as to produce this result. Mr. Gallatin instructed to say this plan wd. be impracticable, and that we could consent only to an equality of duties &c.

The Fr. Govt. demanded a provision relative to Louisiana, whereby they shd. pay no other duties than Eng. vessels, under the claim securing to them the rights of the most favd. Nation. Gallatin answers the demand, in the same spirit as Mr. Adams had ansd. the same demand made by Mr. Neuville, adding that he had however no instructions on this point from his Govt.; whereupon he was notified that the negotiation wd. be transferred to the U. S. & that Neuville wd. return to take charge of it. M. Neuville had contributed to produce an opinn. in France that the late Law was procured by the Sp. owners, and that the planters wd. be tired of it, and be desirous to repeal it.

He therefore is coming hither to promote this plan; he will fail, & in case he has no power to negotiate on the plan of reciprocity, the negotiation will again return to France: in the meantime the trade will fall into the hands of England.

Having with Maj. Lee. of Virga. called on the Pr. to request him to give his brother Sydney Smith Lee a Midshipman's warrant, I reviewed the subject to him to day; he suggested the great number of applicants and particularly the urgency in favor of a few of them; I replied that the great revolutionary services of Genl. H. Lee, father of the young man, made a case with wh. perhaps no other could compare, and recurring to our friendship for Genl. H. L. I expressed with earnestness my hope that he wd. consider this case as an exception from ordinary rules.

The Pr. assented to this sentiment and said he wd. immediately

give directions that young Lee, & a son of Mr. Manigault shd. receive warrants as midshipmen.

I mentioned the difficulty respecting Missouri : that it was an important point compared with that of the last session &c ; he agreed and said he thought as the House had taken it up, the Senate had better wait for its decision, and in case the Constitution is to be sent back, that all shd. agree in it, in order that the alterations shd. be made, & the controversy closed ; that he had told *Barbour* that it wd. be imprudent to attempt the course of introducing the Senators & administering the oath, preparatory to their taking their Seats &c.

25 Nov. Adams repeated nearly the same a/c abt. France. I asked him respecting the story of a Correspondence between Ingraham & Pleasanton, of his wife's having picked up the papers in the street, of his having laid them before the Pr, &c.

He said such a correspondence did take place soon after Mr. Monroe's appointment as Pr. & Mr. Clinton's as Gov. in 1816 : the tenor was to interchange assurances of mutual political friendship & support ; that he never heard of it till lately, when the Pr. mentioned it to him. Among other things that Pleasanton had communicated the same to him, & that he told Pleasanton that he could & would not enter into any such engagements.

Mr. Adams said that abt. the time or not long after the date of the Correspondence, Mrs. Adams picked up a packet of papers in the street, carried them home, and on looking into them soon perceived they belonged to Pleasanton, and putting them under a cover sent them immediately to Pleasanton ; who missing the papers became very uneasy, and on their being sent to him by Mrs. Adams expressed much satisfaction ; that Mrs. Adams told him of the affair at the time adding that she had not read the papers, further than to ascertain that they belonged to Mr. P. Mr. A. said until a late story that they were the correspondence between Ingraham & P., he never heard, & whether they were, or not, he could not say.

R. KING TO C. KING.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 16th, 1821.

DEAR SIR :

The Unitarian chaplain (Jared Sparks) excites even here some

sensibility.* On the part of the Senate, Mr. Ryland who was last year our chaplain is again chosen : he is a Methodist and apparently a pious and honorable man. We talked of choosing Mr. Everett of Boston, not on account of his faith, but his scholarship. This however was abandoned after the choice of Mr. Sparks. . . .

Yours,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21, 1821.

DEAR SIR :

According to the apparent temper of the Members of Congress the session promises little of interest upon any subject. . . . We occasionally hear observations respecting the future President, but they are so casual, and at present mark so little concert, that they produce little or no effect. Mr. Crawford and Mr. Adams only are spoken of. As relates to the V. President nobody says anything.

We hear but little about our amended Constitution ; tho' I think there is reason for some solicitude arising from the uncertainty of the election between the old and the new. I am more reconciled to the parts which I considered to be bad, or doubtful ; and more confirmed in my attachment to the provisions which I deemed good, than formerly ; and on the whole really feel some solicitude lest the Constitution be rejected ; the effect of which would be to disturb and loosen the principles that are the true and most important foundations of our political system, and to put in motion the bad men of, and throughout, the State. I do not believe that the Constitution will be rejected if the electors can be induced to vote. The danger exists in the indifference which the great body of the people manifest, and the activity and skill with which the opponents of the Constitution will labor to defeat its adoption.

Should the Constitution fail, the effect will be great throughout the whole State. It may be supposed that the office holders will generally oppose the adoption ; but this would prove a bad calculation, inasmuch as the Legislature, which will in such event be

* See *Mem. of John Quincy Adams*, v., 458.

chosen next Spring, will appoint a Council that will remove the men now in place, not on account of their votes on the Constitution, but by reason of the character of the late Council of Appointment.

There is a better chance to be continued in office, should the Constitution be adopted, than there would be by its rejection. The changes will be greater in the latter than in the former case. The only cause why the Constitution is not more bitterly and falsely assailed, is the fear that the people would be waked up and excited to attend the election : and unless the towns and counties can be roused out of their lethargy, the adversary may prevail, and too late it will be found, that the Government will pass into their hands in consequence of the sloth and negligence of those who might have prevented it.

R. K.

CHAPTER XXVI.

King to C. King, also to Gore—Fracas between Neuville and Canning—King to J. A. King—Ministers' Quarrel settled—Solicitude lest the Constitution fail—King to J. A. King—Five presidential Candidates—Possibly the Vice-President—King to C. King—Little done in Congress—Nomination of Candidates premature—Hopes New York will wait—Finances—Auction Law—King to C. King—Attempt to hurt Calhoun as a Presidential Candidate—Effect of it—Albany Post-Office—King to C. King—Debate on Indian Appropriation still on—King—Correspondence concerning Albany Post-Office—J. Q. Adams, J. Hammond, H. Hastings—Respecting Albany Post-Office—Defence of King—W. A. Duer to King—Approved of his Action—King to C. King—Denying the Charges against him—E. Benson to King—Van Ness's Statement that King opposed Van Rensselaer because a Federalist—King to Benson—Denial of its Truth.

R. King to C. King.

Sunday evening, Decr. 23d, 1821.

Dear Sir :

The town is much excited by a rumour of a misunderstanding, or more correctly of almost a rencounter, between the French and English Envoys. It is said that in consequence of a publication in the newspapers, in the early part of the Summer, of a letter or report of Sr. George Collier of the Eng. navy, concerning the slave trade on the coast of Africa carried on by French vessels, Mr. Neuville complained thereof, in not a very mild manner, to Mr. Canning. At the time the business terminated, as everyone would suppose it should do, by Mr. Neuville becoming sensible that Mr. Canning could in no way be answerable for Sr Geo. Collier's report to the Admiralty. Occasionally afterwards Mr. Canning is said to have rallied Mr. Neuville on the temper with which he had treated the subject of his complaint. The effect appears to have been to irritate Mr. Neuville and, thoh. perceived by Mr. Canning, he frequented Mr. Neuville's house as usual until he thought he discerned a coolness in his reception.

On the evening of the 19th Mr. Neuville gave a grand party in honor of the Duchesse d' Angoulême ; Mr. Canning was present, but retired before supper. Either before or afterwards, Mr. Neuville took occasion to remark to Mr. Canning that he was more reserved in frequenting his house than formerly, to wh. the latter replied that the mode in which visits are received must always have an effect upon their frequency.

On Friday the President gave a diplomatic dinner, all the for. Ministers and the Consuls were present, with some 15 or 20 Senators, Representatives, Secretaries. The French Minister was on the right of the Pr. and the Eng. Minister on the right of the French Minister. It is said that the conversation between the two Ministers was indiscreetly and improperly resumed while at table. On leaving the dining room these gentlemen with a dozen others found themselves in the hall where they were detained waiting for their carriages. Neuville with great agitation resumed the dispute. Canning remained cool and collected and either declined a reply, or intimated that at another time and occasion he would pursue the conversation. The choler of Mr. Neuville increased, and approaching Mr. Canning he indicated the purpose of striking him. Canning remained collected, and Poletica interposed and even took hold of Neuville's arm : here the scene ended. Neuville drove home, went immediately into his cabinet, whither Poletica and the Swede followed him ; they found him with his coat off, in extreme agitation writing a challenge to Mr. Canning.

It is understood that these gentlemen soon calmed him, freely telling him that he was in the wrong &c &c.

If the case be as here recited, the indecorum to the place, and the occasion can be nothing but the source of regret to Mr. Neuville ; and the reflection upon what might, and very possibly would have been the consequence of a blow given to a cool man who wore a sword, must serve to deepen the mortification which he suffers.

As I have not been abroad since the dinner at the President's and the account which I have given, is from the tale bearers of the day, little confidence is due to the rumour, which I should not write down, except in the confidence that you will treat the subject as its doubtful character deserves.* R. K.

* See *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, v., 458–460, for an account of this incident.

R. King to C. Gore.

Washington, Decr. 25, 1821.

My dear Friend :

. . . Our Session offers nothing of interest—as usual the first month is wearing away in idleness. The only incident of note, has been a fracas between the Envoys of France and England ; where or how it began I am unable to say, but high and angry words were employed between these gentlemen in the Hall of the President, on coming out of the Drawing Room after dinner on Friday last. The agitation of Mr. Neuville was very great, & his language not altogether diplomatic. The Englishman's exterior was cool, & he was more collected than his brother. I have heard nothing particular, or further within a day or two, on the subject. Discretion will urge them to prevent as far as may be further proceedings, as considering the place and occasion the affair was indecorous and little creditable.

The day before Xmas, a diplomatic dinner was given by the Russian ; Canning & Neuville were both present ; nothing occurred except that Mr. Secretary Adams, immediately after dinner, addressing himself to Mr. Poletica, the Russian Envoy, gave as a toast, "the Emperor of Russia and the Cause of the Cross"—

With affectionate Regards I am yr faithful Servant

Rufus King.

R. King to J. A. King.

Washington, 28 Dec., 1821.

My dear Sir :

The fracas between the French & English Ministers is settled amicably and thus the only subject of curiosity and amusement is passed into oblivion. I perceive much torpor and indifference in Congress—as neither loans nor taxes are to be asked for, there really will be little to do, still the Session will be run into April.

I feel, I confess, some solicitude lest the indifference that exists concerning the amended Constitution, may endanger its adoption. The proceedings in N. York on this subject are discreet and will prove beneficial. If the spirit in Queens will permit, it would be serviceable to have a meeting in favor of the amendments ; but I am apprehensive that little zeal can be exerted in favor of adop-

tion, while the opponents will lose no occasion to indispose the county, and to influence them to vote against the amendments.

Nothing is more certain, should the amendments be rejected, than a new Convention, who may be likely, should they consent to abridge the Right of Suffrage, to impair, if not destroy the judicial system, which notwithstanding the language of the personal friends of the Judges, is positively good, and all considered, perhaps the best to be found in any of the States ; that it is superior to that of the U. S. cannot be questioned. I am &c

R. K.

R. KING TO J. A KING.

WASHINGTON, January 1, 1822.

DEAR SIR :

We commence the new year with mild weather, little public Business, and for want of it, are employed in a premature discussion respecting the next President—to MM. Adams, Crawford & Clay, names sometime before the public, are recently added two new Candidates from So: Carolina, Mr. Lowndes and Mr. Calhoun, the former nominated à la N. York by a legislative Caucus, the latter announced by personal friends. The Gentlemen from N. Yk. observe a prudent reserve, for when many are engaged as partizans, those who keep themselves cool, and apparently take no part, are most respected. This being the first year of Mr. Monroe's 2d. term, the present movements are not only in anticipation of the future, but likely to deceive those in whose favor they are respectively employed.

Our accounts from the different Counties of N. Y. represent the People as torpid, respecting the new Constitution. . . .

In Queens, the opposition will do its best, tho' I doubt whether they can bring many to the polls—if no meeting be held, of the expediency of which Col Leveridge, Lawrence Roe, and Seaman of Hempstead can judge, some pains should be taken by them and other Gentlemen to awaken the friends of the Constitution, and to cause them to perceive the bad consequences shd. the amended constitution be rejected. In this case Mr. Clinton & his associates will be likely to prevail.

He may be reelected as Govr. and with such a Legislature, as

may be chosen by those who elect him, bad men & dangerous laws may continue to prevail.

The V. Pr.—is with us—looks well ; and as I predict is laying in a stock of reputation against the next Election for Govr. in N Yk.—for the Presidency he is not yet spoken of ; tho' there are faint whispers, since the Departments of the treasury, of foreign affairs, and of war, have each their Candidates for this great office, that New York is not asleep, & that the navy Department may without discredit likewise present her Chief—

Your faithful

R. KING.

R. KING TO C. KING.

4 January, 1822.

DEAR SIR :

Our weather is wet, soft, & unhealthy—Congress are doing little, & I hope may not do more : did not the constitution seem to require an annual meeting, the usual business could be as well done biennially as by annual meetings. . . .

The canvassing for the Presidency seems to acquire no consistency here, tho' the vanity and habits, of individuals impel them to be employed, when in fact there is a pause, owing to the want of information of the public opinion, which is not yet so far formed as to be collected or embodied : great anxiety, is manifest to ascertain the opinion of the State of N. Yk. ; and it cannot be satisfied, by the declaration that as no opinion has yet been formed, it is quite premature even to form a conjecture on the subject. There is time enough to make, & to proclaim, a preference, and the repose of the Country, as well as its best interest in reference to a discreet election, justify the views of those, who discourage all premature proceedings on this important subject. South Carolina gave no proof of wisdom in the early nomination of a presidential Candidate, and Mr. Clay has not manifested greater policy in procuring State nominations in the west, than in publishing, as he did, an address on the subject of the correspondence between MM. Adams & Russell. It is to be hoped that our Legislature will have patience, and that they may not be urged to imitate the examples of So. Carolina & Kentucky in favor of any one.

. . . The project of Mr. Crawford of obtaining a greater revenue in & after 1825, because the war Debt, which is unpaid, may then be paid, but wh. may also continue unpaid, without injury to the pub. credit, is brought forward in order to obtain the character, or reputation, of an earnest desire to pay off the public Debt: instead whereof the continuance of a Debt not exceeding that of the U. S., especially in the existing condition of our currency & commerce, may be preferable to its discharge.

Mr. Legget from N. Yk. has just been with me respecting the Auction Business. I have said to him, that unless a Revision of the Tariff be proposed, and thereby the opinions & prejudices of the members of Congress be called into action, the proposal to regulate the auctions will not be considered, or if brought forward will not prevail.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO C. KING.

Sunday, Jany. 6th, 1822.

DEAR SIR:

I enter fully into the solicitude of Mr. Gracie respecting the Business at Paris.* In respects to Mr. N., considering what has past, it seems to me that a measured reserve is necessary, and more calculated to promote your object than a renewed application. At the present moment Mr. N's attention is turned on our Committee (of Foreign Affairs): I have perceived from his observations, that such is the fact. I have on my side observed a little more reserve than usual, without any expression of dissatisfaction, with his having omitted to do what he implicitly assured us he would do, in case the President should speak to him respecting the demands of Mr. Gracie on the French Government. Last evening he said to me that he had lately received news from Mr. Charles Wilkes †: instead of asking him any thing in particular, I turned the conversation; he soon resumed it, and inquired whether our Committee would take up the subject of the negotiation &c. I answered that the whole correspondence was in my hands, which I was reading & should then deliver to my Colleagues for the like purpose, preparatory to my convening the Comee. for the purpose of conference. I am &c. R. K.

* Claims for French spoliations. † Relative to Mr. Gracie's claims.

R. KING TO C. KING.

Tuesday Evg., 8 Jan., 1822.

DEAR SIR:

The House of Reps. are engaged from day to day on a subject that commonly is treated as a matter of course.* . . . The premature nomination of sundry gentlemen as Candidates for the Presidency, and among them the nomination of Mr. Calhoun, has given rise to this discussion, concerning the proposed appropriation asked for by the Secy. of war for the indian Department. Those who may be in favor of some other Candidate than Mr. Calhoun, are supposed to take this occasion to manifest their dislike to him; tho' the occasion is ill taken, and if such be the motive, it seems more likely to serve than injure him. The unnecessary debate will probably neither do good nor evil to any one, unless it shall, as it perhaps may, discourage the gentlemen who are desirous of hastening a Caucus to nominate at this time a successor to the President. If such should be the effect of the debate, one would not regret the same, for a nomination would not only disserve the person nominated, but enter into and influence all the proceedings of Congress during the next three years. What has already happened, viewed in connexion with the indications of public opinion in various quarters, enables us with much confidence to predict that no election will be made by the votes of the electors; but that the same will devolve on the House of Representatives; where as each state can give but one vote, the large states may be divided, and the small ones (several of which will have only a single vote) will possess as much, and in some instances more influence in the choice of the Pr. than the largest States. The ill consequences of the alteration of the Constitution on this subject become more evident, and the tendency to corruption is too manifest for any one to doubt.

Out of 24 Votes, five, or six, of them may be at the disposal of as many individuals; and there may be little hesitation in consenting to what may seem exorbitant sums to obtain them.

I hear there is some dissatisfaction in the change of the Post master at Brooklyn. I know nothing of the Parties. There has been some exertion and disappointment here respecting the Post

* It was a discussion relative to an appropriation for the Indian Branch of the War Department, of which Mr. Calhoun was the head.

office at Albany. Three or four days ago V. B. & myself heard that Southwick would be turned out, and that all except four of our Reps. had addressed an application to the P. M. Genl. to appoint their Colleague S. V. Rensselaer.

V. B. & I addressed a letter to the P. M. G. asking to be informed whether the Albany P. Office was abt. to become vacant. We were answered in the affirmative. We then addressed a second letter to him, in wh. the V. President joined, requesting that a successor to Mr. Southwick shd. not be named, until we could have an opportunity of consulting the citizens of Albany on the subject; a measure that would require the delay of a fortnight. To this the P. M. replied that the appointment of a successor could not be delayed. As the Law gives the appointment of Dep. Post masters *to the P. M. General*, doubts have existed whether the President could control such appointment, and tho' I am inclined to believe that he would have preferred the appointment of Chancellor Lansing, he probably doubted the expediency of interfering. At this stage of the business I halted; the V. President and Van Buren probably went further; and notwithstanding the greater part of the Reps had recommended Solomon V. R., they were induced to send to the P. M. G. another letter concurring in the request that time be allowed to consult the citizens of Albany. A copy of this Document, with copies of our correspondence with the P. M. G. have been sent by V. B. to Albany where it is not unlikely they will excite a little dissatisfaction.*

Solomon has been appointed, & left town this morning for Albany where he will resign, and the Govr. will order a new election to Congress: the young Patroon, perhaps Mr. Bleeker, may be the General's successor. R. K.

The latter portion of the preceding letter relates to an event which caused much and bitter animadversion against Mr. King, in consequence of his action in the matter referred to, and which in its discussion showed the intense political animosity existing in the State of New York through the effort to sustain Governor Clinton in power. The post-office in Albany was held by Solomon Southwick, who had

* That portion of this letter relating to the post-office is marked "all this is important."

become a defaulter, and a rumor* was spread in Albany as early as Dec. 25, 1821 that he was to be removed "if he does not make good his defaults by the first of January. . . . This will be out of his power."

On December 26th, General Van Rensselaer writes to the Patroon at Albany.†

"Van Buren knows nothing of the subject I have in hand. . . . If a strong recommendation comes from Albany and you write to King and Van Buren in such terms as the occasion will warrant, I think by abandoning politics, with a strict regard to my duty, I may sit down in comfort, peace and quietness, with an affectionate family the most of my precarious days."

January 3, 1822, Messrs. King and Van Buren, Senators from New York, sent the following letter to the Postmaster-General, Meigs:

R. King, M. Van Buren, to Hon. Return J. Meigs, Postmaster-General.

Washington, Jany. 3, 1822.

Sir:

We have been informed that it is in contemplation to vacate the office of depy. postmaster of the City of Albany. The importance of the station not only to the citizens of Albany but (from the circumstance of its being the principal distributing office in the State) to our citizens generally, induces us to request that we may be informed of the determination of your department, before the vacancy is supplied; our object is to secure a fit and full opportunity to all concerned, to make their representations to you, on the subject.

Will there be any objections to a compliance with our request?

Yours respectfully

R. King, M. Van Buren.

* De Witt Clinton to General Solomon Van Rensselaer, *Mrs. Bonney's Legacy*, vol. i., p. 369.

† *Ibid.*, i., p. 370. General Van Rensselaer was one of the Federalists who upon the breaking up of the party had joined the forces of Governor Clinton.

R. J. MEIGS, JR., TO HON. RUFUS KING, HON. M. VAN BUREN.*

GENERAL POSTOFFICE, Jany. 4, 1822.

GENTLEMEN :

I had the honor to receive yours of yesterday. It has become necessary to appoint a new postmaster at Albany. An application made by friends of General Van Rensselaer is now before the President for his consideration. It is desirable that an appointment should be made before much delay.

I have the honour to be, with respect, your obedt.

R. J. MEIGS, JR.

DANIEL D. TOMPKINS, RUFUS KING, M. VAN BUREN, TO THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL.*

WASHINGTON, Jan. 4, 1822.

SIR :

Having been informed by your note of this morning that the present deputy-postmaster at Albany is to be removed, we have to request that the appointment of his successor may be delayed long enough to enable the citizens of that place to express their wishes on the subject. We do this, in consideration of the importance of the appointment, and under a conviction, that they are not apprized that a new appointment is at this time to be made. Should you think proper to comply with our request we propose two weeks as the requisite time, and in that event you will please inform us whether the consideration of the question is still with the President, in order that the citizens of Albany may be informed to whom their communications may be addressed. We request the favor of your answer in time to enable us to make the requisite communication by the next mail.

Yours respectfully

DANIEL D. TOMPKINS, RUFUS KING, MARTIN VAN BUREN.

R. J. MEIGS, JR., TO HON. D. D. TOMPKINS, HON. RUFUS KING, HON. MARTIN VAN BUREN.*

GENERAL POSTOFFICE, Jany. 4, 1822.

GENTLEMEN :

I have the honor to state, in reply to yours of this date, that the President has not decided or directed in the case of the ex-

* *Ibid.*, i., p. 388.

pected vacancy of the Postmaster at Albany. It is desirable that a new Postmaster should be appointed without much delay. If the President thinks proper to have the appointment delayed, it will be so. The President this day referred me to the Secretary of the Navy (Smith Thompson) upon whom I called, who informed me that he would communicate with me tomorrow.

Very Respectfully yr. obt. and humble Servt.,

R. J. MEIGS, JR.

Mr. J. Quincy Adams in his *Memoirs*, vol. v., p. 479, under date of January 4, 1822, records the fact that

"the President told me that a very unpleasant affair had occurred yesterday and had not yet terminated. The Postmaster at Albany, Solomon Southwick, was to be removed by the Postmaster-General for delinquency in his accounts. A recommendation of General Van Rensselaer to be his successor had been signed by twenty-two members of the New York delegation, and of all the political parties. The Postmaster-General came to him yesterday and told him of these circumstances, adding that his mind was made up to appoint General Van Rensselaer, unless the President had an objection against him. The President said he had himself no objection, but he would wish to consult the Secretary of the Navy.

"He accordingly saw Mr. Thompson, who objected in the strongest manner. But he informed the Vice-President Tompkins and the New York Senator Van Buren of it, and they had been exasperated against it to such a degree that Tompkins broke out into the most violent language against the President himself, and in presence of a person who he must have known would report all he said to him. And thus the matter now stands.

"5th. [p. 480.] A note from the President summoned an immediate meeting of the members of the Administration, which was fully attended. It was upon the appointment of the Postmaster at Albany. There was a letter from the Vice-President, and both the New York Senators, R. King and Van Buren, requesting that the appointment might be delayed a fortnight to give time to hear from Albany. The Postmaster-General, R. J. Meigs, Jr., was at the President's and was called in. Upon enquiry from the President he said he had determined to appoint immediately

General Van Rennselaer. . . . There could be no doubt that his appointment would be acceptable to the people of Albany, for it was by their suffrages that he was now the Representative in Congress of their district; and, finally, *no other candidate had been presented to his consideration.* [Editor's italics.] Mr. Thompson asked if the late Chancellor Lansing, had not been named to him. He said *no*, and added that Mr. Lansing was nearly seventy years of age.

"I enquired if there would be any inconvenience in delaying the appointment for a fortnight. He said there would; that Southwick would in the meantime be receiving the money of the public, and the longer he remained in office the greater would be the amount of his delinquency.

"I asked if his deputy could not be authorized to act in the interval. He said his deputy was of his own family and would be under his control.

"After he withdrew, the President said he thought it very questionable whether he ought to interfere in the case at all."

A long debate as to the power of the President to interfere followed. Mr. Adams said that while "the law gave the appointment of all the Postmasters exclusively to the Postmaster-General, . . . there might be cases in which it would be quite proper that the President should interfere."

"7th. The President told me that he had answered the Postmaster-General that he would not interfere in the case of the appointment of the Postmaster at Albany. . . . J. W. Taylor told me that S. Van Rensselaer had already got his commission as Postmaster at Albany, and was going off tomorrow evening."

Mr. Hammond in his *Political History of New York*, ii., 96, thus records the incident relative to the Albany post-office. After stating the merits of General Van Rensselaer, who, he says "was a candidate for appointment to the vacant office and a steady and uniform federalist," and also asserting that "Chancellor Lansing was the candidate for the democratic party at Albany, "he proceeds as follows:

"Previous, however, to the decision of the national executive in relation to the Albany Post-office, Vice-President Tompkins

and the two New York Senators Rufus King and Martin Van Buren, communicated to the president and postmaster-general a formally written protest against the appointment of Mr. Van Rensselaer, exclusively on the ground that he was a federalist. The semi-official avowal of a cause why a gallant soldier should not participate in the civil patronage of the government, was viewed with wonder by some of the republican members who were acquainted with New York politics. To us it was not at all surprising. The course of Gov. Tompkins and Mr. Van Buren was the course which had been pursued by both political parties since the famous council of 1801, called Clinton's and Spencer's council. . . . Considering what may be called the common law of parties in this State, and making due allowance for it, I cannot censure with severity the conduct of Mr. Tompkins and Mr. Van Buren.

"But the conduct of Mr. King ought to be tried by a different rule. He had been uniformly a federalist; had been supported by that party steadily, from the year 1787; had in 1814 been elected to the United States Senate by the federalists, and been re-elected by their unanimous vote; and although, for special and peculiar reasons, Mr. Van Buren and his friends, the last time he was elected, had supported him. It was under these circumstances that Mr. King opposed the appointment of Solomon Van Rensselaer to the office of postmaster at Albany, *because he was or had been a federalist.*

"Mr. Van Rensselaer and his family and friends had twice supported Mr. King for Senator, and more than once for Governor of New York, and Mr. King for that and similar reasons, and none other, protested against his appointment. This act was wholly unworthy of Mr. King, who during a long course of public life, on all other occasions, conducted himself with great dignity; and although we might believe his political opinions erroneous, yet we esteemed and venerated the individual as an high-minded and honourable man. He had been a national and not a state politician, and his initiation into the mysteries of Albany politics during the convention, the autumn preceding, must have produced this ill advised act, an act which I have no doubt he shortly afterwards regretted." *

* The Editor cannot refrain from giving here the following account of the

This statement, which was published in 1842, twenty years after the publication of the correspondence with the Postmaster-General, shows clearly the hand of a partisan, and incorrectly reports the motives and action of Mr. King. It leaves out the fact, except as an unworthy excuse for his conduct offered by his friends, that as soon as Mr. King knew that the Postmaster-General refused a delay of appointment and that he had named Gen. Van Rensselaer to the President as his selection for the Albany post-

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Albany post-office affair, published by H. Hastings in the *New York Commercial Advertiser* on October 30, 1883, an account which, for positive misstatement throughout, and for malignity of expression, can only be understood to result from some personal reason, for it was written more than sixty years after the events criticised. Giving, in a series of papers relative to the Political History of New York, furnished by him to that paper, a narrative of the events in the year 1822, he writes as follows ; affording, happily, at the same time a key to the guidance under which the appointment was made,—"*Governor Clinton quietly engineered the matter.*"

"The council of appointment in the hands of the Tammany Democracy removed every Clintonian and Federalist from office. Among the latter Genl. Sol. Van Rensselaer, Adjutant-General."

"But Van Buren and the Bucktails spared neither patriot nor soldier in office who was suspected of leaning towards Governor Clinton. . . . A short time after the council of appointment, the Van Buren political machine, removed the old soldier, General Van Rensselaer, from the office of Adjutant-General, a spontaneous movement was made on the part of the citizens of Albany and throughout the State to have the General appointed Postmaster at Albany in place of Solomon Southwick, whose accounts were found to be irregular. Governor Clinton quietly engineered the matter. His hand was not seen in the movement. President Monroe, to the surprise of Senator Van Buren and Vice-President Tompkins, made the appointment.

"The country, however, was astonished when it became known that Senator Rufus King had joined with Van Buren and Tompkins to remonstrate against the appointment of General Van Rensselaer to the Albany Postoffice. His friends made an effort to quiet the excited feeling, which his extraordinary action had produced. Mr. King was known to be an extreme Federalist, except in so far as he favored a prosecution of the war of 1812. In all other things he was in perfect accord with his party. In apologizing for him it was said he did not remonstrate against the appointment of General Van Rensselaer, "he merely requested the appointment might be delayed until parties from Albany could be heard from"—delayed until Van Buren and Tompkins could bring up their force. This was not a position in which to place an honorable man. His friends might better not have attempted to offer such a lame excuse.

"The world, as a rule, is disposed to admire a frank and bold man, moved by

office, he withdrew from any further interference in the matter, an interference which was continued by the Vice-President and Senator Van Buren. Gen. Van Rensselaer was as much the candidate of the Democratic party as was Chancellor Lansing, whom Mr. King preferred, though he *did not* solicit his appointment; and the General had been a Federalist and gone over to the Clinton faction of the Democratic party, while Chancellor Lansing was in harmony with those Federalists who had gone to

partisan considerations, rather than *a trimmer under cover* [Italics the Editor's] who seeks to accomplish the same end. Mr. King could not escape the odium that he consented to become the creature of Van Buren and Tompkins, because they had reelected him United States Senator. This was the prevailing opinion of citizens generally at the time.

"'The act' says Dr. Hammond, one of his friends and eulogists, 'was wholly unworthy of Mr. King, who during a long course of public life on all other occasions conducted himself with great dignity and was venerated as a high-minded and honorable man." Dr. Hammond intimates in his "*Political History of New York*" that Mr. King was a victim of 'evil communications.' His association with the unscrupulous politicians, who made the combination to return him to the United States Senate, had produced a marked change in his views and general character. He made this fact more clearly marked by his words in the Constitutional Convention.

"It is another instance showing that most illustrious statesmen and 'founders of the Government,' had the same peculiarities of character that are so reprehensible in the 'political workers' of modern times. We refer to those who remember favors and pay old debts in kind. Mr. King never could have placed himself in the position of a trading politician had he not been under an obligation to Van Buren, Tompkins and Tammany Hall. General Van Rensselaer's family and friends had been for years under all circumstances the warm and devoted supporters of Mr. King. In view of their relations politically and socially, Mr. King's conduct must be regarded as not creditable to a gentleman of his standing before the country. Mr. King ever after was regarded quite as much of a Democrat as a Federalist. When his term of office as United States Senator expired two or three years after, he declined a reelection and retired to private life. He was, however, recalled to service in 1825 by President Adams, who appointed him Minister to England, the same place to which President Washington appointed him thirty years before. His championship of freedom in the great struggle against slavery on the admission of Missouri will carry his name and fame into history for all time. Mr. King became the Federal leader after the death of Hamilton. For over thirty years he was recognized as one of the ablest men in the United States Senate, and we might add in the nation. He belonged to the old school and looked the model of refinement."

the other or Tammany section of the Federalists because they deprecated the continuance of Mr. Clinton's influence and ways. Mr. King, without joining these, and indeed holding himself aloof from all party questions, desired in every way to curtail what he considered the destructive policy of Gov. Clinton. It was not, as he says himself, that he objected to the appointment of Gen. Van Rensselaer because he was a *Federalist*, but because he and his friends were *Clintonians*. Mr. Hammond says, Mr. King's conduct should be tried by a different rule from that of Messrs. Tompkins and Van Buren. This is true ; but the standard suggested is not a correct one. Mr. King had always been a Federalist and had from the year 1787 adhered to that party steadily ; he had never swerved from the principles they held ; he had been elected to the Senate of the United States in 1814 by the unanimous vote of the Federalists in the Legislature, and nominated as Governor and sustained, though ineffectually, by Federalists—Gen. Van Rensselaer and his family and friends—and when the question of his reelection to the Senate came up and the turmoil of New York politics dislocated the arrangements and relations of those who sought to manage them, these same Federalists, who were tired of exclusion from the spoils of office, threw themselves into the arms of Mr. Clinton and became Clintonians, and received their reward, some of them at least, and among them Gen. Van Rensselaer ; he receiving very properly the office of Adjutant-General, for which he was eminently qualified. But the people at the election in the year 1821, though they re-elected Mr. Clinton as Governor, changed the political character of the Council, which had not yet been abolished, and of the Legislature, which bodies in accordance with the customs of the parties, dismissed the Clintonians from the public offices, among others the General, who was then elected by his Albany friends to Congress.

Mr. King did not suggest anybody for the Albany post-office, but he certainly had a preference, as he told Gen. Van Rensselaer himself, and naturally followed it, without however seeking to influence any person in gratifying it. Whether it was wise or prudent to follow the lead of the wily politician, who had his own personal reasons for preventing the choice of the General, and has since avowed them, is another question. His sense of

gratitude to Mr. Van Buren, and at the time of warm personal regard, was strongly felt ; and his judgment may have been swayed by him. As to his reelection to the Senate, he might have thanked Gov. Clinton also, for he was chosen by an *unanimous vote:* Clintonians, Republicans, and Federalists*—as Mr. Adams has said, "an unparalled election in the history of the United States."

He had never solicited the agency of any man to promote his election. All felt, though many differed in general political views, that he was the ablest, the fittest, and always the most faithful representative in looking after and supporting the best interest of the State in relation to national affairs. All believed him honest and incorruptible in the discharge of his duties, and that he was the most useful and satisfactory representative in the great council of the nation, and especially in all its commercial interests. When he was chosen, and in all his after life, he was trusted, and never disappointed the confidence placed in him. The charge which the malignity of political adversaries has made against him, and repeated years after his death, was without foundation. The *Nemo repente turpissimus* of Cicero, as true then as now, would have been falsified, and although he may have acted unwisely, it was not to do an injustice or to wrong an old friend, or to be a "*trimmer*," as sixty years after his death he is said to have been.

Wm. A. Duer to R. King.

Albany, Jany. 13th, 1822.

Dear Sir :

. . . The appointment of one of the most uniform & bitter opponents of the general government and its supporters in this State, to the Post office in this City has excited equal surprize & disgust amongst the Republicans of this City, and those from the different parts of the State who are assembled here in the Legislature, at Court &c. ; and it is by no means generally satisfactory to the opposite party : for he was no less distinguished for his incapacity for such a situation than for his jealous

* Hammond's *Political History of New York*, vol. i., pp. 483, 486, 514 *et seq.*, will be found interesting in this connection.

& exclusive attachment to the political interest of Clinton, Spencer & Van Ness. Nothing prevented the call of a public meeting yesterday on the subject but the intimation that we might expect some communication from Washington, which it would be advisable to have possession of first. The conduct of our delegation in the H. of R. is inexplicable and such is the state of public feeling in regard to it, that it would be no difficult matter to induce the Republican Members of the Legislature to denounce them formally and to include in the censure every individual who advised or connived in the measure which they sanctioned.

There was a feeling of sympathy in favor of Chancellor Lansing in both parties ; notwithstanding that a person, who was young and active enough to attend to the duties of the office himself, would have been preferred if his principles and conduct had not rendered him obnoxious. Many such were to be found, and if Chancellor Lansing (as I have heard it intimated) did not wish the office, no appointment could have been more proper or satisfactory than that of M. Van Buren's brother in law, Mr. Cantine. He is an amiable, upright man perfectly conversant with business & accounts, & notwithstanding the most laborious industry & severe economy is almost starving upon one half of the profits of Printing.

Upon the subject of the next President there seems to be a general anxiety here, that our delegation & that from Pennsylvania should keep themselves uncommitted until they can interfere with effect. But we consider all that is said is only premature, & hope that the matter will be left for the next Congress to settle. . . .

Your obedient Servant
W. A. DUER.

Mr. King writes to his son, Charles King on January 14th, recapitulating, in answer to certain statements in the newspapers misrepresenting his actions, that after the reply of the Postmaster-General to the second letter,

"the Vice Pesident & Van Buren replied immediately. I did not see their letter : it was not shewn to me, but I conceive it to have remonstrated agt. Genl. Van Rensselaer's appointment, on

the ground of political character and to have urged that of Chancellor Lansing as better entitled to a preference.

"I have understood that the President seemed disposed to prefer Chancellor Lansing, but doubting the right, or expediency, of controlling the P. M. G. (who had informed him that unless he was restrained he should appoint Genl. V. Rensselaer) he consulted his cabinet, & the result was not to interfere to restrain the appt. of Genl. V. Rensselaer, who was appointed on Monday the 7th.

"In any other view than a preference for Chancellor Lansing, I have not had, & have not, any concern in this Business. I say this as between ourselves, not desiring so far as regards myself, that anything more should be said about it. I think it not unlikely that some excitement will prevail at Albany, and that dissatisfaction in respect to Genl. V. Rensselaer's appointment will be shown. . . . R. K."

Judge Benson to R. King.

Albany, 16th. Jany.

At Dinner yesterday at the Governor's Judge Van Ness expressed himself that you had objected to the appointment of Solomon Van Rensselaer as Deputy Post Master here that he was a *federalist;* and farther, that you had joined others in a formal Memorial to the Post Master General in favour of Southwick. Will you as instantly as you can, let me hear from you by a line in answer to be directed to me at this place and to remain in the Post Office till called for. E. B.

Endorsed by R. K.: ["Judge Benson. 16th Jany '22—answered 'It was false.'"]

R. King to Egbert Benson.

20 Jany., 1822.

I have this moment recd. your letter of the 16th, stating that at a dinner at the Governor's on the day before Judge Van Ness made this observation. "Mr. King objected to the appointment of Solomon V. R. to be P. M. at Albany, because he is a federalist, and he joined others in a memorial to the P. M. G. that Southwick should be continued in office." This tale in the whole and

in all its parts is false, as I neither applied to the P. M. G. in favor, nor objected to the appointment of any one as P. M. at Albany ; nor have I conferred with the President or the P. M. G. on the subject.

Having heard that the P. O. at Albany had become or was about to fall vacant, and that Genl. Van R. was spoken of as a candidate, it occurred to me & to my colleague Mr. V. B. that Chancellor Lansing might be willing to accept the office ; we therefore wrote a note to the P. M. G., asking information whether the office at Albany was likely to become vacant ; being answered in the affirmative, we wrote a second note to the P. M. G., in which the V. Pr. united, requesting the delay of appointing a successor to Mr. Southwick for a fortnight, in order that we might have an opportunity to consult the citizens of Albany on a subject in wh. they are particularly interested. To this letter I have understood, tho' I have not seen the answer, that the P. M. G. replied that he could not delay the appointment beyond the following Monday, on which day Genl. Sol. V. R. was appointed and vacated his seat in Congress. I joined in no other Letter or Paper on this subject, asked no man to continue Southwick in office, to oppose Gen. V. R's appointment, or to support that of Chancellor Lansing. Genl. V. R. informed me that he was a candidate for the office, & without reserve I told him, that learning the probable vacancy of the office, I felt a strong desire, that it should be given to Chancellor Lansing, if he would accept it : beyond this interference I have had no share.

Yrs. &c
R. K.

It was deemed right, considering this charge against Mr. King's personal character, that the case should be here presented in full, so that there should be no ground for the accusation that his friends at the time endeavored to "cover up" what he had done.

CHAPTER XXVII.

King to C. King—Portuguese and Spanish Claims—King to J. A. King—Apathy about the Constitution—Van Buren never zealous for it—Gore to King—Governor Brooks supposed King was opposed to Claims of Massachusetts on United States—Denied it for him—King to C. King—Principle of Reciprocity Basis of Action in West India Trade—Gilmore to King—Circulation of United States Bank Notes—King to Gore—On Massachusetts' Claims—King to C. King—Neuville's Inactivity about Claims on France—Van Buren to J. A. King—Gore to King—Repelled Governor Brooks' Suggestion that he would vote against Massachusetts' Claims—Gore to King—Federalists in Massachusetts laud the President—Reasons—Assent to Virginia's Pretensions—King to Gore—W. Pinkney's Death—Estimate of him—J. A. King to King—Constitution adopted—King to Gore—Spanish Minister's Protest against the President's Message relative to the Spanish Colonies—Congress will make Appropriations for diplomatic Intercourse with them—King to C. King—Restrictions—Report on them—King to C. King—Mr. Gallatin may remain in Paris and new Negotiations about French Claims may be begun.

R. King to C. King.

Washington, Jany. 15, 1822.

Dear Sir:

I have not seen Mr. Neuville since Saturday. In conversation with Mr. Adams today, he said that the Portugal Consul's claim, arising out of the Antwerp cases, had been sold to certain persons connected with the public offices at 50. per cent, and that he had no doubt that other portions of this claim, if sold to these individuals, would immediately in like manner be paid. Mr. A. said, that offers had been made to some of the Antwerp claimants, (whether to Mr. Gracie's Agents he did not know) to purchase their claims at 50-pr. Ct. and if sold they would be paid the next day! ! ! I made no other observation, than that I apprehended Mr. Neuville had encouraged the delay, or post-

ponement of the Amer. claims on the Fr. Govt. in the expectation that the French demands here wd. be helped thereby. Mr. A. assented, and added a remark or two in confirmation.

I understand that the Commissioners on the Spanish claims are hard at work : they require written arguments, which the Gentlemen of the Law dislike. It is said that the question of the St. Sebastian cases, in wh. the insurance offices are so deeply concerned, is under consideration and that the admission of their claims is doubtful. I speak from rumour ; should these claims be excluded it will be of great importance to others whose claims shall be allowed, since the Fr. claims (i—e. those of St. Sebastian) are supposed to amount to 15 Mil. Dollars.

I am faithfully yrs
R. K.

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

WASHINGTON, January 19, 1822.

DEAR SIR :

It has been somewhat mysterious that so much apathy prevailed on this subject [the vote on the constitution] and may lead to doubts, notwithstanding the immense vote for the calling of a Convention, whether the People were not content under the old system, bad as its administration unquestionably was. Moving out of a bad into a good atmosphere is sometimes unhealthy. The question is now decided, and I cannot but believe, that the great body of Office Holders and their influence have been paralised, or opposed to the Constitution.

Van Buren never was zealous, nay has doubted whether the amendments wd. be adopted. In this he has been not only sincere, but individually disinterested, and should the Constitution fail it will possibly create more joy than grief.

Our Georgetown quarters are better than those of our friends in Washington.

Van Buren continues to go on satisfactorily, tho' he was a little discouraged with the appointment to the Albany P. Office.

There is here a Miss Randolph, granddaughter of Mr. Jefferson ; about whom the young members of Congress collect, and with them V. B. She is intelligent and more interesting for her education and literature than for beauty, or the manners of good

society. During a few days since at Col. Henderson's, the Marine Band was present, and Miss Randolph, requested to name the music, called for the Yellow haired Laddie &c, &c——

R. K.

C. Gore to R. King.

Waltham, Jan. 21, 1822.

My dear Friend:

The last Summer Governor Brooks called on me, and mentioned a strong Desire he entertained to see you, expressing an hope, that you might visit Massachusetts in the Autumn. He had much anxiety on account of the Claim of the State on the U States, for Expences incurred in defending its Territories during the last War, and this anxiety was much increased from learning, that you were opposed to its Adjustment & Allowance, unless the Commonwealth would pass some Resolutions, which, in his opinion, might degrade its Character. I replied that although I knew that you disapproved the Opinion of the Justices of the Supreme Court on the conflicting Claims of the U States & this State, in relation to the Control of the Militia, I felt very confident you could never indulge a thought that Massachusetts should do anything to diminish her Character in the Eyes of the Nation, or of herself; that you had voted in the Senate for the Settlement of her Claims, on account of the Defence by the Militia, and I believed you would always so vote, without stirring any Questions on the Subject of Disagreement, between the two Governments, in the past War. In this Opinion I sincerely hope and believe I am correct. The whole amount demanded is not in my judgment, worth the least Diminution of Self Respect in the State. . . . Your faithful Friend

C. Gore.

R. King to C. King.

Senate Chamber, 1 Feby., 1822.

Dear Sir:

I have yours by the mail of today, and am pleased that the Chamber of Commerce have adopted the Resolution which you offered—it will have a useful influence in checking the impatience with which a necessary & politic regulation is borne in other

quarters. So much of your proceedings as rest on the probable opening of the Br. Colonial Ports, is of dubious policy ; since it may operate unfavorably on those who may be averse to that measure.

The principle of reciprocity, which is the basis of our proceedings, and which justifies our restrictions in the West India trade, is also the rule we desire to establish with France—and every movement that may take place in respect to the W. India regulation, will have a weakening influence on our negotiation with France. It has been believed by the French Govt. that our southern States, which produce the articles of Cotton, Tobacco & Rice would be unwilling to submit to any regulation by wh. the markets & ships of France should be denied. The meetings on the subject of the W. Ind. Trade will serve to impair the hopes of Mr. Neuville, and to prolong & embarrass a most important negotiation.

Unless we can carry our great and bulky articles to market, on as good terms as foreigners, we must relinquish the advantages of a commercial marine, which has at all times contributed so much to the wealth of the Navigating Powers, and, what is more, must give up the Navy, so necessary not only for the safety of Commerce, but so important as the best and cheapest defence of our sea coast, of our bays & rivers and of the commercial towns situated upon them. R. K.

R. GILMORE TO R. KING.

BALTIMORE, 1st February, 1822.

MY DEAR SIR :

I trust you will pardon me the liberty I take of again troubling you with the subject of the memorial of the Bank of the United States, the report of the committee on which I observe is to come under discussion in the Senate on Tuesday. . . . My object in addressing you at present is simply to urge the higher importance of the restriction of the circulation of our notes to the districts wherein they are issued (with the exception stated in the documents before Congress) by the Government refusing to receive them except in the district in which they are made payable, Such a restriction appears to us and all those well informed on the facts essential to the well being of the institution, and to the

establishment and preservation of a sound currency; for experience has manifested in the most striking manner that under the present system, it is quite impossible to retain our notes in the circulation in the district where they are issued; they disappear immediately, as may naturally be expected in the Western and some of the Southern districts, and are necessarily replaced by a depreciated currency to the serious injury both of the Government & our unfortunate Bank. If Congress saw the subject in the light which is presumed by us to be the true one, no doubt would be entertained of their readiness to afford the Bank all the protection it asks, and asks not more for its stockholders than for the Nation at large, to whom it professes to be of the greatest utility in the restoration of the currency and the equalization of exchanges, without urging other benefits of importance. Should Congress, however, refuse the prayer of the memorial to restrict the circulation in the manner pointed out, then in addition to the evils already experienced, the Bank will have to encounter an immense disadvantage, the hostility of the State Banks & the State Governments, as you will no doubt have already perceived in the Act of the Legislature of Georgia, and thus the mortifying spectacle is again exhibited of a State in collision with the Supreme Court, or, in other words, the Government.

To attempt enforcing to *you*, by any arguments of mine, the tendency of the measure in producing a sound currency, and consequently all the advantages resulting from so happy a state of the circulation, would be useless. You are no doubt fully possessed of the subject and prepared to decide on it, and I would venture to hope favorably. However this may be, a recurrence to the statement made by the Bank at the last session, which you will find in the reports of the Senate, might probably suggest new views of this particular case, and I would therefore beg leave to refer you to it, should it have escaped your notice at this time. It would also be satisfactory to the Bank, if, entertaining *doubts* of the advantages of the restriction prayed for, Congress should pass the Act with a limitation of five years, or even three years, at the expiration of which it need not be renewed if the success of the measure did not answer the expectations formed of it. The experiment at least could be made.

with great respect & esteem R. GILMORE.

R. KING to C. GORE.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3, 1822.

MY DEAR SIR :

I have recd. your letter of the 21. It seems very extraordinary that Gov Brooks should entertain any apprehension that I could in any situation be unmindful of the honor or the interest of Massachusetts.

In respect to their claims you certainly will know my way of thinking on every part of this subject ; indeed my opinions were common, on this, as on a thousand other cases—as of you, so of myself. State the case & I could without communication, by the operation of my own mind, be able to tell what would be your opinion on the subject ; as by the like process you could arrive at what would be mine.

If an unreserved communication has not enabled us in a connexion of almost 50 years to know one another, so as to mutually understand the conclusions to which our minds arrive in questions like the present, how are we to have confidence in each other ; & how can we form opinions of the powers, and integrity of human intellect ?

We are passing through an insipid, & inefficient session. I at times become fatigued ; and tho' age teaches me more patience, & less confidence, in the wisdom, or purity of mankind, I some days almost despair ; and feel more than half convinced that no Government can be administered well, until some scheme be found out, in which every man's individual desires, be they what they may, shall subserve the objects to be effected by the Govt.

Montesquieu has somewhere a reflection to this purpose, but gives no hint in respect to the formation of so extraordinary a plan. We shall talk much, and enact little ; perhaps I may be mistaken, but shd. this happen so much the better.

We have no administration. Mr. M. tho' not buried, is dead, as respects direction, or control : his cabinet is insincere of necessity ; and so one wanting advice, cannot acquire it from men who from jealousy will unite in no opinion.

The prospect of the future affords no consolation—The next election of Pr. will be thrown into the H. of R. and the consequences will be immeasurably hazardous !

But I quit the subject. Whether you will be able to decipher these hierogliphics I doubt, for eyes & pen are both bad.

R. K.

R. KING TO C. KING.

WASHINGTON, Sunday, Feb. 3, 1822.

DEAR SIR:

I certainly hoped, tho' I confess I did not much expect, more satisfactory news from Paris. Instead of promoting, as he once promised to do, I apprehend that his temper & disappointment have been such as to have led Mr. Neuville to wish the delay of the Antwerp Cases. Being greatly disappointed here, it is not extraordinary if he has infused a portion of this temper into his Govt. I do not suppose, that he feels any doubt of the justice of the claims, nor that he has led others into doubts respecting them; but being engaged here in support of claims on our Government, he may believe that delay in adjusting the Antwerp Cases may have some influence in favor of his claims before our Govt. This is a great mistake; and I regret it the more, as the ill effects fall for the moment where there can be no motive nor wish to place them. The foolish project of the African Colonization Society, has led our Govt. to send their small vessels of war to the Coast of Africa, where they visit and search the vessels of foreign Nations, and thereby excite the displeasure of France, and other powers, over whose ships & policy in respect to the slave Trade we have no kind of authority. This latter proceeding may be altered; but the claims of France on the subject of Navigation are very difficult to be adjusted. The claim is less reasonable, than, if it were well and impartially understood in France, would be insisted on. Concessions on our part to a reasonable extent may be made; but to go further wd. bring us into future and very important difficulties elsewhere.

The proceedings at Boston will strengthen us, and I shd. suppose that Baltimore & Philadelphia will be willing to concur in supporting the Restriction.

The for. Papers, render the continuance of Peace somewhat doubtful: indeed the old world is unquiet; Spain, Portugal, France & Germany are feverish, & the death of Louis XVIII will be very critical.

R. KING.

M. Van Buren to J. A. King.
(*private.*)

Washington, Feby. 4, 1822.

My dear Sir:

The "American" believing "that the film which has so long dimmed the eyes of the country is removed, that passion has given place to reflection, that prejudice has yielded to good feeling & that the factious distinctions arising from prejudice, passion & the force of circumstances have been superceded," has come out openly in favour of Mr. Adams, expressed its determination to give him a zealous support, & to rely for its success, on the "intelligence & good feeling of the people *without distinction of class or condition.* As the independent editor of a free press Mr. Verplanck has not only a perfect right to take the course he has laid down, but if he thinks it the true one, it is his duty to pursue it; with that I meddle not. Mr. Clinton believing that the period of which Mr. Verplanck speaks, had arrived in his day, held the same language and backed by the great favour of his uncle's name, and armed with the patronage of office to the amount of a million annually, attempted to push his political fortunes on the assumption that the old party feelings had lost their force. *His story is told:* Mr. Verplanck may be more successful. He doubtless thinks so & does not I imagine sufficiently consider that the political atmosphere, in which he at present moves in the City of New York, derives its temporary character, more from other causes, than those he speaks of, and is not aware how different he might find it in Albany or almost any other place in the State. As there is no necessity that you should (if ever so inclined) connect yourself with this movement until after the fall election, I take the liberty of asking you to reflect on the expediency of doing so. As to the candidate supported by the "American" I say nothing, but for the present, speak only of the grounds upon which that support is to be conducted. The well grounded friendship I entertain for you & my apprehensions of the grave results which may flow from the matter of which I speak, to some of our young & ardent politicians, constitute my inducement to ask you for a season at least to stand aloof. The fitness of such a state of public opinion as Mr. Verplanck supposes now to exist is one thing, the fact of its existence is another. Write me & believe me to be

Very truly your friend M. V. Buren.

C. Gore to R. King.

Waltham, Feb. 10, 1822.

My dear Friend:

I have just received your Letter of the 3rd Feb. inst. in answer to what I mentioned of Governor Brooks' Communication, and surely I must have been unusually obscure, or have expressed Sentiments very discordant to what my mind entertained, if in ought I wrote I afforded ground to believe that I assented in the smallest Degree, to what he had been led to fear. I repelled the Suggestion instantly and absolutely, and said I could vouch for the contrary, knowing well your feelings towards this State, and on this particular Subject & that although you had not acceeded to all the Views, and Constructions, which were entertained here on the Subject of the Militia, I was confident you would, as you already had, give your support to a Bill for defraying the Expence incurred by the State.

He replied to me, that his Fears arose from what General King had told him, who stated that he had a letter from you wherein you had expressed a Wish, that the Legislature of Massachusetts would afford you an opportunity of supporting their Claim by passing some Resolutions, acknowledging the Errors of their former Assumptions. I said that, notwithstanding the Belief and Assertions of the General, I was altogether persuaded that his Construction of what you had written must be erroneous. Nothing more was said. He and the Gentleman, who accompanied him, soon retired and I heard nothing further, until he sent me the Report of Council on the Subject, as I mentioned. In answer to his Note I reiterated the same Sentiments I had before expressed to him verbally. I should not have troubled you with this further & probably more minute Relation, if I had not feared from some of your Remarks that you supposed I had in some Degree, assented to his Apprehensions, instead of repelling them most directly, which I did both orally and in writing. . . .

Your faithful & affectionate Friend

C. Gore.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, Feb. 22, 1822.

MY DEAR SIR :

. . . It is much to be regretted that the Candidates for the Presidency are to be found in the Heads of the Departments. Appointments are made and Measures influenced very much with a View to the Elevation of these Pretensions. It is curious to observe how every one publicly praises the present Chief, while no one has any Confidence either in his Talents, or his Sincerity. The Federalists, I mean in Massachusetts, are constantly eulogizing the National Administration, although to be a Federalist, or to have been of that Party, is a sufficient Reason for Exclusion from Office & Influence. Indeed the Editor of the Centinel, some weeks since, triumphed in the thought, that three Massachusetts men were appointed as Committee. Two who certainly owed this distinguished Honour to Conduct which marked them with Ridicule or Execration from all men of this Character, were named Chairmen. Mr. Gorham probably did not feel much elevated by the Distinction which he received. Our people feel very little Interest in the Govt. of the U. S. for they are proscribed men, allowed only to praise Mr. Monroe & Co. and to assent very submissively to the fluctuating Will of Virginia, who seems steadily to pursue her own State Power, and Influence in the Councils of the Union. Fuller, the member for this District, very nearly lost his Election, though quite of the Democratic Party, at the last Choice, because he did not vote with Virginia on the Missouri Question, and because he was a Friend & Supporter of the Navy. So little Regard or so little knowledge have the Patriots of Middlesex in the Interest of this Quarter of the Country. This is not much to be wondered at, when we know that some of the most knowing men voted & spoke for the Restriction in Missouri in Washington & prayed the Legislature of Massachusetts to express no opinion on the Subject, until it should be quite ineffectual on the Decision. . . .

Yours faithfully

C. GORE.

R. King to C. Gore.

Tuesday, Feb. 26, 1822.

Dear Sir:

Mr. Pinkney, as we all feared would happen, died last night and will be buried tomorrow. The character of his attack was, I conclude, apoplexy; it is spoken of as fever with a tendency to the head which could not be checked. He leaves a large family, three or four of his children are married; the remainder are young, and I fear the provision laid up for them to be but small. The general feelings are such as attend the sudden death of men of eminent and admired talents. It seems undisputed that he was deservedly at the head of the Bar. Some few days ago, speaking of himself, he said that he found that he was obliged to give more time & labour to his profession than formerly, that he considered himself at the head of the Bar, and being resolved to continue so, he found it necessary to be most diligent, and laborious, in preparing himself to appear before the court. On its being observed, that his situation in his profession seemed to require so much of his time that it might seem extraordinary that he should engage in public affairs, he replied that something was due to the respectability, which public stations confer, & that on this account he deemed it proper to desire and retain his seat in the Senate.

I have nothing to add but assurances of the constant attachment & regard of Yr. ob. & faith'l servant.

Rufus King.

J. A. King to R. King.

Jamaica, March 6, 1822.

Dear Sir:

We celebrated the adoption of the Constitution * in a temperate and farmerlike manner. The frequent volleys of artillery which

* "During this winter, the people at the polls of election, passed upon the question whether the amended constitution should be adopted or rejected. In the month of February returns were made at the office of the Secretary of State, from all the counties in the State, from which it appeared that there were given seventy-five thousand four hundred and twenty-two votes for the constitution, and forty-one thousand four hundred and ninety-seven against it; exhibiting a majority of THIRTY-THREE THOUSAND NINE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIVE. It was fortunate that so great an unanimity of opinion prevailed on this vitally

were given under the direction of the little God of War [General Morton] in New York were distinctly heard by us here. . . .

yours affectionately

JOHN A. KING.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

Monday, Mar. 17, 1822.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I have sent you the Spanish Message, which imparts all that any of us know on the subject. The Spanish Minister here sent a note to Mr. Secretary Adams in the nature of a protest against the measure—He speaks of the friendship of his Master for the U. S., and of the sacrifice of some of his best Provinces in order to preserve their friendship: after this he could not have anticipated that the U. S. w'd have avowed the purpose of entering into amicable relations with his insurgent Provinces as independent States: but in imitation of the gr. Powers of Europe, who cannot be insensible of the benefits of commercial intercourse with these rich Provinces, that they w'd have abstained from interfering with the controversy between Spain & them. Mr. Adams of course will answer this note & vindicate his Govt.; in the meantime the Envoy has withdrawn to Philadelphia, where he will without doubt wait for instructions from Spain. On the whole the time seems to have arrived for this act on our part; and somehow I feel glad that it has been done before any other *Nation* had given us the example. England must, I think, follow our example, and even France cannot hold back.

The pride of Spain may be hurt, but she will not take any step to shew it. At least I am not able to see how she can manifest her resentment, unless by issuing letters of mark, and inviting foreigners to receive them. Her internal situation is very perplexing, and calls for all her wisdom, and with it all, she will not escape revolutionary convulsions.

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important question, and it was creditable to the character and intelligence of the people that this civil revolution was brought about, and that it finally terminated in a manner so quiet and peaceable. The experience of a few years convinced all candid men who voted with the minority, that the new constitution was preferable to the old."—Hammond's *Political History of New York*, ii., p. 94.

Congress will make the requisite appropriation for the opening of a diplomatic intercourse with the new States, as far as I can form an opinion; no minister will be sent before they may come from the new States; and the grade of the latter will probably regulate that of the former. Don Torres who has been here for more than a year, from Columbia, is a chargé d'affaires and his grade will doubtless regulate that of the minister, on our part.

Mexico has named a Min. plenipo., who is expected in two months, and on this account & because this is our nearest neighbor, I should suppose a Min. of the same rank w'd be sent from the U. S.; from Buenos Ayres, Chili & Peru, we have no agent. Adieu with affectionate Regards to you both. I am always Yrs.

R. KING.

R. KING TO C. KING.

Monday, 17 March, 1822.

DEAR SIR:

I had but a moment yesterday to acknowledge the receit of your letter. On the W. Ind. Restrictions, we shall have no objections or difficulty, especially as the opinion gains ground that England will open the Ports of her Islands. This is earlier than I expected, and we have looked to the step next to be resorted to, which would be exclusion of British rum, and, as some wd. prefer, of all articles of the produce of the Eng. Islands.

If the Ports sh'd be opened this would not be done: but as her system after all will be but partial, allowing the importation of some, and excluding other, articles of our produce, including in the latter fish and salted provisions, it will not be extraordinary should Br. rum hereafter be excluded, or subjected to a prohibitory tax, especially should an excise become necessary on domestic spirits. In the Report made by Mr. Newton, I am informed that he has collected a body of evidence of great importance on this subject. The Report is in the press; when out, I will forward a copy. My Report * is short, and in the

* Mr. King from the Committee on Foreign Relations, in answer to petitions praying a repeal of the restrictions on the West India trade, made a report, on the 15th of March, vindicating at considerable length the expediency and policy of the restrictive system.

After reviewing the history of these restrictions by England, the report says:

"After long endurance and fruitless efforts to adjust this question by treaty,

nature of a review of the laws which have been established by England, operating always to the disadvantage of our Navigation, and asserting the equal rights on our part, to impose restrictions adequate to countervail those of England : to suggest that the indirect trade was of great value, and more so than the direct trade, while confined to Br. vessels, and to insist that if doubtful in matter of interest, still that the counterventory laws being adopted by Congress much could not be revoked without injury to the national character.

It may be expedient to create a power to revoke : but we must wait till the last, as we may hear that such a measure as Mr. Kennedy expects, has at last been begun. But by establishing such authority, on the presumption only of the ports being about to be opened, wd. manifest a solicitude on the subject, which tho' felt in the beginning, grows more & more feeble. Indeed the Senator from Portsmouth N. H. is of opinion that the West India trade, as it now exists, employs more Am. ships or tonnage, than will find employment sh'd the same be open to both Eng. & Am. vessels.

However I am willing, and desirous that the W. Ind. Ports sh'd be opened. . . .

Congress with great unanimity, have passed laws to countervail the restrictions imposed by England upon the intercourse between the United States and her colonies in the West Indies. England having forbidden the importation of supplies from the United States into the West India colonies in American vessels, the United States in their turn have forbidden the exportation of these supplies in British vessels. The two restrictions have put an end to the direct intercourse and the trade is carried on indirectly. . . . In this condition of our navigation and trade, our tonnage continues annually to increase, and the value of our exports exceeds that of our imports. . . .

" By the exclusion of English vessels (by the countervailing laws), American vessels are employed in their place, and whatever is lost to the former is gained by the latter. By revoking the countervailing laws, we take away the profits now enjoyed by American vessels and give them back again to the vessels of England, and in doing so grant a bounty to foreign ships at the expense of our own.

" Navigation and maritime industry, for a peculiar reason, call for national protection ; for the art of navigation is an expedient of war, as well as of commerce, and in this respect, differs from every other branch of industry. Though it was once doubted, doubt no longer exists, that a navy is the best defence of the United States—and this maxim is not more true than that a naval power never has existed, and can never exist, without a commercial marine ; hence the

R. King to C. King.

Friday, 29 Mar. 1822.

Dear Sir:

By letters from Mr. Gallatin to January 30th—it would seem, as I understand, that the new ministry have sent to Mr. Neuville the Instructions, which were purposed by the old or former ministers; but as the discussion is exhausted by the correspondence that has taken place, I can discern no advantage in resuming the same, with the same views on both sides—It having been left to Mr. Gallatin's own choice to return home or stay longer at Paris, it seems probable that he has determined to stay another year—it is said that in one of his last letters, he expressed a wish, for more and explicit Instructions in case he should be expected to resume the negotiation at Paris. Some such conversation is believed to have been held, between Mr. G. and the French minister of for. affrs, as has led to the hope that a further and satisfactory negotiation was about to take place; but as I have understood the purport of this supposed communication, it is of too indefinite a character to authorize much reliance upon the conference referred to. I do not hear that any communication is received relating to the Antwerp Claims, tho' thro' Philadelphia

policy of encouraging and protecting the ships and seamen of the United States."

The report continues, saying that in commercial difficulties,

"the interests of the respective parties are often fallacious and uncertain guides in the policy of the nations; by referring every question of disagreement to the honor of the nation, in the purity and preservation of which every one is alike concerned, a standard is provided that can never mislead. In the least as well as the most difficult disputes, national honor is the safest counsellor—and it should not be forgotten that public injuries long endured invite further aggression, and, in the end, degrade and destroy the pride and safety of nations. . . . The public honor justifies the countervailing measures adopted on this subject: to recede from the same would be equivalent to their final relinquishment, and would not fail to encourage the belief that a wrong so long endured would no longer be opposed, and that further aggression might be made without resistance. . . . As we desire to concur in the establishment of free trade with every nation, we are ready to abandon the restriction to English navigation, as soon as England manifests a disposition to give up the restrictions which she was the first to impose on our navigation."—*Annals of Congress*, 1821–2, page 294.

we have rumours that satisfactory measures on this subject are there expected. We all hope that such measures may take place, & I anxiously desire that your information may not turn out to be erroneous.

Mr. Neuville has sold his furniture ; but as I conceive he will remain here until the close of the Session ; when as is probable, he will retire to New Jersey for the residue of the time he shall continue among us.

If the French minister expected a settlement of the negotiation with Mr. Gallatin, it would have been natural & prudent to detain Mr. Neuville here, in order to complete the treaty by exchanging its ratification. As measures of this sort will affect the ship owners in France, it will leak out, and the first information that we receive, may come from this quarter.

Adieu
R. K.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

J. A. King to King—Yates' Nomination for Governor the best—Goldsborough to King—Approves of Conduct towards Spanish Colonies—Estimate of Presidential Candidates—King to Gore—Question of President's Power to appoint Ministers to the new Colonies—Doubtful—King to C. King—Doubtful if he will appoint before Congress adjourns—Gore to King—Believes he has done some Good—Federalism in Boston nearly extinct—King to J. Mason—Next President much discussed—Commercial Restrictions—Markets of all Nations should be open—Van Buren to King—Conduct last Winter approved by his political Friends—Affairs in Boston—Friendly Assurances—Gore to King—Otis' Retirement—Boston Politics—Middling Interest controlled the Elections—King to Gore—Otis deceived—President will not dismiss Members of his Cabinet—Adams' and Russell's Letters—Dunscomb to King—Elected honorary Member of the Cincinnati—King declines—J. Q. Adams—President's Proclamation relative to the Removal of Restrictions—King's Answer approving his Construction of certain Points—Van Buren to King—Resignation of Judge Van Ness—King—Memorandum about the Same.

J. A. King to R. King.

Jamaica, April 3, 1822.

Dear Sir :

I duly received your letter of the 24th of March and am gratified to perceive from it, that the nomination of Judge Yates for Governor meets with the approbation of those who have the peace and future character of the State most at heart. I saw Judge Skinner on Monday, who is on his way to Washington ; he is decidedly of opinion that Judge Yates is, under all the circumstances, the best candidate that can be offered. He told me that Young might at one time have contested the field with Judge Yates upon more equal terms, but that as the time drew near for the nomination, Young lost and Yates gained friends.

Judge Skinner remarked, that all the old Bank members backed

by the Lobby agents and speculators were actively engaged in supporting Coll. Young's pretensions. This suspected corps of partizans may have caused many of those who at an early period of the Session had decided to take part in Young's favor, to hesitate, and ultimately to give their support to Judge Yates, in whose known character they could at least rely for an incorrupt administration of the affairs of the State. . . .

Affectionately yours JOHN A. KING.

R. GOLDSBOROUGH TO R. KING.

NEAR EASTON, E. S. MARYLD., Apl. 17th, 1822.

MY DEAR SIR :

. . . The measures taken with regard to the South Amern. States seem to meet with the general approbation of the People of the country, and certainly have been quite in time. There seemed to be a fitness in the recognition of their Independence by the Govt. at as early a period as it cd. with propriety be done. It is not only a proceeding on their part in obedience to our example, and defended by the Political Maxims which we have laid down as fundamental, but interest & policy direct that we shd. desire their emancipation, and little doubt I shd. suppose cd. be entertained that it will prove of great advantage to our Country.

The people of these difft. States must require a good deal of assistance in forming their New Govts. and in carrying them into operation ; and probably they cd. obtain that aid from no quarter so beneficially as from our own Country. . . .

The subject of next President appears to engross more conversation than any other. The Gentlen. now up, Adams, Crawford, Clay, Calhoun, & Lowndes, tho' respectable, either from the want of occasion or want of power, have never yet made so strong an impression upon the Public Sentiment as to meet with ardent favour as soon as presented to the public view. The present chance is that the election will not be made by the People. Mr. Clay's visit to Richmond is I suppose now well understood ; and probably, the course of administration in the Treasury Department for some time past may have its constructions too. Mr. Calhoun depends upon his character for imputed talents and energy, whilst poor Mr. Adams seems to have nothing left but the

forlorn hope of the ancient right of succession and a signal proselytism. . . . Mr. Calhoun's friends calculate, I learn, that when Mr. Adams is sensible that he must fail, he & his friends will go over to Mr. Calhoun. One of the candidates, I take to be avowedly engaged in going abroad electioneering for the presidency. This is surely an earlier corruption than was ever anticipated in our system.

Faithfully yours

ROBT. GOLDSBOROUGH.

R. KING TO C. KING.

Friday ev'g, May 3d, 1822.

DEAR SIR:

We shall adjourn on the 8th tho' some Gentlemen would be willing to remain a little longer. It is doubtful whether the President will appoint any of the South American Ministers before the adjournment of Congress, it being, as is understood, his opinion that he may appoint in the recess. Tho' many persons are spoken of as being willing to be appointed, no one seems confident who will in fact be chosen. Today the Pr. sent his nomination to the Senate of General Dearborn, formerly secy. of war, to be Envoy extraordinary to Portugal—the first impression was obviously that of surprise & disapprobation—General Smith of Baltimore has been named by his friends as a fit character, and is unquestionably superior in qualifications to Dearborn. . . .

The probability of an arrangement with France is not diminished. I introduced in my Bill respecting the West India adjustment, a provision giving to the Pr. power to suspend our 18 dol. law on French vessels in case a convention be signed by Adams & Neuville; and as this Bill will pass, Mr. Adams will be relieved from the pressure of the hurry to conclude the convention before the adjournment of Congress. yrs &c

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA, May 14, 1822.

MY DEAR SIR:

Except the military question, we had no subject of interest or disagreement before the Senate. It however brought up the

question which you so fully discussed some years ago, whether the Pr. could appoint ministers to any of the new States in the recess of the Senate; no regular vote was taken, but many opinions were given against the power of the Pr. Notwithstanding, we understand that the President & his cabinet have no doubts of his power, and the probability is, that he will wait for the appointment of ministers by the new States to the U. S., and then send to them ministers in return; in this way he will have time to consider of men, and events, and also to avoid éclat. Names are spoken of for those ministers but, as I conjecture, nothing is decided. Genl. Dearborn goes to Lisbon, where, as nothing is to be done, he may as well go as another. . . .

There is little doubt of the conclusion of a temporary convention with France; Adams and Neuville will sign it—According to our Eng. News, Parliament are abt. to open their W. Ind. Ports to Am. vessels. If we succeed in both these cases it will be much in favor of our power, and of the free principles of trade.

I remain my Dr Sir, with entire Regard, for you both, always Yr's

R. KING.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, May 15, 1822.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

. . . I congratulate you, on the close of what I should suppose, must have been to you a long & laborious Session, for you appear to have taken a full share of the Business & may console Yourself with having done some Good & prevented some Mischief; although not, as to either, so much, as you had a Right to expect. Dearborn, Minister to Portugal! Talents & Character, it would seem, are not necessary with the sapient President to all Diplomatic Offices . . . In Boston City what little of old Federalism remained will soon be extinct in the opinion of Lowell & others. Anything like Disapprobation of Mr. M. or his Cabinet is not suffered to escape from any Press, or even the smallest Examination of their Measures. M. is supposed equal to Washington & Crawford to Hamilton. President Adams is considered to have the same Views & declare the same Sentiments at the present

Day, as when he wrote his Book on Balance or presided as Chief of the Nation : and his Son the Secretary, as when he wrote against Sullivan, & in Favour of the British Constitution and against the French System of Liberty & Rights of Men. . . .

Your faithful Friend

C. GORE.

R. KING TO J. MASON.

JAMAICA, L. I., May 17, 1822.

MY DEAR SIR:

I thank you for your obliging letter received at Washington. After a long & unprofitable Session, Congress adjourned last week ; our South American Recognition ought tc make and as I hope, will make no change in our political relations—tho' some apprehend difficulties.

At the early period of the Session we saw much eagerness on the subject of next President, but the disinclination manifested by some of the State Legislatures, to enter into an early discussion of the question had the effect to discourage the same ; and the Session finished, leaving the Candidates in the situation in which it found them. Mr. Adams stands where he was, Calhoun did not advance, Crawford holds his own, and Clay is encouraged to persevere. His hopes rest on the election to be made by the H. of R. The subject will be resumed at the next session ; and events which may occur in the interval, may serve to render men more decided and explicit.

The competition between the heads of Departments creates jealousies and divisions in the proceedings of Congress ; and these will be increased in future sessions. The situation of the incumbent is such as might have been expected. The last year or two of his Predecessor exhibited but little evidence of the attachment or fidelity of his political friends ; the close of the actual Presidency will not be in this respect more fortunate.

Our commercial difficulties with France will as I conceive be settled by a convention between Mr. Adams and Mr. Neuville It will be only for a year or two, but will probably lead to a future and reciprocally beneficial adjustment. From England we have information that their W. Ind. Ports are about to be opened ;

some persons doubt whether in the present state of our navigation, the opening of the trade to B. & Amer. vessels will be advantageous ; but they who have most considered the subject of commerce, best understand the advantages of its freedom and with confidence depend upon its penetrating qualities and the tendency thereof to its increase. If the markets of all Nations were open, the consequence wd. be to create the highest stimulus to commercial enterprise and human industry. I am persuaded that this theory is the true one for the People of the U. S. and it is a comfort for me, to believe that it will make our Country illustrious.

Your obt & faithful Servant

RUFUS KING.

M. V. BUREN TO R. KING.

ALBANY, 31st May, 1822.

MY DEAR SIR :

It would give me great pleasure to spend a few days with you, and return you my sincere thanks for your polite invitation, but the state of my concerns *in presenti* & the character of my projects *in futuro* will not admit of it. I will leave here about the 6th with Archer and others, & will write you from *Montreal* when I will be at Boston, where it is my design to go, & where it would give me the greatest pleasure to meet you, & with you to visit our *queer friend* Otis & his excellent family. I place no confidence in his reports from Washington ; we know Mr. Monroe too well to expect any thing from him of the character spoken of. Our conduct last winter meets the approbation of all my old political friends ; their feelings on the subject are very strong & universally the same as far as I can learn. The danger which I sometimes apprehended that the fear of being regarded as opposed to the administration would deter the timid and interested, has gone by, & henceforth I feel my course clear & comparatively easy. I hope we shall have a delegation at Washington in twenty four which will enable us to take the stand to which our numbers & resources entitle us & which our honour requires.

You have doubtless seen that the Junta people in Boston, as

they are called, have met with a total overthrow & that Otis has taken leave of the people with a dying declaration in favour of the purity and patriotism of the Hartford Convention. I have frequently figured to myself the distress he must have undergone & from my heart felt sorry for him, for with all his excentricities & imperfections there is something about him which I like & especially his uncommon devotedness to his family. Permit me in conclusion to return you my unfeigned thanks for the kind feeling you have throughout our acquaintance & particularly the last winter evinced toward me. I shall ever regard the intimacy which has grown up between us as one of the most fortunate incidents in my life & value it the more from an entire conviction that it must last with our lives.

With perfect esteem & respect

Yours truly

M. V. Buren.

C. Gore to R. King.

Waltham, June 2, 1822.

My dear Friend :

. . . Mr. Otis has, *with the Homage of his high Respect*, resigned his Seat in the Senate, & I am told Mr. Lloyd desires the Place and will probably be chosen. Webster, it has been intimated, would be gratified by the Appointment, and although I once should have been sorry to see him quit the very lucrative Station he holds at the Bar, but as it seems that however much he may justly earn & receive from his Profession, he will never be other than he has been for years in his pecuniary Relations, I should be happy if the Nation could have the Benefit of his Services in Congress. Our Politics here are rapidly changing, and we only want some call on the Passions of the People to produce a change in the Rulers of the State. The great moderation & mediocrity of all that composes the Executive & his affairs will for some time insure his Reelection. What used to be the Federal Party died long since by Suicide. The men, who induced Govr. Strong, contrary to his own judgment & to his orders transmitted from North Hampton for the array of the Troops, conformably to the Call of the President, to refrain from placing the Militia under

the U States Officers, have been willing to have it believed, that he alone was the Cause of the Refusal to meet the Demand of the U States. They have ever been desirous to barter anything for the Payment of Massts' Claim, on account of the Expence of Defending the State. The Gentleman, to whom your Letter alludes, did all in his Power to promote the first Election of Mr. Monroe. Although he failed then, at the second choice, he succeeded to insure him a unanimous Vote. He continually advised the Govr from Washington to praise the Fed. admin, in his public speeches, and though he failed in this for a long time, he finally prevailed by a long Epistle of Solicitation to the C. Justice, who induced the Chief in his next Communication to the Legislature to gratify him in the Desire. The Missouri Question was managed in a like disgraceful Manner before the Legislature. Nothing but the most fulsome & indiscriminate Praise has been lavished from all our Presses on the Measures and Officers of the Nation. To this Gentleman, more than to any other Individual this Cause may be justly ascribed whether it prove for Good or Ill. On his return from Congress he harangued in Faneuil Hall, for the Purpose of bringing back the Citizens to the wanted Rule; but in vain. The Election which succeeded & which this Discourse was intended to influence discovered the Party, called Federal, minus by one third in number of Votes. The men, the opposition now called Middling Interest, elected were probably as good, as those on the other List, but it showed their Power, which will be used for any other Purpose. . . .

Your faithful Friend

C. GORE.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA, Wed., 5 June, 1822.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . I rec'd a few days ago a letter from O. saying that he heard from what he deemed a sure quarter, that the cabinet quarrel at Washington has become more violent, and so much so that it is not unlikely that Crawford will be removed. Now of this quarrel I know nothing beyond the disagreement wh' was, thro' the winter, understood to exist between the Cabinet candidates for

the Presidency. But it would be most extraordinary, and against every idea that has been formed of the character of Mr. Monroe, should he take the part of dismissing any one from office, and especially one of the gentlemen who are spoken of as candidates for the Presidency. The course of Mr. Monroe is to go thro' his term, with as much peace as he may be allowed to enjoy : and as respects his successor to leave that matter to those who, whether he so desires or not, will have the power to settle it.

The controversy between Adams & Russell * has been most unwisely provoked by the latter ; the triumph seems, in the opinion of every one, to be given to the former. No antecedent document has been more in favor of Mr. Adams' talents, and none will be more useful to him, tho' I do not see that his course is free from great discouragement. Clay is yet to put himself forward ; and Russell's letter seems to have reference to his pretentions : if he can prevent an election by the electors, and obtain votes enough to be a candidate before the H. of Rep, he may hope for & it is possible that he may attain, the Presidency. Under present circumstances Crawford's chance is inferior to that of no one ; and sh'd the worst happen, wh' Mr. O conjectures to be not improbable, he w'd most probably succeed.

R. KING.

D. E. DUNSCOMB TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, July 4, 1822.

DEAR SIR :

I have the honor to inform you, that at the annual meeting of the New York State Society of the Cincinnati, held at the City Hall this day, you were unanimously elected an honorary member.

With great respect, I am your M. obt. Servt

D. E. DUNSCOMB, Secretary

[Endorsed : " Ansd. Nov. 1822. declining the honor, inasmuch

* Mr. Adams speaking of Mr. Russell's letter says : " It is a letter of seven folio sheets of paper, and amounts to little less than a denunciation of the Ghent mission for proposing the article recognizing the fishery right and the British right to navigate the Mississippi, in the proposal of which he concurred. Russell wrote this letter at Paris, where we all were, without ever communicating it to me, or letting me know that he had any intention of writing such a letter. It is a most elaborate, disingenuous and sophistical

as more than 30 years ago, it was proposed to me in another State to become a member, which, being in civil life, and not entitled to participate in the honors won and enjoyed by the military defenders of their country, I declined. R. K."]

J. Q. Adams to R. King.

WASHINGTON, 15 August, 1822.

DEAR SIR:

I enclose herewith a copy of the British Act of Parliament opening the British ports in *America* and the West Indies to our Vessels: and a draft which I have prepared for a Proclamation of the President, under the act of Congress of 6 May last. You will see the minute endorsed on the draft of the Proclamation by the President; and I ask the favour of your opinion with regard to the propriety of the restriction, which you will observe is *reciprocal*, to that in the third section of the British Act.

There is another question upon which I wish for your opinion, the more as I think the Act of 6 May last was drawn and matured by you—The authority of the President to issue his Proclamation, opening the Ports of the United States to British Vessels, is to be exercised, on satisfactory evidence being given to him, that the Ports in the *Islands or Colonies* in the West Indies, under the dominion of Great Britain, have been opened to the Vessels of the United States, and is to operate in favour of British vessels employed in the trade and intercourse between the United States and *such Islands or Colonies*—There seems by the words of the Act to be a limitation to the trade with the Islands and Colonies in the *West Indies*.

The British Act opens *certain Ports* not only in the West

argument against principles in which he concurred, and the joint letter of the 25th November to which he signed his name."

In a note to this, Mr. C. F. Adams speaks with regret of Mr. Russell's act, but says

"It was the most unprovoked and envenomed attack of his (Mr. Adams) character as a statesman, of the many which he was called to meet, and, but for the fortuitous preservation of his papers by Mr. Monroe, might have served to fix a material blot forever upon his career. As it turned out, the effect was largely to advance him in public esteem, whilst his accuser suffered a corresponding severe penalty for his offence." *Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, v., p. 497 *et seq.*

Indies, but in *North America* to Vessels of the United States— Was it not the *intention* of the Act of Congress of 6 May last to authorize the President to proceed *pari passu* with the British Government in opening the Ports, and of course to open our Ports to British Vessels coming from Quebec, Halifax, St. Johns and St. Andrews in New Brunswick, and St. Johns, Newfoundland, as well as those coming from Ports in the West Indies? I have so presumed and have drafted the Proclamation accordingly.

It is proper to apprise you, that during the passage of the British Act, through the House of Commons, a formidable opposition appearing against it, one of the arguments used against its passage was, that it would not be met by a corresponding measure on the part of the United States. Mr. Robinson, the President of the Board of Trade, in consequence of this had interviews with Mr. Rush, in which the latter, though declaring he had received no recent instruction from us on the subject, expressed his entire belief that in the event of the passage of the Act, corresponding measures of co-extensive liberality would be immediately adopted on our part.

If the restriction in the draft of the Proclamation of importations in British Vessels, to articles of the growth, produce or manufacture of the Island or Colony, from which the Vessel shall directly come, be too narrow, would it be expedient to insert in its stead, a restriction to Articles of the Growth, produce or manufacture of the *British Colonies* in the West Indies for Vessels coming from the West Indies, and to Articles of the growth, produce or manufacture of the British Colonies in North America, for Vessels coming from North American Ports?

I beg your answer as may suit your convenience, and remain with great Respect, Dear Sir very faithfully yours

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

[Letter endorsed in R. King's handwriting:

"Recd. 19th. ansd. 20. Augt.

"Returned the papers as desired. His interpretation of the Law giving the Pr. authority to open the ports of the U. S. correct; restriction to build & seamen of Br. vessels right; preferable to limit the cargoes of Br. vessels from W. In. to articles of the produce of Br. Colonies in West Ind. and cargoes of Br. Vessels

from Northern Amer. Br. Colonies to the produce of such Colonies—instead of confing. the same to produce of the Island or Colony where shipped."]

M. V. Buren to R. King.

21st Sept., 1822.

Dear Sir:

Was your jaunt to Boston a pleasant one, & how is your health. What says Otis—is he not sorry that he has resigned? You have doubtless seen the Washington Republican, & the attack on humble me. I am somewhat at a loss whether to notice it or not. I have not the remotest objection to quarrel with *those gentlemen* if they desire it, but feel some solicitude about the time. Our political aspects look well, Walworth *retires* & Sterling goes by the board. Among the big lies & little lies which they have busied themselves in telling about me, this summer, is one which makes me quarrel with a Gen'l. Breckinridge and receive & refuse a challenge from him. He is a gentleman whom I never saw, & it so happens that I have had no personal altercation with any one: why the deuce is it that they have such an itching for abusing me? I try to be harmless, and positively good natured, & a most decided friend of peace. The judges are determined to keep on the bench & the party, as far as I can hear, are as decided to have them off. Justice Hardenburgh will have a hard time of it. He this week had a foretaste of the trouble which greatness brings. Clinton finding that he had not resigned & he being absent on his courts, he, C., called the council & had Van Ness' resignation formally accepted by them & entered on the minutes, & after having twice met without receiving a resignation from Yates they broke up. It was then immediately given out that Yates' resignation was necessary to qualify him, that it could not be valid without being made to, & rec'd by the Council & that as he had omitted to do so, all votes given for him would of course be lost. The Secretary sent for the Judge who had been home three days; he came down in person, resigned, sent one copy to the Gov. & one to the Secretary. The Council convened & addressed a letter to his Excellency requesting him to meet them stating the fact of Ys'

resignation. His Excellency sent them a violent letter, in which he upbraided them for neglect of duty, for improper conduct in disregarding the decision of a military court, & told them that he did not think that the public good required that he should call the Council, but if he should change his mind he would let them know; upon which they went about their respective concerns & have gone to their homes. The Judge was mad but what was said & done I must leave for oral communication. The pretence that the assent of the Council is necessary to his resignation is utterly futile. But it afforded amusement to Clinton & some little to all of us.

Affectionately Yrs.

M. V. Buren.

In the handwriting of R. King.

The resignation of Van Ness, matter of concert with his colleagues including the Gov. Yates, who would thereby be prepared to nominate the three remaining in office under the new Constn. Spencer told Van Buren in confidence after the resignation of Van Ness, that Clinton promised not to call the old Council of Appointment together, and thereby avoid the nomination of a Judge in the place of V. N. Nevertheless Clinton (perhaps to embarrass Spencer, for tho' friends formerly they had become enemies) convened the Council about the time the first elections were to take place under the new Constitution; and proposed to them to appoint a Judge in V. N's place, and intimated that unless Yates also resigned previous to the election, the votes given for him, being a Judge, wd. be lost. The Council probably consulted V. B., and declined to appoint a new Judge.

Yates, who was at Schenectady, having lately returned from the western circuit, was apprized of Clinton's opinion and becoming alarmed sent his resignation of the Judgeship to his namesake Mr. V. N. Yates, the Secretary of State, directing him to record the same, and to send a copy to the Council of appointment. Tho' the Council had adjourned, the members still remained in Albany, and on receiving notice of Yates' resignation, they sent a letter to Gov. Clinton informing him thereof, and that the Council were ready on the Govr's call to meet him in order to accept

Judge Yates' resignation, wh. the Govr. had contended was necessary to qualify him as Candidate for Govr. Govr. Clinton replied somewhat sharply, reproving them for not having concurred in his suggestion at their late meeting and telling them, if he shd. want their advice he would inform them thereof.

It became notorious on the inauguration of the Constitution that the Gov. was inclined and the Senate disinclined to the reappointment of the old Judges. Various conjectures of the conduct of the Gov. were made. V. B. believed that he wd. nominate, if he believed the Senate wd. confirm : but wd. not, if he thought they wd. reject. The Gov. did nominate, and tho' he could not have been ignorant of the decision of the Senate, his having done so, wh. involves him in controversy, & endangers his Popularity, is only to be explained by the influence of Spencer over him, & the understanding or agreement between him and the old Judges.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Van Buren to King—Conversation with Spencer, defending King—King's Endorsement of the Statement—Gore to King—Friendly Letter—King to Gore—Greek Cause nearly hopeless—Lafayette to King—Political Condition of Europe—The United States can help the Greeks and the South American Republics—Beaumarchais' Claim—Cleaveland—Moody of Dummer School—Opinion of King as a Boy—Gore to King—Boston's Election of Webster—E. King to King—Clay's Attack on Adams—King to C. King—Gallatin not appointed to treat with Neuville on Claims against France—King to C. King—Clay's Publication on the Treaty of Ghent—King to J. A. King—Advises Reserve by the Legislature on the Presidential Question—This must be of a sectional Character—King to J. A. King—Neuville insincere—King to C. King—Havre does not approve of the Convention with France—Ill Effect of France's Delays—Canning on West India Restrictions unsatisfactory.

M. Van Buren to R. King.

Albany, Sept. 21, 1822.

My dear Sir :

I yesterday for the first time, had an opportunity to speak fully to the Chief Justice on the subject of his feelings toward you, which I told you I would do. He called on me and manifesting a disposition to talk freely, I embraced the occasion to say to him that you had understood that he had spoken of you in an unfriendly manner, that as you were conscious that you had not done anything to deserve his ill will, you were mortified at the circumstance, & that if he had no objections I wished he would state to me the grounds of his displeasure. This he said he would cheerfully do & proceeded to say, that the vote you gave on Wheaton's resolution, (in the convention), disappointed him, but that he did not consider himself as having a right to dispute with you on that point, farther than as it respected the motives which

governed you, & that he had been told by Mr. Elbert Jones that you had said, in explanation of your vote, that you did not support the resolution because you knew it could not succeed. An additional & the most serious ground of his complaint, & which he said had excited him much, was that you had ridiculed the application he made for your advice, as to the propriety of his leaving the convention for the court. But he had consulted you in good faith, under the belief that you would advise him as a friend, & from a respect for your opinion, & that when he learnt (from a quarter the credibility of which he was not at liberty to question) that you had turned that act so much to his prejudice, & in a manner so offensive, he had not concealed the character of his feelings towards you. He declined giving his author for the latter matter. I told him that the respectability of Mr. Jones was such as to justify him in placing the utmost confidence in his statement; but that as I knew no man who was less likely to act from such motives, I was persuaded that Mr. Jones had misunderstood you or had been misunderstood by him; that you had spoken to me of the application he had made for your advice, and in a manner totally different from the one which had been reported to him, & that from that circumstance, as well as from my knowledge of your feelings and disposition in general & towards him in particular, I could take upon myself to say that it was impossible that the information he had received could be true. I informed him that it was with your knowledge and approbation that I broached the subject to him, and took the liberty of adding, that from your situation he must be sensible, that a desire that your own conduct should stand exonerated from the imputation of having done anything improper, towards a gentleman of whom personally you thought well, & of whom you had on several occasions spoken as you felt, must be your chief object for enquiring into the grounds of his complaints.

With respect & esteem
Your friend Hon Sect
M. V. Buren.

On the outer page of this letter is in R. King's handwriting the following:

"Ansd. 24th Sept. 1822.

"Conclusion of letter.

"I might say a few words in respect to your conference with the C. J.; but perhaps had better defer it to a future opportunity. Still I may now observe, that concerning Wheaton's proposition, as no explanations can be asked, none can be given; tho' in respect to the same proposition as contained in Monro's Report on the Judiciary, wh. I thought might have been worked into a good system, the C. J. and his Brethren frowned upon it and the Report was recd. with disfavor by the Convention.

"In respect to the other point, wh. if true would have been illiberal & offensive, I owe it to myself and him to say that it is not only untrue, but that it is a deliberate falsehood."

C. Gore to R. King.

Waltham, Sep. 28, 1822.

My dear Friend:

I am truly and deeply obliged for your kind and affectionate visit. On your arrival, I was recovering from a severe indisposition. Your company animated and restored me to something like life. I am still in as good Health; my Limbs not stronger nor my Joints freer, but I do not suffer that enervating Debility of Body, nor, what is worse, that fatal and fearful Inanity of Mind which forebodes the most dreadful Consequences. Perhaps, and I devoutly pray God it may be so, I have a morbid Excess of Apprehension, which may never be realized. . . .

I hope you will not for several winters to come refrain from going to W. You do much Good & prevent much Evil, and the Solitude of the Winter at Jamaica is avoided & Home rendered more agreeable in the Summer, by the Vexation & Toils of the preceding Season & the Journey in going & returning. I fully estimate the Inconveniences of your Situation under the Privations you have endured, & the almost Hopelessness of removing them from a Mind of Sensibility & Prudence. Occupation & Employment seem to be more necessary to an old than to a young man. And Washington affords these, though I confess with many Deductions from the Pleasure it formerly produced, when wise & distinguished men principally regulated the affairs of the Nation,

and we were full of Hope & the Scenes of Life filled with Promise. . . .

Sincerely & affectionately
your faithful Friend,
C. GORE.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA, L. I., Nov. 3, 1822.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . Mr. Lloyd declines the Presidency of the Bank; he doubtless anticipates a Reelection this winter to the Senate—this probability is increased by Webster's consenting to be a candidate to the H. of Representatives, which I think he w'd not do, was an appointment to the Senate made probable.

Can it be that the middling, or any other class in Boston, prefer J. Putnam to D. Webster, who in point of Genius and rare Endowment is inferior to no man among us?

In Washington Gales & Doct. Thornton have disagreed respecting the sending of succour to the Greeks; the Question is postponed, and according to our last news & according to an article from the Allgemeine Zeitung, a paper devoted to the Greeks, "the Turks having been able to pour into the Morea a very large force derived from the Ottoman Northern Provinces, the Greeks have been defeated in several engagements, and the result has been ruin and despair. In every quarter terror & dismay prevail, and the utmost efforts of the leaders to re-collect their scattered forces have proved ineffectual. There are no details of the late discomfitures, but various accounts by the way of Trieste agree that the defeat has been decisive."

Before the dispersion of the Senate a Proclamation was published, exhorting the Greeks to persevere in the cause of Christian Liberty, although their efforts were for the present baffled—they also again call upon the Powers of Europe to afford assistance. If this paragraph should be, as I fear it is, true, the failure of succour from the American Metropolis will not prove to be of serious importance: and the cause of the Cross will not be lost, in consequence of the disagreement between the Editor of the Nat'l Intelligencer, and the Head clerk of the Patent Office.

RUFUS KING.

LAFAYETTE TO R. KING.

LA GRANGE, NOV. 10, 1822.

MY DEAR SIR :

Public papers of the several European Countries are very proper channels to convey information which compared together by an experienced statesman may give him an adequate idea of the situation of affairs. But I know you are not insensible to the pleasure of hearing from another person, an old friend, who shall ever be more heartily attached to you.

The politics of Europe are critical ; a Congress at Verona has afforded some signs of misunderstanding between two great powers. Russia feels she has been over Complaisant for the theories of the *Sainte Alliance*, when in opposition to her eastern interests ; Great Britain is endeavoring to obtain the confidence of Spain, the Commerce of South America and an influence over that very Greece where she has protected, if not encouraged, Ottoman cruelty and brutality. The passions of the governing power in France mislead their polity in every point ; yet some thing has already issued from the deliberations among the several representatives of *privilege* which the defenders of *right* will not wait long to know ; in the mean while a late succés of Mina against the troops of the Regency of Urgel has very timely damped the sanguine Hopes of the Counter Revolutionary party.

The actual leaders of Constitutional governments in the Peninsula are not yet reconciled I will say to the idea of South American independence, due to the unpopularity attending its acknowledgement. Saving that great error, their conduct is patriotic, spirited and of much importance to the liberties of Europe. They of course have the wishes of all liberal men on this side of the Atlantic. So have the Greeks to the highest degree, and when I think that two ships of the line, nay three or four large frigates, and a loan of some money should insure their independence, I lament that such an assistance be withheld from them. Loans have been found among Capitalists for objects less momentous ; just what will be done at Verona with respect to the New Grecian Republic we do not yet know ; but have rejoiced to hear the American flag has appeared on those seas, altho' only on board a frigate and small vessels, and consider the United States as the only disinterested patronage which might insure their

real freedom. Of the affairs of France I shall say very little referring you to the journal of both parties. Elections for a fifth of the Chambre des Deputés are going to take place ; government does me and some of my friends the honor to oppose our election with all their might. I have been desired by a friend of mine, formerly my aid-de-camp in the national guards, to mention an interesting claim upon the treasury of the U. S. You are acquainted with the affair, as it has been often debated. The daughter of Beaumarchais, wife to M. de la Rue, has addressed Congress. Both deserve much regard. It has been suggested the claim might be referred to a judicial examination. My remembrance of Beaumarchais' activity in the first period of our Revolution, is an additional motive for my mentioning this claim which, no doubt, will be carefully deliberated upon in the actual session of Congress.

Be pleased, my dear sir, to present my affectionate regards to all the family and believe me forever,

Your most sincere friend

LAFAYETTE.

There is a letter from Nehemiah Cleaveland, Newburyport, of November 12, 1822, informing Mr. King that an association had been formed by persons who had received their primary education at the Dummer School, at Byfield, under Mr. Moody, to restore it to its former influence, and asking him to become a member of the association, saying, "they will very highly appreciate the name & aid of one whom the excellent Moody was wont to mention as his son, with even more than paternal praise."

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, 15th Nov., 1822.

MY DEAR SIR :

. . . Boston has done, as she ought ; elected Webster by a great majority, although many feared otherwise. There really was no objection urged against him, except a superiority of talent, and this was imprudently pressed upon him as a disqualification for public office.

So much has been said in the public Papers of Mr. Webster's

having been preferred to Mr. Lloyd, & that the latter could not & would not have been chosen had not the former declined, that I should not be surprized if Mr. L. should now refuse to be a candidate for the office the next six years. . . .

ever your faithful friend

C. GORE.

E. KING TO R. KING.

GALLISPOLIS (O.), Novr. 24, 1822.

DEAR SIR:

. . . Ohio is decided at present for Mr. Clay, and I know no person, who would be able to alienate her, except Mr. Clinton, who would receive the support of the North and Eastern part of the State. He (Mr. Clay) will undoubtedly be the first choice, and I think perhaps Mr. Adams the second. If however the Missouri question should present itself, in the contest, Ohio probably would leave her favorite and support Mr. Adams.

The politicians of this State foretell, that the election of President will come into the House of Reps., and on that presumption strongly count on Mr. Clay, who will be there in person to manage the storm. However many of them, I know, draw the information of probable results from Clay himself. I have had some conversations with him, and am satisfied, *entre nous*, that the attack on Adams did not altogether originate with Mr. Russell. He stated the facts to me and I believe to others at Columbus in the January preceding the call, and stated that "he knew no reason why the facts should be longer concealed." In this however they have been foiled, and altho' I do not like Mr. Adams, I feel gratified at his escape from that snare, and think the *cats-paw*, Russell, well punished.

Believe me

Your affectionate Son

EDW. KING.

R. KING TO C. KING.

WASHINGTON, Dec'r 13, 1822.

DEAR SIR:

. . . Gallatin, tho' less confident than formerly, still expresses a hope that something may be done respecting the Am. claims

before he leaves France. The letters from him are not of late dates; the Depart. of State have no information that Neuville is appointed* amb. to the Porte, but are informed by Gallatin that Mr. N—— has been appointed to treat with him, G., on Am. claims, and that he is busy in hunting up French claims, those of Beaumarchais, those of grants of land in Louisiana and of commercial losses, arising from what the French call an unsound construction of the Louisiana Treaty in respect to tonnage & other duties in order to swell up a sum to set off agst. the am. claims.

Gallatin positively returns in the Spring. . . .

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO C. KING.

Dec'r 19, 1822.

DEAR SIR:

In yesterday's Intelligencer we had Mr. Clay's publication on the subject of the Ghent negotiation, to which Mr. Adams replies in the same paper of this morning. The insinuations of Mr. Clay are manfully met by Mr. Adams; and I am mistaken if in public opinion Mr. Clay is not placed in a situation that may be found a little embarrassing. The Kentucky Candidate should have strictly adhered to his game; *agere non scribere* was his course, and he has been off his guard to depart from it.

Yrs Tr

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

WASHINGTON, Decr. 22, 1822.

DEAR SIR:

. . . I see nothing new respecting the Presidency—many gentlemen are anxious, and have the appearance of being busy & inquisitive; but no one is able to bring much to pass. Whether any agitator will endeavour to influence your Legislature I cannot tell, but if the members are wise, they will not be prematurely

*Mr. C. King had, Nov. 30th, written to Mr. King that his correspondent abroad had sent the information that "Mr. Neuville is or is to be appointed to negotiate with Mr. Gallatin on American claims," and that he had intimated that a separate claim had better be made for certain goods "sold to the war department, which might be paid at once."

committed. There will be time enough and nothing will be lost by a discreet reserve; individually there are good reasons agt. your becoming a partizan prematurely. The Question must assume in the end a sectional character—and the public feelings may reach such a tone, as may prove quite embarrassing for those who early & actively support a distant Candidate. . . .

Very faithfully yrs.
RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

GEORGETOWN, Decr. 28, 1822.

DEAR SIR:

. . . According to Charles, the French claim is further delayed. . . . I still think, as I have for some time believed, that Neuville is insincere, and more likely to disserve than benefit the claim. With all his pretensions to partiality, he does not like America, and will not be inclined to render services to her just claims. . . . I cannot but believe they (the French claims) may ultimately be recovered in whole or part.

affectly. yours
R. K.

R. KING TO C. KING.

WASHINGTON, Dec'r 28, 1822.

DEAR SIR:

I do not know that late letters are rec'd from France: those formerly rec'd from Mr. Gallatin gave information that the Govt. of France had referred the Convention with the U. S. to the several Chambers of Commerce for the purpose of ascertaining their opinion on the regulations which by the Convention w'd be established. The same spirit that has heretofore shewn itself respecting advantages to be obtained by imposing differential duties on the navigation & trade between the two Countries without doubt still exists; tho' the expectation of being gratified may be less confident. It is however understood that the Chamber at Havre were indisposed to the ratification of the article, which either side may reject without affecting the other articles composing the Convention. The Parisian goods imported from Havre are supposed

to be of equal value, to the cotton & tobacco imported from the U. S. to the same place. The effect thereof w'd be equivalent to the equality of duties on the Shps. of the two Countries; and therefore objectionable to the ship-owners of Havre. Nothing has been done in the Senate on this subject, which may without inconvenience still wait for further information from France.

Count Minon, chargé d'affaires of France & who expects to be appointed Envoy, spoke to me some days ago about the affairs of the claims of the two Countries. Tho' the place was not a suitable one, the President's drawing Room, I expressed pretty strongly my opinion of the delay, amounting to a plain indisposition of France to do justice to the claims of the U. S., and added that while I was disposed to be just on all occasions, the effect of these postponements of France would, & did, produce an inclination to do nothing beyond rigorous justice; that France has made compensation to almost all the Govt's of Europe, for injuries done by what they called the usurped Govt. but to the U. S. they had made no true reparation, tho' no claim was so strong as those of America. The Count alluded to the refusal of England to do justice to yr. claim, insinuating that it arose from acts wh' were peculiarly confined to England; also to the refusal of Naples; that France has not yet refused but delays only, and ultimately might do what we asked, &c, &c. I returned to the ill temper wh' the treatment of France produced in this country, and which already had weakened old attachments, & if persisted in, w'd destroy them altogether.

Mr. Canning besets Mr. Adams with claims of equality in respect to duties and charges of all sorts on the W. Ind. intercourse—when called on to state the charges, duties &c imposed on Am. objects in the Eng Colonies, he shewed inofficial statements, which may, or may not, be correct; and declines to reduce to the form of an official note, the statement of the duties, charges & expenses, wh' alone are imposed in the Colonies on Am. vessels. He does not assert, & probably cannot, that no higher or other duties or charges are imposed on American than on British vessels. The Maitlands, and others of N. York, and Norfolk, are the owners of these claims. The truth is no one can yet give much information of the duties & charges imposed in the Colonies on Am. vessels, because no table of duties & charges,

except in the late act of Parliament, has anywhere been established.

The House have passed a Bill, wh' is before the Commtee. of the Senate repealing the Restriction by wh. Am. vessels are forbid to import from the Br. Colonies any article not of the production of the Colony whence imported. To repeal this Restriction w'd open a new claim on the part of Eng. that their vessels should have equal liberty. This surely would be unwise. . . .

R. KING.

CHAPTER XXX.

King to C. King—Bill to regulate West India Trade—King to C. King—Doubts Van Buren's being in Favor of Spencer—Opinion about Presidential Candidates—Otis to King—Deprecates his Leaving the Senate—King to J. A. King—Presidential Question in New York—King to C. King—Feeble Nominations to foreign Missions—Gallatin will stay in France as long as he can—King to C. King—Jackson's Nomination to Mexico good—E. King to King—Ohio's Nomination of Clay—May cause sectional Opposition—King—Sanford and American Missions—King to Gore—Opinions respecting the Presidential Candidates—King to J. A. King—Advising Publication of the New York Senate Journal—New Tariff will fail in House of Representatives—Approves of moderate Protection only to Manufactures—King to J. A. King—On Publication of Journal—J. A. King to King—Moved to publish Journal—King to C. King—Van Buren prefers Crosswell for the Editor of the *Argus; au fond* for Crawford—King to J. A. King—Sickness of Judge Livingston—Speculations relative to Presidency—Cannot ask Favors for his Family.

R. KING TO C. KING.

WASHINGTON, January 7, 1823.

DEAR SIR:

. . . Enclosed I send you a sketch of a Bill which we shall probably report to the Senate. It does not propose to give carte blanche to G. Br. in the regulation of the trade. To allow to each Colonial port, to import into the U. S. the produce of any of the colonies in wh' the enumerated Ports are situated, extends the provision of the Proclamation, but is not of importance; and it obviates an objection of some force made to the Proclamation. The reciprocating of the restrictions on Am. Vessels, so far as to limit the importation of Colonial articles in Br. vessels, to a direct voyage from the Colonial ports to those of the U. S. and the imports from the U. S. to the Colonies to a direct voyage in Br. Ves-

sels, that have come from the Colonies to the U. S., and a prohibition to such vessels to export such articles to any other place than to the Colonial port, requiring bond for the landing in such Colonial port of such exports, will make the regulations more equal.

Whether the forn. tonage duty & the 10 p'r cent on the duties on the importation of Colonial articles in Br. vessels, will be enough to equalize the advantages of Br. Ships in being allowed to carry to the Colonial ports free of duty from the N. A. colonies, or from G. B. like articles to those which if carried from the U. S. will pay a duty averaging nearly 10 p'r cent ad valorem, and the further advantage of other articles not allowed (tho' abounding in the U. S.) to be carried from the U. S. to the Colonies, may be doubtful. If they are not sufficient to equalize the trade we may be obliged to impose a higher duty on Eng. colonial articles, than on the like articles of the Spanish and other forn. Colonies. The right to prohibit rum or other articles is reserved also. Yrs

R. KING.

R. KING TO C. KING.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9, 1823.

DEAR SIR:

. . . As I do not see the Advocate, I know nothing of its course; but I doubt the inference that V. B——* has taken any measures with the Gov'r to lead him to any individual course; & therefore disbelieve that he has pressed the appointment of S. I have little doubt that he thinks very highly of the talent & learning of this veteran, but he is too much awake & too sagacious to

* C. King had written on January 7th as follows:

"Much solicitude exists among the politicians, as to the new Governor's course particularly in relation to the Judiciary, and it is surmised pretty confidently from an article in this morning's Advocate, that Van Buren & his friends desire the Chief Justice should be reappointed—the feeling however of the State at large is, I hope & believe, against such a reappointment."

On January 11th, R. King writes: "V. B. thinks the article on Ch. J. Spencer in the American is ably done: that it truly represents the public opinion. The Advocate has backed out, and will not contend. It is conjectured that Noah may have been pushed forward by M. Davis as the organ of the Ch. J."

have misunderstood the bias of public opinion ; & tho' the Govr. may prefer S., V. B. is unhesitating in the opinion, (and I have little doubt that the Gov. has some how learned the same) that he shd. not, & in *the belief that he will not risk* anything that will be likely to meet with much opposition. If a preference can be indulged without objections, it will be indulged ; otherwise V. B. knows his man too well, to believe that this will happen.

Here the presidential question makes little progress. Adams' reply to Gen'l Smith of Virginia is considered to be an able, and very skillful performance, and, as the Virginians admit, well calculated for the meridian of the antient Dominion : but I apprehend that he cannot become acceptable to the peculiar faith which does & must control the opinions of this region. In Alabama the Senatorial Election was anti-C.—— or otherwise Jacksonian ; in South Carolina Judge Smith lost his election because he was in favor of C., and in N. Carolina, Stokes lost his election by the occurrence of certain local interests ; perhaps the suspicion that he was, (what was not true) opposed to C. and had also some influence against him. N. Carolina is cool on the question, w'd prefer a republican candidate, but thinks it is yet time enough to settle their opinion ; may at present be favorable to C. but there would be no throwing up of hats should he be chosen : his vote to incorporate the Bk of the U. S. is not there forgotten.

RUFUS KING.

H. G. OTIS TO R. KING.

BOSTON, Jany. 11, 1823.

MY DEAR SIR :

. . . In your former letter there was evidently a misgiving in respect to your continuance in the Senate. But I hope you will remain. There is nothing permitted to be done which is worthy of your agency. A common knife grinder can turn " de veels " as well as Monsieur Gallatin or his betters. And when you look around upon your Senate you must feel, if you don't exclaim, quantum mutatus !—But it is pleasant to know there is an old pilot aboard even in a steam boat and on a smooth sea. Besides your health will be promoted by the change of scene and of climate, and I wish that whoever writes your epitaph twenty years hence may

be able to say, that you continued many years at your post, the last of the Romans. It is also certain that you prevent a great deal of mischief, and keep in check the formers of crude projects and cunning devices, which is no small praise or unworthy occupation in one who could do more if he had his own way. . . .

Very truly

H. G. Otis.

R. King to J. A. King.

January, 1823.

Dear Sir:

. . . I am aware that the presidential question will produce in our state as well as others much excitement; with us it is evident to me, that it is to be decided by the array of the old division of Parties, if they can be worked up to a suitable pitch. The Advocate and the American shew that this is to be attempted. Verplanck doubtless must have foreseen that the question would unavoidably lead to this division. He, Verplanck, seems to think that the leaders have less power over the Party, whose views he may oppose, than formerly: whether he judges correctly I am unable to predict, but there are many topics on which they may yet insist with much confidence; and the claim, which they will put forth to be credited on account of the antiquity of their faith and the jealousy which they will endeavor to excite against the advice and arguments of the American, on account of the recent adoption of the Editor by the faithful, are not mere shadows—or if they are, shadows are substances to defective vision. I do not feel quite sure, that the Editor of the American has decided erroneously; thinking as he does, it would have been humiliating to have insincerely followed in the track of the Advocate. He could not have been reserved, on such a question, unless he was willing to be set down as having no opinion, or having a preference, to have no spirit to avow it. In this particular the Editor of a public Journal is differently situated from a private individual. In the case of the latter, circumstances may be allowed to restrain the avowal of his opinions on questions, which he may take further time to decide: perhaps in your actual circumstances this may be your case, tho' Featherstone, who is here, says he understood at Albany, that you are the only member of the Legisla-

ture in favor of J. Q. A. I suggested to you some days since, that perhaps a little reserve on this head might be expedient. You however are after all the best Judge on this subject. The Editor of the Advocate (Noah) was not sincerely your friend at the last Election, and at the next will probably be openly your enemy. Of all this however you better than I can form a correct opinion. How the City will stand on this subject I know not. The Editor of the Advocate lost his influence when he attempted to use it for his own profit; how his power will stand when he urges the claim of another, may be less uncertain. Here the presidential question from one day to another assumes different phases; to-day the interest of Clay seems comparatively to have gained strength. The western members of N. Y'k do not dislike Clay—nor do the northern portion of Pennsylvania. Yet Calhoun has a numerous body in Penn.; he, if out of the question, which some believe to be the case, might prefer Adams; and whatever of influence he may possess in Clay or elsewhere, may be applied in favor of A. Yet this is said to be precarious; and that Calhoun, supposing that A. cannot be chosen, appears to be in his favor, in the expectation, that A.'s friends, when they find his Election hopeless, will give their votes to him in preference to either of the other C's.—Mr. Crawford is embarrassed with his dubious Creed on the question of internal improvement; on Roads & Canals; if he avows his belief that the Constitution gives the power, he offends Virginia, & N. Carolina—if he denies the power he risks Maryland, Penn., Del. & N. York.

His friends say he is in favor of amending the Constitution, which cannot take place, since those who think the Constitution gives the power, will vote agt. amendment, because they believe the Constitution already gives it & are content: and those who do not think it gives the power, will vote against amendment, because they are unwilling to give the power—By urging the amendment in these circumstances, Mr. Crawford keeps dark in respect to an article of political faith, concerning wh' the creed of the next President ought to be & must be known.

The question about manufactures is another, about wh' Mr. Crawford is equally obscure: if he avows himself to be in favor of what is called protecting duties he offends the South and pleases the west & middle States, where except in N York he has little if

any interest ; if he is ag't protection, he gratifies the South, who in the presumption that such is his opinion are already in his favor, at the risk of losing the middle, & western States.

Clay and Adams, as well as Calhoun, are friends of Roads & Canals, and probably in favor of the Power to protect manufactuers by imports on rival foreign articles.

R. K.

R. King to C. King.

Senate Chamber, Jan'y 21, 1823.

Dear Sir :

General Jackson of Tennessee is nominated M. P. to Mexico and John Mason of Columbia Dis't, Secretary of Legation.

Jackson is the best nomination that could be made to Mexico. It is the most important to us of the new States ; we shall have great intercourse with the dominions of Mexico, and may have disputes and controversy with her. On these considerations, & indeed on every account, the nomination of Gen'l Jackson is excellent. Yrs &c

Rufus King.

Edward King, in a letter of January 23d, from Chillicothe, writes to Mr. King that, as he will have seen the Ohio Legislature, " that is a portion of them," had made a nomination of Mr. Clay as candidate for the Presidency ; and that it was probable that unless " some new crisis should occur," Ohio would support him. Should New York and Pennsylvania agree to nominate another candidate, which might unite the Middle and Eastern States, he would probably be elected. He says :

" It does appear to me that the country has not so soon recovered from the Missouri question, and that the Eastern States, if they find the South & West too strong, will be inclined to cry out 'No Slavery,' and by these means compel Ohio and the Western free States to abandon their choice and unite in this policy."

In R. King's handwriting.

SANFORD
Jany. 1823

Early in the Session in a letter to Jno. (his son) I observed that Sanford not improbably wd. be thought of for one of the American missions. Conversing afterwards with J. Q. A., he informed me that Sanford was not spoken of, because conversing with him last winter on the subject of a foreign mission, and having suggested the mission to Spain & Portugal, he did not understand from him that either wd. be acceptable, or that his answer was more no than yes. In the belief that he correctly understood Mr. Sanford, he concluded that an American mission wd. not be acceptable, and for this reason had not brought his name forward for any of these S. A. missions. I immediately wrote a letter to this effect to Jno. and desired that he would shew the same to Sanford who was in Albany. I mentioned no names, but the impression that I understood to have kept him out of sight for the am. missions.

In a letter from Jno. he communicated Sanford's dissatisfaction that he had not been thought of or named ; that he considered it to be the effect of an intrigue by Wm. P. Van Ness and associates ; spoke with temper of the demerits of the Judge, who, as he supposed, was endeavouring to put him, S, out of view in order to obtain an appointment for himself ; concluding by declaring that no one was authorized to give his refusal of any appt. My motive in communicating these opinions to Jno., was in order that Sanford, who was spoken of as Chancellor, or Ch. J. of N. York, might correctly understand what was doing in relation to him here, whether he was likely to receive, or not, any appointment by the President.

I took an opportunity to mention what I had communicated to Jno. to J. Q. A., and also the temper with wh. Sanford asserts that no one was authorized to refuse in his behalf any station to wh. he might be appointed by the President. J. Q. A. recited the conversation between him and Sanford last winter. Nothing respecting the Am. Missions was mentioned in this conversation. They were not then determined upon : that he in fact named the mission to Spain and Portugal, and at the same time spoke of those to France and perhaps England, as being filled ; that Mr. S. observed it was of importance, that the country to wh. the Mission

shd. be sent, should afford the means of educating his children, and this in connexion with the general tenor of his observations, led Mr. A. to conclude that neither Spain nor Portugal wd. be agreeable to Mr. Sanford, tho' he supposed that a mission to Fr. wd. be acceptable. If Spain & Portugal were not agreeable, Mr. A. believed that no one of those to the new Am. States, where the means of education must be inferior to those of Spain & Portugal, would be acceptable.

Mr. Adams said that even under this uncertainty, he in fact mentioned Mr. Sanford's name; he could not press it with confidence, as he doubted whether Mr. S. wd. accept; he did not name the State, but I conjecture it was the mission to Chili, to wh. country Mr. Allen of Vermont is appointed. Mr. Adams added that he had recently received a letter from Sanford, saying that no one was authorized to have refused for him any appointment of the President of the U. S., and that he desired to be understood not to have relinquished his pretensions to any such appointment. At the date of this correspondence Mr. S. was at Albany, conferring with the men of influence on the appointment of chancellor, to which place, he was appointed. Whether Mr. Adams recd. S.'s letter before he named Sanford, he did not mention. Mr. V. Pr. & Secy. of the Navy, whom Sanford suspected of being, in connexion with V. Ness, engaged in excluding him from the Am. Missions, I have reason to believe, knew nothing concerning the appointments that were in fact made.

R. K.

Sunday, Feb. 2, 1823.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

9 Feb., 1823.

MY DEAR SIR:

By this time you are engaged in discussing the merits of your gubernatorial Candidates. I only send you my good wishes for a safe deliverance. Here we talk of Presidents, and the question daily assumes different phases: according to the last information by the last mail, the pretensions sink or rise of the several Candidates.

Crawford is the favorite of a majority of Congress. He has more of the good wishes and exertions in his favor, than any other. Clay has some personal friends who are strongly attached

to him. Calhoun is in the like situation, while Adams having the preference of N. England, is as I conceive without friends who are knitted to him by personal attachments. The opinion of his integrity and of his superiority as a learned statesman, is not disputed by anyone ; but with these qualifications, which are of great worth, a disinclination towards him, grounded on the imputed infirmities which belonged to his father, and added to the want of those properties which produce and maintain personal attachments, prevails to an extent that it will be found difficult to overcome. If what Mr. Walsh calls the Universal Yankee Nation shd. unite in his favor it wd. produce effect, particularly in N. York; but the managers will resort to devices to prevent this union.

Mr. Crawford with a predisposition in his favor, has against him some difficulties with which he is embarrassed, and about wh. he desires to remain in darkness. The question of Roads & Canals, wh. has been supposed to belong to the states respectively, and not to the U. S., has become most important, both in the opinion of those who find the power in the Constitution of the U. S. and those who believe it to be exclusively in the respective States.

Jefferson, Madison, & Monroe, were of the latter class. Several efforts for Canals or Roads have been made by Congress, and defeated by these Presidents ; tho' the strength of the opinion that the power is in Congress has gained latterly, and it has been often said that no President would now be chosen, who is opposed to the power over this matter being exercised by Congress. Crawford has kept back on this subject, because if in favor of the power, he might lose the votes of Virginia & No. Carolina ; and if against it, would endanger those of Pennsylvania, N. York and the western States who are all burning with canal fevers. On the subject of Manufacturers' & Protecting Duties for their benefit, Mr. Crawford is in equal or greater embarrassment. N Yk., Penn., N. Jersey and all the western States are up in favor of Manufactures, and will be unwilling to create a President whom, they may believe to be opposed to them. While on the other hand every state south of the Potomac are more decided in their opposition to this manufacturing project, than even to Roads & Canals. If the manages of the political

controversy are adroit, they will avail themselves of those subjects on the one or the other side as may suit their respective interests. At any rate they will endeavour that the Candidates shd. avow their creeds. All the other Candidates, Adams, Calhoun & Clay are understood in favor of the constitutional power of the U. S. over Roads & Canals and Clay and Adams are in no doubt, except as to the degree, respecting home manufactures. Mr. Calhoun, may question the expediency of protections that will affect the prices of articles of consumption made, & imported from, abroad. These are topics which are to be urged for, & agst. Candidates according to the supposed opinions of those to whom the arguments are to be directed. But after all, as between Adams and any one of the Candidates from the slave States, the mo. powerful argument wh. could be used wd. be that which constitutes the Missouri Question ; in wh. Massachusetts failed to do her duty, and Maine and R. Island were divided. Had they done their duty on that occasion, the support of Adams wd. have been certain. New York was in earnest, but Mass. & others of the North having held back, she may be unwilling to take the attitude that on the question alluded to, she manifested, with a strength wh. overcame, and for the moment overawed the old spirit of Party. For the first time N Yk & Pennsylvania decidedly opposed the desire and desertion of Virginia, and had Massachusetts done as she ought to have done, (and for wh. omission she may be now & perhaps forever hereafter punished) the Govt. of the U. S. wd. have permanently been placed in hands wh. ought to possess it, but which may never again find as fair and honorable grounds of obtaining it.

The occasion furnished the measure, wh. owing to the folly, or false calculations of the miserable Statesmen of Massachusetts, was thrown away. It can never return, and you may bid farewell to the expectation of hereafter being able to attain, what he must have been a blind man not to have seen, within your power fully to attain.

R. K.

I write to you as I shd. talk : and cannot go back to read or correct what is sincerely written.

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

Saturday, Feb. 15, 1823.

DEAR SIR :

. . . I observe that in the assembly objections are expressed to your secret proceedings ; private debates on the character & qualifications of persons nominated to office, are necessary : but there can be no objection to the publication or inspection of your journal ; and the inspection or publication thereof, may be salutary in preventing secret, and unjustifiable combinations, to keep honest men out of office. We do not here publish the executive Journal of the Senate, because we are advisory ; in other and more important affairs than those of appointments to office, our Journal on which branch every senator is at liberty to make known his opinions, there is no objection to publish it. But as these appointments are numerous, and by the promotions which occur in the army & navy are voluminous & of little importance, they do not excite sufficient interest with the public to require the same. But I am much inclined while your executive debates are private, to think that the publication of your Journal, on the questions of appointment, will be expedient —it will remove the charge of secrecy which from the natural curiosity of man, is supposed to be improper, especially in the execution of public trusts. Think of this subject, and if you do not disagree with me, perhaps you may do an acceptable thing, by moving a resolution.

" That the executive Journal of the Senate be declared a public Record, and from time to time that it be printed." . . .

As I understand the new Tariff, will fail in the H. of Reps., notwithstanding, the zeal of the assembly at Albany. I consider all violent, or exclusive efforts, to protect manufactures impolitic. Protection sh'd be afforded, under limits, to such manufactures as can be effected by machinery. These to a certain extent, are well established already, and they will sooner than is anticipated attain such protection & be so generally diffused, that some foreign articles may be prohibited. So certain do I regard the establishment of these manufactures, that I feel the fullest confidence that you will, as I hope, live to see the manufactures of our Country as greatly distinguished when compared with foreign manufactures, as our ships and mariners are now distinguished.

I do not object to the encouragement of domestic manufactures ; but I do not like the selection of the articles, the growth or production of which, it is proposed to encourage : because the effect must be to encourage one branch of domestic industry, at the expense of another ; to tax domestic industry in the building & navigation of ships, in order to sustain domestic industry in the raising and dressing of hemp, the making of iron, and sail-cloth.

If the new tariff fails, the session will pass without doing anything of pub. importance ; in this event, if the session shall do no good, it will not do harm.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

16 Feb., 1823.

DEAR SIR :

I am strengthened in the opinion which I intimated to you yesterday that it will be expedient in order to sustain the character & influence of the Senate, that your executive Journal should be considered as a public Journal & from time to time published. Without this be done, the members will be misrepresented, and the most worthy & independent of them, from time to time removed from their seats.

We have the following Rules only on the subject of secresy.

Confidential messages of the Pr. U. S to the Senate shall be by the members thereof kept secret ; and all treaties laid before the Senate, shall also be kept secret, until the Senate shall take off the injunction of secresy.

All information or remarks concerning the character or qualifications of any person nominated by the Prt. to office, shall be kept secret.

The proceedings of the Senate, when they act in their executive capacity, shall be kept in separate & distinct books.*

Faithfully yrs

R. K.

* J. A. KING TO R. KING.

ALBANY, Feby. 21, 1823.

DEAR SIR :

I duly received your letters of the 15th and 16th inst., and at once perceived both the expediency and propriety of the measure which you were good enough to suggest. It is peculiarly adapted to the actual state of public opinion here

R. KING TO C. KING.

WASHINGTON, 26 Feb., 1823.

DEAR SIR:

In conversing with V. B. he appears still to doubt that a new paper will be set up in N. Y'k, tho' Ulshoeffer has lately mentioned the probability of the measure. As V. B is rather Noah's friend, he may not be inclined to a proceeding wh' might injure him: tho' V. B would promote Noah's interest in NYork, he does not want him at Albany, and therefore will prefer that the Argus sh'd pass under the direction of Crosswell to its being in any way controlled by Noah.

Opinions do not become more excited here on the presidential subject, and at Albany, so far as we are informed, the Crawford interest obtains no additional strength or further consistency. A letter from Js. King of Albany, lately chosen a Rgt. of the University, says that except Root, and a few others, Crawford has no supporters in the Legislature, who as he says are divided between Adams & Calhoun. Here it is said, that owing to the division in respect to the Candidates, there can be no Election by the Electors, unless some one obtains a congressional caucus nomination, and this being thought precarious, an Election by the Electors seems to be thought more & more dubious.

V. B, *au fond*, is for Crawford; tho' he cannot be insensible of the difficulty of the labour. The rally must be made for this purpose, of the old democratic spirit agt. all other opinions. If this cannot prevail, the object must fail, and it cannot be attempted without producing feelings & divisions, which no one ought to desire to exist.

I am obliged to break off. R. K.

and cannot fail to strengthen and sustain the Senate in the independent discharge of this responsible portion of their duty. Jas. Hamilton is here, with whom I consulted and so clear was our opinion that the course suggested was in every point of view correct, that I took the earliest opportunity which presented to offer the Resolution. P. R. Livingston told me this evening that it was under all the circumstances the most popular step that any Senator could have taken, and that it would have the effect of quieting the public prejudice which was daily gaining strength against the secret proceedings of the Senate. . . . One thing is certain it will not diminish the popularity of the mover. . . .

Affectionately yours

JOHN A. KING.

R. King to J. A. King.

Sunday, 2 March, 1823.

Dear Sir:

. . . Poor Judge Livingston is down with a pleurisy; he is quite ill, and some say, in considerable danger: I have just returned from a visit to him. I saw him, found him more sick than when I saw him on Friday; but tho' this is the eighth day, I do not think him to be in immediate danger, and if he gets over the ninth day I shall be strengthened in my hope that he will recover. This is truly the most heartless place in the country; already they are caballing concerning Livingston's successor, and poor Pinkney who died here about a year ago, is as much forgotten as if he had died twenty years before. Genl. Jackson will not accept the Mission to Mexico, so there is a place to scramble for. Whether Sanford would desire it, I know not. . . .

On the presidential question, I think it may be safely asserted, that opinions are more divided, than appeared to be the case during the former session. Crawford does not seem to have gained strength; Calhoun is said to be more confident, and Clay is here & not idle. Adams' discussions in the newspapers, have increased his reputation, but whether they have materially advanced the probability of his election I am not able to say. He is above all controversy the best informed, & some persons believe the best qualified, of the Candidates: but if this be so, does it prove, that he is therefore the most likely to be chosen President, or will the election turn on other considerations, than those which can not be denied to Mr. A.? I am glad that you made the motion which you did, respecting your executive Journal. The people have a deep aversion to all secrecy in such bodies, tho' the manifest propriety of free & confidential discussions of the qualifications of persons nominated to pub. offices, is felt, and approved by every one.

Edward [R. King's son], may perhaps be disappointed respecting the place of District Attorney, which he would have been willing to fill—another has been nominated and will be appointed. The truth is, on these subjects I cannot do, what other men do; my pride prevents me from having recourse in my own behalf, or that of my family, to means that others have little scruple to employ.

The V. Pr. is employed in preparing his claims and accounts for a settlement—he may obtain a sum not much varying from dols. 100,000—but I am afraid (this in confidence) that he is desirous to obtain much more, and so much more, that he may endanger thereby what with greater moderation he wd. be likely to obtain. It will be a great mistake, shd. he again commit this indiscretion.

Affectionately

RUFUS KING.

CHAPTER XXXI.

King-Memorandum relative to Presidential Candidates—Secretary Thompson —Van Buren's Views uncertain—King to J. Q. Adams—Judge Livingston's Death—Secretary of Navy offered Seat in Supreme Court—Suggests Van Buren—King to Monroe—Suggests Van Buren for Supreme Court Judge—J. Q. Adams to King, and King to J. Q. Adams—On the Judgeship —King-Memorandum—Van Buren to King, with Letter from Thompson relative to Judgeship—Van Buren to King—On same Subject—Van Buren to Thompson, and Answer—King to J. A. King—Effect of Indecision—King to J. A. King—Claims Freedom from Abuse by Noah—Disapproves of Legislative Caucus to nominate a Presidential Candidate—King-Memoranda relative to the Supreme Court Judgeship and Van Buren—Caucus at Albany—Van Buren's Agency—Van Buren to King—Relative to Thompson—King to Van Buren—Thompson's Course extraordinary.

In R. King's handwriting.

Last winter the N. Yk. Legislature passed Resolutions that it was expedient to defer all considerations of the presidential Election, and the chiefs in the session of Congress 1819–20 held back, and discouraged, as far as in prudence they could do, the Resolutions of the Legislature agt. the extension of slavery. The same policy was observed in keeping back the Legislature last year ; and is still observed, to keep them back from any opinion on the presidential question. The chiefs are for Crawford, and desire he may be President, but also desire to delay the publication of their preference ; but the public should be roused agt. longer submission to a Southern Master.

Without personal regard to A., he is the only northern Candidate ; and as between him and black Candidates, I prefer him. If another white Candidate should be thought of, in whose favor more votes could be obtained, such Candidate might deserve a

preference. If no other be offered, Adams wd. be preferable to continuing the Presidency in the slave section. A free conversation to this effect took place at Baltimore in the fall between V. B. and myself on our way to Congress.

For a time Calhoun seriously aimed at the Presidency ; the army, the people of Pennsylvania, as well as So. Carolina, being presumed to be his friends. But as time gives opportunity for correct information, the preference of Calhoun by Pennsylvania is thought to turn upon the probability of his being supported by other States ; and as this is not apparent, it has been conjectured that Mr. Calhoun would prefer and give his interest to Mr. A ; after whose term Mr. C. might reappear and claim the office of Prest.*

If Mr. Calhoun now begins to doubt Mr. A's success against Crawford, and to apprehend that the latter may receive the votes of N. Y., and that Clay may obtain those of Penn., and so the question of A's success may fail, he may turn his attention to measures to bring forward, another Candidate in a free State. His friends may, therefore, under his recommendation talk of Mr. Secretary Thompson as a suitable Candidate ; and the letters

* South Carolina last year nominated Mr. Lowndes as President to succeed Monroe. Mr. Lowndes being in ill health sailed from Philadelphia for Liverpool in the fall of 1822, and died at sea on his voyage in October, 1822.

In January 1823, or in December preceding, the members of the Legislature of Kentucky nominated Mr. Clay for President ; soon afterwards Missouri also nominated Mr. Clay, and 50 of the members of the Ohio Legislature, consisting of 102 members, in a partial caucus, likewise nominated Mr. Clay. 90 members met in caucus, and on the vote that it was expedient to make a nomination, 47 were ayes and 43 noes—whereupon 33 members withdrew when the residue proceeded to nominate a President ; 50 were for Clay, 5 for Clinton of N. Y. 1 for Adams, and 1 for Calhoun.

In Maine, a caucus of members declined a nomination, but passed a Resolution, expressing a preference for J. Q. A.

In Mass. a caucus of repub. members of the Legislature declining to nominate set forth the reasons why they should prefer J. Q. A.

The open Candidates for President, Crawford, Adams, Calhoun, Jackson & Clay. The letters of Russell published last summer, were intended to impair the standing of Adams. His reply has defeated this purpose and strengthened his pretensions. The correspondence between Gen. Smith of Virginia & Mr. Adams has produced a similar effect. The short publication of the Nat. Intelr., and the reply of Adams have been equally advantageous to Adams. It is said that Russell meditates a further publication ; shd. it be made, Mr. A. will with equal power reply to the ill considered attack.

that have been lately written from Washington to Albany by Sterling and (who are known friends to Calhoun) in favor of the nomination of Thompson for President may have been agreeable to Calhoun.

2d. Feby. *Last evening*, Mr. Thompson after visiting V. B. in his room, came with V. B. into mine. We conversed on the news from Albany, of the nomination of Sanford to be Chancellor, and of Spencer's, Platt's and Woodworth's rejection by the Senate—the impolicy of the nomination of the Judges, provided the Gov. had reason to expect their rejection by the Senate,—the danger that out of the disagreement between the Gov. & Senate party strifes might arise,—the tendency which the division had to lower the reputation and influence of the Govr. out of the State, and the probability that Spencer, Platt and their friends might endeavour to produce divisions and to avail themselves of the presidential question to shew their influence & power.

Thompson seemed to have this opinion, and asked if it had not become time that the Legislature shd. say something relative to a future President. V. B. said that last winter the Legislature shewed a clear opinion in favor of delay, and that now it might appear inconsistent with that opinion, should they stir the presidential question, wh. might be delayed another year at least. Thompson answered that circumstances having changed and several States having actually nominated Candidates, the opinions of last year might without inconsistency be now changed; and that with reference to the intrigues of the rejected Judges, and in order that the subject might reasonably be examined by the people of the State, it was perhaps time to agitate it. V. B. did not assent, but seemed disinclined to discuss the question.

Thompson said to me when you shall ascertain V. B.'s preference among the Candidates, you must let me know it. V. B. being out of the room, Mr. Thompson said that Noah is here believed to be under V. B.'s control, and the Advocate, being openly in favor of Crawford as President, V. B. is supposed likewise to be so. I said that on some late occasions (Noah's supposed preference of Spencer as ch. Justice) V. B. had disavowed him, so far as to say, if nominated, and if from motives of magnanimity the Senate shd. confirm his appointment, he shd. not be dissatisfied, but if the Senate were known to be opposed,

it wd. be to endanger the party who elected the Govr. if he shd. nominate Spencer. Thompson said that this was a special case of disavowal ; and on V. B. returning, I said, we are speaking of the Advocate's being the index of your opinions and preferences. V. B. parried the observation, and Thompson repeated his remark that when I ascertained V. B.'s opinion relative to the Presidency, he desired me to inform him thereof, adding, that V. B. keeps himself dark on this matter. Mr. Thompson withdrew to go home. V. B. then said to me that the conversation of the evening opened new light on Thompson's views ; and that he now saw that he was willing to enter as a Candidate for the Presidency ; and on my saying that it would *be extraordinary* if this disposition were not in his mind, and that he, V. B., as I had believed could not, had he studied the situation of Thompson and the temper of the great sections of the Union, been unprepared for what seemed now for the first time to have presented itself to him. I added, that as he and Thompson were friends, it might be proper to seek an occasion of freely conferring with Mr. Thompson on the subject.

Feby 3. Today, Sunday Feby. 3., he observed that he had thought much on the subject, and that he did not see his way clear—and that he never engaged in anything which he could not see his way through.

Sunday Feby. 24. V. B. has conferred with Mr. Sec. Thompson, who evidently, as I infer, is not disposed to support Crawford. V. B. thinks that Calhoun has influence over him. Thompson wd. prefer Clay to Crawford. V. B. not satisfied, tho' he will adhere to Crawford.

Genl. King (William) on the presidential question explains as well as he can, the late vote of the Legislature of Maine in favor of Adams ; ascribes the measure to Wingate and the Dearborn family ; insists still that the vote of Maine will be for Crawford —asked me for my opinion, wh. I gave him, by saying that I was in favor of a northern Candidate ; that this preference was impersonal, that any other man, who shd. be selected, would suit me, if of the north, that I had no personal liking to A, in particular. The Genl. replied that he was in favor of a northern man, if one could be found who would be chosen ; that A. alone was named and it would be impossible to choose him. This being

so, he asked me who of the other candidates I wd. prefer. I answered that I had no preference among them; that with my unalterable opinion in favor of a northern man, I cd. not & shd. not express a preference of any Southern or Western Man.

March 4. 1823. V. B. today freely conferred with the Secy. of the Navy, who has perhaps dreamed of the Presidency. V. B. stated the difficulties of his being proposed; the uncertainty of cordial support in the State of N. Y., and the probability of the want of a caucus nomination in favor of any of the Candidates, in wh. case the chance wh. a new man might have of obtaining a caucus nomination, and of the probability of success shd. he obtain such nomination; that the Vice Presidency might be worth his consideration. To which the Sec. expressed disinclination: that a seat on the Supreme Bench might become vacant and he might obtain it; that the Secy. believes Calhoun to be not in earnest, and that he may give his influence to Adams. V. B. thinks otherwise, supposes Calhoun to be in earnest and actively employed in measures to obtain the office; that in the West & East, there are men ready, if they have opportunity, to join Crawford, in case the case of Clay or Adams becomes dubious; that Oakley, Spencer's pioneer, is here on the watch, and looking out whom to join or support; that young Tillotson intimated that he, V. B., was not friendly to Edward Livingston, whose reelection to the State Senate, would however be sure, let V. B. do as he would. It was after dinner, both having drank wine, when V. B. expressed his tempr. of Ed. Livingston standing neuter in his own town when delegates were elected to make a county Convention in Columbia to nominate a Surrogate, V. B.'s brother being a Candidate, and V. B. himself having assisted E. Livingston in his election to the State Senate. On this declar. of Tillotson that Ed. Livingston could succeed agt. V. B.'s influence, V. B. denied that he could, & said he should not succeed in Columbia. Tillotson will doubtless inform Ed. Livingston of this conversation.

R. King to J. Q. Adams.

Copy.

Jamaica, April 1, 1823.

Dear Sir:

In consequence of the death of Mr. Livingston, the offer of a seat in the Supreme Court, has been made to the Secy. of the Navy; he will decline it and recommend the appointment of my Colleague, Mr. V. B. A correspondence to this effect has taken place between these gentlemen; the final letter goes by the mail that carries this, which will be communicated to the Pr. by the Secy. of the Navy, when for himself he declines the office.

*The appointment would not only be good, but better than any other which could be made from this State.** In other respects, the measure will be important, and, if effected without delay, may perhaps be decisive. This communication could not be delayed.

With great respect, yr. ob & faithful Servt.

Rufus King.

Recd. by Mr. Adams April 4th.

To Mr. M., Pr. of the U. S.

Copy.

Jamaica, April 2, 1823.

Dear Sir:

The death of Mr. Livingston makes a vacancy in the S. Court, which I presume will be supplied from this State; the reasons, in favor thereof, need not be enumerated; but it may be expedient seasonably, and respectfully, to communicate to the Pr. my opinion concerning the individual, who deserves a preference among the persons of this State, who may be thought willing, and qualified to become the successor of Mr. L.

It immediately occurred to me, on hearing of Mr. L.'s death, that having regard to qualifications and respectability of character, the Secy. of the Navy would be thought of for this office; but as his name is not out of view for other stations, and it being

* Mr. Adams' answer of the 7th says "that he concurs in opinion with me and had spoken accordingly."

understood that a judicial office, requiring confinement and persevering study, would on account of the feeble health of the Secy., be less desirable than with a stronger constitution it might be, I am inclined to believe it doubtful, whether the Secy. ought to accept the office, if offered to him. Upon the presumption that I am not incorrect in having formed this opinion, and after a careful and impartial comparison of the qualifications and characters of the other distinguished men of this State, who may be capable to furnish the successor of Mr. Livingston, my preference is deliberately settled on my Colleague, Mr. V. B. Men of all parties agree that Mr. V. B. possesses superior talents, much legal acumen, and great public experience ; that on difficult occasions he has shewn uncommon sagacity and decision of character ; in affairs, in which the purity of men's motives has sometimes appeared doubtful, the disinterested, open, and decided proceedings of Mr. V. B. have constantly protected his integrity from suspicion ; so that in this respect no man stands on higher ground, and in all other respects, no one is better qualified for a high and difficult judicial station.

You, my dear sir, well know and can correctly appreciate that property of the mind, of which it has been said, "that no protecting power is wanting, if prudence be but employed." This rare qualification in every condition of life is desirable, but in the highest tribunal of the nation it is indispensable. Such prudence is eminently possessed by the Chief Justice, who, while he reflects honor upon his native State, likewise adorns and imparts strength and harmony to the constitution of his Country. But it cannot be concealed, that the C. J. is unfortunately without an associate, who in this respect is competent to supply his loss. This eminent qualification, in no ordinary degree, likewise exists in Mr. V. B., and might become invaluable in reconciling and adjusting the powers of the Genl. and State Govts—a reconciliation that, from year to year, becomes more critical ; and which can be effected by no other means than by the prudent exercise of the powers of the national Judiciary.

Upon a subject, the right understanding of which is so essential to the preservation of the pub. liberties, I cannot forbear to press upon your mind the necessity of the utmost caution (perhaps not always heretofore observed) in the selection of the members of

the S. Court ; a Tribunal which not only decides civil and criminal cases affecting individuals, but all questions arising under the Constitution, which by restricting or enlarging the powers of the States, or of the Union, may disturb the nice and complicated balance of our political system. No other Nation has established a Tribunal so powerful, conclusive and independent. We must not forget that the wisdom of the other Departments are inadequate to supply a defect of the Judiciary. We are therefore all responsible, and the Pr. and Senate above others, that the Supreme Court be so composed, that the Master Spirit of the Ch. Justice may not die, but by the appointment from time to time of able & prudent men, may be rendered perpetual. With these views, in a matter that so deeply concerns the pub. welfare, I offer no apology in urging you with earnestness and sincerity to name V. B. as the successor of Mr. L. Did I not feel entire confidence in the justice of this preference, I shd. observe my habitual deference to the presidential authority, and so far abstain from interfering, even on this extraordinary occasion, as not to give you the trouble of reading this letter. But in my peculiar circumstances, in a case which can rarely occur, and that may affect the whole Union, and in which I must know the comparative worth of the Candidate, I would not excuse myself, did I not frankly submit what I have written to your unprejudiced and impartial consideration.

With sincere Regards & Respect
I am, dear Sir, yr ob. & faithful Servt.
RUFUS KING.

Recd. by the President April. 7th.
NOTE—Sent copies of these to V. B—R. K.

J. Q. ADAMS TO R. KING.

WASHINGTON, 7 April, 1823.

DEAR SIR :

I received your letter of the 1st. instt. on the 4th ; the President received one from you this day. But the definitive answer and letter to which you refer have not yet been given. I concur in opinion with you, and have spoken accordingly. If the ground

was not positively preoccupied (which I *believe* it was not) the recommendation from the quarter you anticipate will be decisive.

Faithfully yours.

J. Q. Adams.

[Endorsed by R. King; "Recd. evening of the 10th. Apl.; answered same day, acknowledging the rect. and saying that having communicated to Mr. V. B. copies of my letter to him of 1st instant, and also mine of the 2d. to the President,* I shd. by the mail of the 11th send to Mr. V. B. a copy of this letter; that I could not be mistaken respecting the correspondence between the Sy. of the Navy & V. B., tho' I was unable to explain the delay of the definitive refusal of the former, & the communication to the Pr. of the letter of the latter; but that I had full confidence that both had been or wd. be done.

R. K."]

* M. Van Buren to R. King.

Albany, April 12, 1823.

My dear Sir:

I have received yours covering your communications to Washington for which I sincerely thank you. Whatever may be the result I can now have no hesitation in believing that the circumstance of having my name mentioned must be highly advantageous to me. On the other side you have a copy of the letter † recd. to day from the Secretary. I am sorry for the delay, for it increases the difficulties of my situation by forcing me so to act as will effectually repel the presumption that I am induced to keep aloof with a view to this matter.

Most truly yours

M. V. Buren.

† Smith Thompson to M. Van Buren.

W., April 6th, 1823.

My dear Sir:

I submitted to the President confidentially your letter. He informed me no appointment would be made in some time: as it could not now be made in season for the Spring Courts, there was no necessity for acting at present. He said nothing from which I could gather his intentions in relation to the appointment. I think he is quite undecided and means to take due time for consideration. Any suggestions you may have to make on the subject will with pleasure receive my attention.

Yours very sincerely

Smith Thompson.

M. Van Buren to R. King.

Albany, April 14, 1823.

My dear Sir:

Yours of the 1st I have this moment received. Mine to you, received before this, will excuse my seeming negligence in not acknowledging the receipt of yours containing the enclosure, although I fear it will still leave me deficient in not expressing with sufficient strength the extent of obligation conferred on me by the matters contained in that enclosure. There must be some mistake in the matter, as the Secretary of the Navy's letter is on the 6th., & the one to you on the 7th. a few days will probably explain it. I have not advised with anyone here on the subject, except your son, & with him I had agreed, in one event, to give an entertainment to my friends & then to communicate the matter with my determination consequent thereon. But I apprehend that the P. will not find it in his nature to do the thing well. Habitual indecision and intercourse with court parasites make great havoc in the capacity of a man to behave well on special occasions. There was one sentiment in my last which on reflection I condemn, I should not suffer the termination in any *event to* affect my course in *any degree.*

I have not answered the Secty. of the Navy's letter. Shall I do so & what shall I say?

Yours Truly

M. V. Buren.

M. V. Buren to S. T.

Albany, April 15th, 1823.

My dear Sir:

I have no further suggestion to make on the matter of your last. The question is with the President & he will make such disposition of it as to him seems meet & proper. If it is supposed that I will enter into active competition with the numerous candidates who have and will continue to spring up for the place, the supposition is founded on a mistake of my character. I confess to you (from whom I conceal nothing) that I am disappointed in the course taken by the President. Had I not been induced by the favourable opinion of friends & a probable over-

estimate of my own deserts, to expect a speedy decision of the question, I certainly never would have consented to place myself in the position I occupy. If you will excuse me for troubling you further on this subject, I will be glad to be informed whether your declension has been definitive* & whether Mr. Monroe so understands it. I presume you have seen Mr. King's letter to the President; whatever may be the course or termination of this matter, I hope my dear Sir, you will do me the justice to believe, that I will never for a moment doubt the warmth & constancy of your friendship.

Yours Truly.

M. V. B.

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

JAMAICA, Thursday Evg., 17 Ap., 1823.

DEAR SIR:

I have this evening recd. two letters from V. B. one of the 12th. the other of the 14th both with the Albany Post mark of the 14th. I cannot answer immediately, but after consideration, should any thing worth suggesting occur, I will write by the next mail.

Indecision belongs to man, epsecially in matters, which from any circumstances admit of postponement. A nervous affection debilitates some men, to such a degree, that they lose confidence

*S. T. TO M. V. BUREN.

WASHINGTON, Apl. 25, 1823.

MY DEAR SIR:

On my return from Norfolk a few days since I found your letter of the 15th., in which you inquire whether I have definitively declined the appointment of a judge of &c, & whether the P. so understands it. In my conversation with the P. I certainly meant to be understood by him that I did decline taking the office. I am not certain that I told him absolutely & in terms that I would not accept it, & I recollect that on my leaving him at the time of our last conversation, he observed to me, in substance, that if I should change my views upon the subject I must let him know it. I took this remark however as an expression of good feeling towards me, & not from any doubt in his mind as to my determination. Mr. Adams mentioned to me yesterday that the President, on his enquiring whether I had given a definitive answer, said I had not. This I presume grew out of the circumstance I have alluded to, he leaving it to my farther consideration with the liberty of taking it should I be inclined so to do.

Yours very sincerely.

S. T.

in themselves ; in which condition delay is always acceptable, and regarded like a reprieve to a cowardly convict. I have little doubt that the measure was not anticipated, and on this account may have alarmed ; but he cannot avoid a decision, and I think cannot decide against our wishes. It has often been said, that the gentleman who has made the communication, has not possessed the influence that his virtues and his station entitle him to ; and on this occasion he may not have expressed with sufficient strength the advice which he may have given.

Perhaps he may not be sensible of the power, which an honest & unsuspected man, in his situation has over the hesitating mind of another, who is ready & desirous of receiving his advice. If in these circumstances, the hesitating, and the decided man confer, the latter is forever able to infuse his own decision into the mind of the former. But I will not go further than to add, that I am entirely convinced of the sincerity and friendship of the intermediary, and really have no doubt, (barring any untoward occurrence that I cannot foresee) that the decision will be such as it immediately should be. I rely upon the sound & prudent character of V. B. to make no mistake on his part ; he has done right to keep his own counsel ; the case neither requires nor admits of any other course. . . . Yrs affectionately

R. K.

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

JAMAICA, 20 Apl., 1823.

DEAR SIR :

I have yours of the 8th. Say to V. B. that in a letter from our fellow-lodger Mr. Stevenson of Virginia, he enquires of me, how Mr. V. B. stands on the prl. questions, and whether he continues to keep dark. I have not replied, nor am I quite sure, notwithstanding what you say, that I should do justice to V. B. by informing Mr. Stevenson, that he enters, with either industry or zeal, into the presidential canvass. In any event I am quite confident, that tho' Mr. Noah is suspected to follow his advice on some occasions, he cannot do so, by publishing, as I hear he has done in his paper, that the American is under my direction.

To disserve an argument, which we do not like, or cannot an-

swer, it is a common practice to give it a bad name; as the part that I take in public affairs has less of activity than formerly, and except in cases that affect my friends, is free from zeal, I think myself entitled to pass unnoticed in the conflict, in which younger men will engage; and may I hope be protected, from Mr. Noah's attacks, provided the editor respects the advice of my colleague Mr. V. B.

If it be true that Mr. Crawford is gaining friends in the Legislature, and, as Verplanck intimated, there be a probability that a caucus may be expected at Albany, for the purpose of recommending to the members of Congress from this State to meet in caucus at Washington for the purpose of nominating the next president; it would seem that there is no understood limit, to this irregular action of caucus proceedings, and that the qualifications of the members of State Legislatures, as well as of Congress, must be hereafter greater than would seem sufficient for their ordinary or constitutional duties. They are not only to be qualified in the States to make State regulations, and perform their constitutional State duties, but also to superintend, and watch over, the regular duties of the members of Congress, and to instruct, or control, their irregular, and as some say unconstitutional, services. This irregularity thus compounded, and mixed up into an intricate system, impairs the distinct power of our divided Government, and not only confounds the same, but endangers the purity with which each was expected to discharge their duties.

If not only the caucus of Congress are liable to be associated by the means that Candidates may employ, wh. has perhaps happened, but preliminarily, the State Legislatures before, and at the period of choosing State electors, are to be also openly canvassed, and measures adopted to effect the choice of a President, the expectation of a virtuous election of a President (which has certainly been anticipated) must prove visionary; and the corruptions and ruinous consequences of the choice of a chief Magistrate, may here, as they have ever done elsewhere, bring about a pernicious change in favor of an hereditary Presidency. What is now projected at Albany has been foreseen, and it is truly surprizing that the only remedy, which can give security to our Presidential elections, should be so little regarded, or so soon forgotten.

We must choose the electors by the people or the public liberties will be lost. The State of New York have thought and in Apl., 1814, after resisting the amendment of the Constitution of the U. S. as proposed by No. Carolina, the Legislature instructed their Senators & requested their Reps to endeavor to obtain an amendment of the Constitution of the U. S. by which the presidential electors, should be chosen by the people. They cannot be bribed, they are safe agt. corruption : it may not be so if the Legislators choose the elects.

But it may be said the votes of the State may be divided or lost ; to prevent this (if it ought to be prevented) vote by a general ticket ; in this case let it be for Crawford or against him—two such tickets may be formed, if the people of N York, vote for Crawford, let him be their President.

I see no objection that you shd. propose, in the present Legislature, that in the next election of President, the *electors of this State be chosen by the people* & that leave be given to introduce a Bill for this purpose. It may be by districts, or which will answer all objections, by a genl. ticket, for Crawford, or against him by a ticket for another Candidate ; it will be popular, because it prefers the security of the people to that of the Legislature.

By offering the Bill now, you are sure to attract the public attention ; and shd. it fail, it may be said that it did so, because the leaders wd. not trust the people. The arguments are the same but infinitely stronger than in the choice by the people of Justices of the Peace. . . . R. K.

Memoranda by R. King.

April 7. 1823.

Soon after the adjournment of Congress, Mr. Livingston, who during the session had been attacked with a pleurisy, died at Washington. A correspondence between Mr. Van Buren, after his return and while in N. Y., and Mr. Thompson, Secretary of the Navy, commenced by the former, and in which Mr. V. B., who, during the session, had personally conferred with the Secretary on the subject of the Presidency, and in the conference, as I conceive, V. B. stated the difficulties which, in the actual state of parties in N. Yk, would stand in the way of the Secretary's ob-

taining the votes of the State ; discouraged the idea of his becoming a candidate ; expressed his opinion that Crawford and Adams were the men to whom the largest portion of the public seemed inclined ; expressed also strong doubts of the success of Adams, and intimated that the division, not improbably, might be such between Adams, Crawford, Clay and Calhoun, that a majority not presenting itself in favor of either of them, the H. of Rep. on whom the choice wd. devolve, may be induced, by the failure to elect either of the Candidates, & by an aversion to the open rivalry of their several Candidates, to give their votes to an unexceptionable person who had not been a professed rival, and so the Secretary of the N. may be elected. Furthermore, that there wd. be no difficulty in electing the Secretary, as V. P. should it be desired. In this situation things were left, between the Secy. & Mr. V. B. at the adjournment of Congress.

Mr. V. B. saw Crawford the evening before he left Washington, and a conversation between them on the question of the Pr. doubtless took place, guarded without doubt and not inconsistent with the supposed opinions above expressed, but wh. left little doubt that Crawford was authorized to conclude that V. B. was in his favor.

It would seem that Mr. V. B. after his arrival from Washington at N. York and after hearing of the death of Mr. Livingston, wrote a letter to the Secy. of the Navy, advising him to accept the office of Mr. Livingston's successor, on Good Friday (28th March). Mr. V. B., who had continued in the city, doubtless enquiring about and promoting the presidential election, came to Jamaica with Ulshoeffer, and very soon shewed me a letter received by the mail of the morning from the Secy. of the Navy, saying that on acct. of his health, wh. would not permit him to bear the confinement and study of a judl. office, he shd. decline a seat in the Supreme Court, which it seemed, *by the letter*, had been offered to him, and in his turn recommends the office to V. B. This letter had been shown to Ulshoeffer *only*, as V. B. declared. The visit was to confer with me on the judicial subject. I expressed my opinion to this effect. " That the office was very important, and in our system of great authority, dignity and independence ; but that it does not admit of any expectations of ulterior advancement, nor could it tolerate the interference of the Judge in party

or personal politics ; that he, V. B., had been deeply engaged in the party politics of the times ; of this all are acquainted. To be a member of the Supreme Court, he must be wholly and forever withdrawn and separated from these connexions. The dissolution must be absolute ; and entering the judicial department, like taking the vow and veil in the Catholic Church, must forever divorce him from the political world. Unless he was confident of his strength to do this, he shd. not think of the Supreme Court for a moment : if he was resolute & confident, I recommended to him to accept the proposal of the Secy. of the Navy, and consent that the Secy. shd. say to the Prest., that, if appointed to succeed Mr. Livingston, he would accept the office." Ulshoeffer concurred in the same opinion.

Mr. V. B. expressed his assent to what I had said, and his confidence that he could with firmness act accordingly. I said that I shd. go to the City on *Easter Sunday* to attend the funeral of Mrs. Johnstone, and wd. again see and further confer on the subject. V. B. returned to the City on Saturday morning. A severe snowstorm occurred on Sunday, and I did not go to town 'till Tuesday April 1. Saw and resumed our conference, found him in the same temper respecting the appointment to the Sup. Court. We together went over his reply to the letter to him from the Secretary of the N., and altered the same so far as to assent to, but to exclude the idea of seeking, the office ; to avow his activity, heretofore, in party politics ; in order to justify the desire of an early decision by the Pr. respecting Mr. Livingston's successor, wh., if in favor of Mr. V. B. wd. have the instant effect of separating him from party politics, wh. was about to assume a distinct shape in the presidential question, and in wh. the Legislature, now sitting at Albany, wd. probably take a part ; in wh. from his standing in his party, Mr. V. B. could not at present decline a share. Mr. V. B. proposed to me to write on the subject to the Pr. and also to Mr. A. This I have done, viz on 1st. April to Adams, and a day or two afterward to the President. The letter to Adams is short, stating the fact that the office had been offd. to the Secy. of the Navy, by him recommended to V. B., who has assented to accept, which letter from V. B. to the Secy. wd. be communicated to the Pr., when the Secy. for himself declined the office. This letter says, that the appt. of V. B. *wd. be in itself*

good, and in other respects important; & if soon *made perhaps decisive*. If Mr. A. has a good nose, he can be at no loss for my object. To the President I more fully went into the policy of the appt. of V. B., wh. I press with earnestness upon his impartial and *unprejudiced* deliberation.

Copies of these letters, Monday 7. April, I sent by mail to V. B. with a short letter expressive of my belief, on further consideration, that the P. would appoint him; and that in imitation of Marshal, he must harmonize by strengthening the powers of the Constitution, and not attempt the heretical paradox of a late distinguished mem. of Virga., of harmonizing by weakening these powers!

April 10. In evening received Mr. Adams reply of 7. April in answer to mine of the 1st. This letter I answered the same evening [see note on Adams' letter of 7th.] and also wrote to V. B., sending him a copy of Adams' letter of the 7th, and expressing that I could not explain the delay of Secry. of the Navy, in not having given to the Presidt. his refusal & recommended the appt. of V. B. I thought, and since the receipt of Mr. A.'s letter, that he, V. B., wd. be appointed; that I had received no letter from him since he reached Albany.

These letters to Mr. Adams & V. B., I sent by the Jamaica mail of the 11th.

April 10th, recd. a letter from J. Q. A., acknowledging the rect. of mine of the 7th. upon the—— & saying that my letter to the President had not been recd., that on the 7th, the communication thro' the Secy. of the Navy *had not* been made to the P., whose mind in the opinion of Mr. A. was not preoccupied. I wrote to Mr. A. on the 10th., acknowledging the rect. of his of the 7th, and saying that tho' I could not explain the circumstance of the expected communication not having been made to the Pr. before the 7th, I was however not misinformed, and cd. rely with confidence that it wd., if it had not yet been done, be communicated.

10th. of April, sent a copy of this letter to V. B. On the evening of the 18th, recd. two letters from V. B., one of 12th, the other of 14th: in the former is a copy of the letter of Secy. of the Navy of 6th. April, informing that the letter of V. B. to the Secy. has been confidentially communicated to the Prest., who being undecided, wd. take time for consideration. Same evening wrote to V. B.

acknowledging the rect. of his two letters, communicating copy of my last to Mr. A., wh. is annexed.*

In my letter to V. B. I observe that nothing cd. be done, unless, which I thought could not be done, vigour could be infused into the mind of the Secy. of the Navy : in his own conduct, I was of opinion, that the delay shd. have no other effect than to induce him to avoid too great activity ; wh. might become the object of observation, pending the postponement of the Pr's decision, &c.

Friday April 25th. Recd. a letter from J. Q. A. of the 21. April, saying " that he had received mine of the 10th. & 18th. He was mistaken in the impression, that no definite answer had then been recd. from the Sec. of the Navy as he had reason to believe his recommendation would have great weight ; he perhaps inferred from inconclusive premises that it had not then been given. The uncertainty *after it* was given, would lead him now to the belief that the ground was preoccupied, which, when he wrote last, he thought it was not ; his own opinion agreeing with mine remains unchanged" viz " that the appointment would not only be good, but better than any other wh. could be made from this State."

I wrote a letter April 28, 1823, to V. B. transmitting a copy of the letter to me from J. Q. A. of the 21st. Apl.—and added these

* To J. Q. A.—Jamaica 18 April 1823.

Dear Sir.

Your letter of 7th. of April states that the communication of the Secy. of the Navy had not been made to the Prest. A letter from the Secy. of the Navy of the 6th. says that he made the communication, and in reply was informed that no appt. wd. be made in some time ; as it could not be made in season for the Spring Courts, there was no necessity for acting at present. Nothing was said indicating the intention relative to the appointment, and the Secretary of the Navy, from what occurred, expressed his belief that the Pr. was quite undecided, meaning to take due time for consideration. I have no suggestion to offer on the occasion, and I write merely to apprize you of what I learn on this subject. The most ordinary mind could not fail to understand the importance of deciding without postponement, and my only apprehension is that the delay may be considered as evidence of disinclination, and produce the dissatisfaction of a refusal. I do not regard it in this case as proof of anything but imbecillity and the bad habit of a hesitating mind.

faithfully

R. K.

remarks. "By referring to the letter of Mr. Adams, you will discover the nature and extent of the opinion, in wh. we (myself and Mr. A.) agree. I have not made any reply to the last letter; and am not a little embarrassed, by the caucus proceedings at Albany, in deciding whether I ought to make any reply; and if I should conclude to do so, what the reply should be. I think it however due to you, as well as Mr. Adams, to send you the above Communication.

With great regard, Dr. Sir, I am faithfully yr. ob. servt.

RUFUS KING."

Though anticipating in date, it seems best to give here the conclusion of the incidents connected with this matter:

Mr. Van Buren wrote a letter to Mr. King on the 10th of July, in which he referred to a report that in a conversation with Mr. Gouverneur, "the Secretary in speaking to him of the propriety of my appointment expressed sentiments hostile to it and evincive of a general want of confidence in me"; and on the 18th Mr. Van Buren sent to Mr. King the following letter from the Secretary and the sketch of an answer to it, but asked Mr. King to advise him in what terms he would suggest he should express himself.

S. THOMPSON TO M. VAN BUREN.

Confidential.

WASHINGTON, July 11, 1823.

MY DEAR SIR:

Nothing has as yet been definitely decided relative to the filling of the vacancy on the Bench of the S. Court. My present object is to enquire of you whether after what has passed between you & myself on the subject you think I could with propriety, as it respects yourself, take the office?

Yours very sincerely

SMITH THOMPSON.

Mr. King writes in answer from Jamaica, July 22, 1823.

I am not surprized by the receit of your letter of the 18th. inst. Not only have the proceedings at Washington been vacillating, and as I believe unprincipled ; but the correspondence of Mr. S. T. has been so extraordinary, that were the case my own, I should in reply observe much caution with a decided reserve, especially upon the subject, concerning which there has been on his part an unexplained failure. If his first letter to you was not intended in the sense in which it was understood, but aimed at quite another and different object, your answer ought to have put him right, by making straight, what was intentionally crooked : and if the Secretary had wavered in his decision, respecting the acceptance of a judicial office, your reply precluded its communication to the President ; and to have made such communication, while his mind continued undecided, was a violation of the duties of friendship ; and if this generous sentiment were wanting, the communication could not be reconciled with the principles of honor. You must excuse the use of strong expressions, since in questions of this character, the law is, as it ought to be, rigorous & inexorable. There neither is, nor can be, on like occasions, an innocent or excusable failure. Mutual reservation, or the suppression of what should be expressed, is the part of rogues and Jesuits, who being without honor, are incapable of the offices of friendship.—But enough of this.

If the P. M. G., Justices of the Supreme Court, Secretaries of the executive Departments and Foreign Ambassadors are nominated upon a computation of the aggregate of their supposed capacities and political influence, instead of an impartial estimate of their known qualifications, how is it possible to decide upon the competence of a person named to one office without being made acquainted with the qualifications of his associates destined to fill the other offices ? Your proposed answer may be more prudent, but I prefer the annexed as more sincere.

Yrs. truly R. K.

There can be no question of the disgust felt by Mr. King as to the conduct of the Secretary in reference to the proposed appointment ; but the draft of an answer to his letter, which as Mr. Van Buren says was sent by him to the Secre-

tary "in the precise terms you suggested," was "more prudent, as more sincere."*

Mr. Van Buren finishes his letter to Mr. King:

"Accept my thanks for your early attention in the matter and for the manifestation of continued friendship your letter contained."

Monday April 28, 1823. John A. King returned from Albany, and was here yesterday. He says that the Resolutions of the caucus at Albany, recommending to the members of Congress from N. York to concur at Washington in a caucus nomination of President, were drafted and delivered by Van Buren to Genl. Root, who, on leave granted by the caucus of about 90 members of the Legislature, attended and made an address to the caucus; and who was afterwards nominated the Chairman of a Comee, named by Bowne the Chairman of the caucus, to report to the caucus on the subject of the Presidency. The Committee were previously arranged, and the Report, wh. had been prepared & shewn by V. B. to some of the members, was given to Gen. Root who reported it. Some objections were made to the disapprobation of State nominations, but the Resolutions were recd. and adopted without real or marked expressions of satisfaction.

* M. Van Buren to Secretary Thompson.

July, 1823.

Dear Sir:

It is difficult, if not impossible for me, who am not acquainted with the views, & combinations of the executive power, to form a correct opinion, or to give unqualified advice, respecting a particular appointment which in itself may be not only expedient, but excellent; yet when viewed in connection with other appointments, with which it may be combined, and of which it may form the only meritorious part, it may be neither expedient, nor worthy of approbation. While this remark is justified by the views, and associations, disclosed by the late nominations made by the President; I do not, & cannot, for a moment hesitate, in renewing the opinion, and advice, formed after careful deliberation and early and most sincerely communicated, that you ought to accept the seat offered to you in the Supreme Court.

This opinion and advice, my dear sir, are not changed by anything that has since taken place between us. It is however due to the occasion, as well as to our long friendship, in the expression of this opinion & advice, to exclude every other executive measure, that may depend upon, or be combined with it, desiring to confine myself to the precise case, which your friendship has submitted to mine.

With the highest Regards Sr, M. V. B.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Van Buren to King—Caucus at Albany—Excuses his Action—Van Buren to King—Leaves his Son John at Jamaica—A. Gracie's Affairs—King to E. King—Illinois' Proposal to introduce Slavery—Hopes Ohio will not imitate—Project barefaced and infamous—Canal—E. King to King—Judge Thomas of Illinois says no need to apprehend Introduction of Slavery there—King to C. King—Relative to Appointment of Electors—Constitution does not give to State Legislatures Power to appoint Electors but to designate who may appoint—President's Message—Monroe Doctrine—Mr. King and Committee on Foreign Relations—King to C. King—Crawford and Caucus—Prospects of Candidates—King to C. King—Clay prevents Tennessee Resolutions being brought before the House of Representatives—Governor Yates suggested for Vice-President—King to C. King—Maryland disapproves of Congressional Caucus—King to C. King—New York Legislature should give Election of Electors to the People.

M. Van Buren to R. King.

Albany, May 2, 1823.

My dear Sir:

Yours of the 28th. I have this day received. If as you supposed you owed any duty to the public in relation to this matter, it appears to me that what you have already done amounts to a full discharge of it, as it certainly does in the most ample manner of the claims of private friendship. With the President I do not see that any farther communication can with propriety be had, & Mr. A.'s disposition needs no improvement. The conduct of the latter gentleman has made a very favourable impression on my mind, of which I hope some day to be able to give him suitable proof. On the subject of the caucus proceedings I can only say that the circumstance, that their tendency and design do not accord with the views of two of my best friends, (yourself & the sec'ty of the navy) is & has throughout been to me a source of sincere

regret. But it was unavoidable. I had taken my stand unreservedly on the presidential question, & it would not have been proper or creditable to me, to have halted on account of the new situation in which I had unexpectedly been placed, nor do I believe that such would be the course you would have advised. The caucus & the expression of sentiment they made, was deemed a necessary commencement of the measure proper to be adopted to secure the end in view. It was not held until the day but one before the rising of the Legislature, & you will admit that the manner & form of their proceedings are at least unexceptionable. I do not know, my dear Sir, what more I can say upon this subject. I had looked to the state of things, we supposed we had reason to expect, as one which would effectually prevent the possibility of future collision between us, & you will I know believe me when I say, that that was very far from being the least pleasant view in which the subject presented itself to me. I infer from Mr. A.'s letter that a different course is most probably designed, & I must continue my labours in the vineyard, which I shall do with undiminished good humour, & in doing so shall rely on that liberality, of which I have had such abundant proof, as my security agt. the loss of your respect & esteem.

Yours faithfully
M. V. Buren.

M. Van. Buren to R. King.

Albany, May 9, 1823.

My dear Sir :

I shall, accidents excepted, be down about the 20th. & will bring my two sons with me, the oldest to indulge him a little & then send him to West Point, & the next to leave at Jamaica * ; provided a letter which I expected before this, to have received from Mr. John A. King should warrant my doing so. I want very much to visit Boston, but am equally anxious to avoid the imputation of going there on a political visit. I know but one way in which that can certainly be done, & that is to go in company with you. For that & other reasons, unnecessary to mention it would be a source of great gratification to me, if your business & incli-

* He left him to live with Mr. King while at school there for the summer.

nation did admit of your going. I have not said anything on the subject of Mr. Gracie's misfortunes* & the trouble they give to you ; but I hope you are sensible that I have not felt the less on the unpleasant occasion. . . .

Yours truly

M. VAN BUREN.

R. KING TO EDWARD KING.

JAMAICA, July 8, 1823.

DEAR SIR :

. . . Whatever Ohio may do respecting the Presidency, I earnestly hope, should she be in love with Kentucky, that she may be unwilling to imitate Illinois in the attempt to introduce slavery. If it be little excusable, in times like the present, to do nothing in States where slavery exists to mitigate it rigours, and altogether to omit the measures which may gradually and finally abolish the same, what are we to say, and is it believed that we shall submit, to the efforts of the slave States to introduce slavery into States in which it never existed ?

If the slave States are listened to in their complaints against emissaries who proceed from the free States, and against the doctrines not disavowed in Congress and elsewhere, whereby the slaves are found to be less obedient and submissive than the cattle which labour in the same fields, shall the free States be disre-

* The allusion to the affairs of Mr. Gracie, the failure of his house, gives an opportunity to refer to what had been a cause of much trouble and anxiety and even of despondency to Mr. King. The house of Archibald Gracie & Co. was one of the leading commercial houses in New York, engaged in trade with France and England. French spoliations had greatly crippled their business, and the furnishing of flour to the English army in Spain and Portugal during the campaign against the French added to their troubles. Like all those who engaged in foreign trade after the conclusion of peace between the United States and England, they soon found that while there was every appearance of prosperous times in furnishing the country with those things which had become scarce during the war, the derangement of the money market was such that embarrassment appeared in every quarter : not only in the ability of the government to meet the demands upon it, but in the commercial transactions of the country.

Of course the house of Mr. Gracie, being largely engaged in foreign trade, felt the effect of this condition of affairs, and, though possessing, as was sup-

garded when they complain of the undisguised efforts of the slave States to introduce slavery into States in which it has been happily forbidden? We may talk loudly of honour, of justice, of liberty and religion, all of which teach that we should do to others as we are willing that others should do to us, but in the name of decency, if not in that of these glorious virtues, let our actions correspond with our discourse. The project of Illinois is the most barefaced and infamous, that has ever disgraced any part of the United States, and if it prevails, the spirit and principles of freedom in this country are dead. . . .

I intended to have made a jaunt to Niagara to see the Falls, and observe the progress of the Canal, which, as is said, goes on admirably and is a work of great utility as well as of great credit to the State. But the love of home prevails. I earnestly hope that you may succeed in making your canal from the Lakes to the Ohio. This done you will join us in the policy of effecting a free navigation of the River St. Lawrence to and from the sea, with a free port in Lower Canada. Our New York Canal is and will, we hope, remain a great and beneficial communication between the interior and the ocean at New York; but the free use of the navigation of the St. Lawrence, the outlet of nature, is a far more beneficial and a more certain channel for the interior to communicate with foreign markets.

Farewell yrs. truly

RUFUS KING.

posed, ample security and large credit, found themselves pressed for money. Not long before, Mr. Gracie had taken into the partnerhip his sons and son-in-law, Charles King, the son of his old friend Rufus King, and in the course of business had obtained loans from the latter upon satisfactory security. From time to time the amount loaned had been increased; and though against the better judgment of Mr. King, his friendship to Mr. Gracie and the appeals of his son led him on until he became involved in obligations to pay a very large sum, even to the amount of fully $100,000. Of course security was given, but as the pressure of the money market increased, and the securities, originally sufficient, diminished in value or became worthless, Mr. King was called upon to meet heavy immediate demands, which caused him much anxiety and the fear that, while he had enjoyed a fair income, he might, as he is reported to have said, become a poor man and be deprived in his old age of the comforts to which he had hitherto been accustomed. As a matter of fact, it was not until the end of 1824 that the business was finally settled, and resulted in an absolute loss of about $18,000.

EDWARD KING TO R. KING.

CHILLICOTHE, July 22d, 1823.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . I had the pleasure a few days since, of meeting Judge Thomas from Illinois, on his route to the eastward. I understood distinctly from him, that there was not the slightest ground to apprehend the introduction of slavery in that State: That altho' at the time the subject of a convention was broached, the popular vote would have been decidedly in favor of slavery, since then, a revolution of feeling has taken place, and the people have determined (he thinks) to withstand any effort of that kind. Mr. Thomas is a strong Crawford man, and I thought in favor of slavery. The object which they avow is the increase of value, to their real estate, and their commercial interests. *We* are not so much *in love* with Kentucky, but that we may oppose slavery, if not a slave holder, tho' if that be the question Ohio will be found on the side of freedom . . .

Your affectionate Son.

EDWARD KING.

R. KING TO C. KING.

Monday Evening, Sept. 29, 1823.

DEAR SIR:

To prove that your construction of the Constitution respecting the appointment of Electors is correct, it may be observed that according to the printed Journal of the Convention, it is evident that the choice of the President was a subject of great difficulty; and the more so, as the practice of the States was at that period dissimilar in the elections of Governor, or the state executive. In all the States except N. Jersey, east of Maryland, the choice of Govr. was made by the people; in New Jersey and the five southern States, the Gov. was chosen by the several State Legislatures. The members of the Convention in settling the manner of electing the Executive of the U. S. seem to have been prejudiced in favor of the manner, to which they were accustomed, in the election of the Governor of their respective States.

According to the Journal, on the 19th. of July, the Convention

resolved that the Pr. shd. be chosen by Electors appointed "*by the Legislatures of the States*" : on the 23. of July, they reconsidered this vote, and on the next day resolved that the President should be chosen "*by the national Legislature.*"

This appears to have been unsatisfactory, and to have given occasion to much discussion and to different projects ; the subject was referred to a large Committee, which rejected the choice by the national legislature, and reported the provision which is contained in the Constitution, viz that the President shall be chosen by Electors to be appointed "*in such manner as the Legislature of each State may direct.*"

Comparing this established mode of choosing the Pr. with that which was adopted on the 19th. of July, recollecting the immediate reconsideration of that mode, and the deliberate adoption of the mode of choosing wh. is provided by the Constitution, it is reasonable to infer, that the power to direct the manner in which Electors may be chosen, does not give to the Legislature of each State, the power by which they themselves may make such appointment of the Electors.

Again the Constitution provides that Representatives shall be chosen *by the People ;* Senators *by the Legislature* of each State and Electors *in such manner as the Legislature of each State may direct.* The Legislature may direct that Electors may be chosen by the people, by a genl. ticket in each State, or by districts ; they may authorise the persons qualified to vote for the most numerous branch of the State Legislature, to vote for the Electors ; or they may confine the choice to free-holders, as is the case in Virginia ; or they may direct that the people shall in the several States, by ballot, or vivâ voce, choose Electors, with power to appoint the Electors of the President ; in this way the Senate of Maryland is appointed ; and it appears by the printed Journal of the Convention, that General Hamilton proposed this very mode of choosing the Electors of the President. As the language of the Constitution on this subject differs from the language of the first Resolution, wh. gave the appointment of Electors to the State Legislatures, in like manner as the Constitution gives the power to appoint Senators, it is not only reasonable, but almost necessary to give the provision of the Constitution a different interpretation, and to limit the same, so that the State Legislature may by law designate

those who may appoint the Electors altho' they themselves may not appoint them.

This course of thinking has occurred to me, I suggest it to you ; the facts are correct as I state them.

Yours &c.

R. K.

MEMORANDUM BY R. KING.

ENGLAND.

7. Nov, 1823.

Mr. Adams * said that the message of the Pr on the subject of the interference of the Holy Alliance, was in fact in the nature of a declarn. by way of reply to a proposal made by Mr. Canning to Mr. Rush on the subject of the interference of these powers respecting the Indep. of the Sp. & Portuguese Colonies. Mr. C. in Aug. proposed to Mr. Rush to unite with him, in an Instrument to be published, expressive of the views of Eng. and the U. S. Mr. Rush declined to concur in this measure, but refered the subject to his Govt.

1. That England considered the Sp. & Portuguese Colonies in fact independt. & beyond the control of Spain & Portugal.

2. That the acknowledgment was the subj. of time & circumstances.

3. That so long as the parties shd. contend with each other, England w'd be neutral.

4. But sh'd other powers interfere, they might cease to be indifferent.

RUSSIA.

The Envoy of Russia verbally communicated to the S. of State, that the Emperor had refused to receive Genl Devereux as Envoy from Colombia, & determined to receive no Envoy from Colombia or any of the new American Republics.

The Envoy delivered a confidential note to this effect, and concluded it by the expression of the satisfaction of his master that the U. S. have resolved to remain neuter in the contest between the new Reps. and their parent Countries.

* See the interesting account of the session of the Cabinet this day, J. Q. Adams' Memoirs, vii. 177.

To this a Reply has been given, that so long as such contest is confined to the parties, the U. S. will continue neutral, but sh'd third parties interfere the character of the contest will undergo a change in the view of the U. S., and that, as their course is approved by the Emperor, they naturally anticipate the satisfaction, that he also will remain neuter.

In a subsequent communication the Russn. Envoy announced, in the spirit of the Holy Alliance, the satisfaction of his master with the success of the French arms in Spain, and with the counter revolution of Portugal; except in the spirit of the communication, no intimation was given of the part of the Allies concerning the new Repubs. in America.

Some intimation was given of a desire that the purport of these conversations sh'd be published; it was said that we sh'd not object, our answers being published with them, and that by annexing them to the Pr's message, they wd. in this way become public. The Russian Envoy hesitated, and thus the whole matter remains confidential.

In the Cabinets on these points, Crawford has not assisted, being sick, the State & Navy concurred with the Pr., and the War Dep. dissented; especially in resp't to the Pr.'s message to Cong. at the op'g of the session.

That except him none of the other Candidates desire a caucus; that on this subject it is said that a caucus will be held, provided 90 members of the Senate & H. of R. can be mustered to attend it.

That in the correspondence, respecting the appointment of a Judge of the Supreme Court, there was a good deal of pressure from N. York for Spencer and Kent, and especially for the former; that other names were presented; and that of Van Ness urged by whatever State claims could be urged by Vermont; that New Jersey also offered a Candidate, and Pennsylvania also had a claim.

In these Circumstances Mr. V. B., who was deemed qualified & competent, was thought to be the best candidate, provided he secured the support & recommendation of the Sec. of the Navy, Mr. Thompson; accordingly he was recommended to the Pr. by Mr. A., who soon discovered that Mr. Thompson had not recommended him, and on Mr. A. again recurring to the subj't with the

Pr., he found that his recommendation had been countervailed from some quarter: on conferring with Mr. Thompson he perceived that he had neither explicitly declined nor recommended V. B.; he stated that in the offer made to him, that he was disinclined to accept, and having communicated the same to V. B., he asked him the question whether he w'd. take the office, Mr. V. B. having previously urged him, to accept the office. The result is known; Mr. Thompson changed his mind, and accepted the appointment.

Brown is to be nominated to France, Gallatin probably does not wish to return, having been able to do nothing; he will remain at Washington during the Winter, keeping himself before the Govt. & w'd. probably be willing to accept a mission to Eng. or Russia. Rush might be willing, to quit Eng'd. sh'd Pennsylvania have influence to make him V. P., or another mission furnished him. Perhaps Gallatin will enter into the presidential question in which case he may urge Rush's appointment to be V. P., and to create a vacancy at London to wh. he might be appointed.

The President delivered his message to Congress on December 2d, 1823, in which, among matters of much importance, he spoke especially of the Central and South American republics, and of the policy of the United States towards them, a subject in which the whole country was most deeply interested. They had declared and maintained their independence and had been recognized by the United States, and the question was pending as to what the Holy Alliance in Europe might desire to do to assist Spain in recovering her lost dependencies, or in interfering, some or all of them, to forward their own interests. England was inclined to join with the United States, or rather to bind them to a course of conduct which was to subject them to England's plans as to future interference.

It was to these conditions that the President called attention in those memorable words which embraced the doctrine which has passed into history as the Monroe Doctrine, and which voiced the sentiment of the nation then and ever since. He says (we quote in full):

"With the movements of this hemisphere we are, of necessity, more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the Allied Powers is essentially different, in this respect, from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments. And to the defence of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of our most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those Powers, to declare, that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace & safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power, we have not interfered, nor shall we interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition, for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European Power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."—*Annals of Congress*, vol. i, 1823–4, p. 22.

It would be particularly satisfactory here to be able to give what might be considered an official exposition of Mr. King's views on this subject, views in accordance with which in 1802 he had suggested to Mr. Livingston in Paris a course in reference to the Louisiana treaty.* But circumstances occurred which prevented such an expression. Under the rules of the Senate, the standing committees had been chosen by ballot, and at the last session Mr. King had been placed as chairman of the committee on Foreign Affairs, for which position there could be no question of his eminent qualifications. But by a resolution passed at this session they were to be appointed by the presiding officer of the Senate, who in this case, in the absence of the Vice-President, was Mr. Gaillard of Louisiana. He placed at the

* R. King, *Life*, iv., 90, 91.

head of the committee Mr. Barbour of Virginia, and Mr. King second, thus virtually degrading him. The journal of the Senate says, "on his request, he was relieved from serving."

Mr. King in a letter of December 17, 1823, to C. King writes as follows:

"The correction of the article in the National Intelligencer of this morning stating that I had been excused from serving on the committee of Foreign Relations by ill-health will be made in the Intelligencer tomorrow. I am well; but declined serving on the committee, because I was not satisfied with the arrangement of the committee."

The *Intelligencer*, published, December 18th, this correction.

"For the sake of the family and distant friends of Mr. King, of New York, we are desired to mention that his letter of yesterday to the Senate does not state that ill health will prevent his attendance at the meetings of the committee on Foreign Relations: Mr. King having asked to be excused from this service for other reasons of a personal nature not necessary to be stated."

R. KING TO C. KING.

12 Decr., 1823.

DEAR SIR:

. . . The friends of Mr. Crawford say they shall form a caucus: those of the other candidates say otherwise. The parties are understood to be diligent in their respective vocations; and the like confidence is expressed by the zealots, which is commonly uttered on other & similar occasions. It is not at present avowed by any faction, that a majority of the members of Congress are in favor of any of the Candidates: if so, the caucus, if there shd. be one, must be composed of a minority; what the effect of their proceedings may be, cannot before hand be understood. It is not believed that any two of the candidates are united, but that separately, each will contend for himself.

Mr. Crawford, as well as every other of them, is opposed to all his rivals ; and these in turn are opposed to him. Mr. Crawford & his friends are in favor of a caucus, the other candidates opposed to it. If there could not be a caucus unless a majority support it, it wd. seem that none would be held : but on the other hand there being no regulations, by wh. the number of a caucus is ascertained, and how its votes are to be counted, or certified, these matters will be so managed as best to promote the object wh. they may desire to promote.

Tennessee have expressed their disapprobation of a congressional caucus ; the same subject has been before the Legislature of So. Carolina, and is at present before that of N. Carolina Maryland & Pennsylvania. The proceedings of the States have an influence here, according to their respective tenor. Mr. Crawford is not yet recovered, particularly from an inflammation of his eyes : he suffered much from the attack in Virginia, his physicians having taken from him upwards of 320 oz. of blood in twenty three days, in addition to strong purgatives, administered during the same period. Mr. Clay manifests the effects of having been ill, but he is evidently convalescent, and with care will probably reestablish his health. Mr. Adams is well as usual, and General Jackson by his apparent mildness and moderation, will do away prejudices to his disadvantage upon the imputed absence of these estimable virtues. Mr. Calhoun, as you will see by the papers, has been nominated for the Presidency by So. Carolina, and is praised & supported by many friends.

R. K.

R. King to C. King.

Friday, December 19, 1823.

Dear Sir :

I am at a loss to understand the actual condition of the caucus. The pressure for an immediate assembling of a caucus is apparently at this moment diminished. Some days ago, it was intended that the subject should be brought before the H. of R. on a motion to commit the Tennessee Instructions to a select committee, to be named by the Speaker, who would be expected to make a Report disapproving of caucusses by Members of Con-

gress, for the purpose of nominating the Prs. of the U. S. The Crawford faction probably became acquainted with the intended proceeding, and immediately took measures to impress Clay with the belief that the friends of Crawford were his friends; that their preference was divided between Crawford & himself; that the occurrence of any event which might put either of them out of view would unite them in support of the other; this device seems to have been so far successful, that Mr. Clay is supposed to have hesitated in the plan to denounce the caucus, and to have suggested the project of the general attendance of all the Repubs, and either not to pass a vote to break up, or indefinitely to adjourn without nominating a Candidate. Since writing the above, I have understood, and I believe the information, that the whole subject is postponed, until the middle of January, and some of the members have already left town & will not return until after the holidays. All the above is confidential.

In particular confidence I mention, that I have reason to believe that it has been proposed to Govr. Yates to consent to be nominated for Vice-President, in the expectation that this will prevent his recommendation of the choice of Electors by the people, and lead him to countenance the choice of Electors by the Legislature; there is little doubt of this proposal; and some, if it be made, that it will be accepted by Govr. Y. So we go. . . .

Yrs

R. K.

R. KING TO C. KING.

20 Decr., 1823.

DEAR SIR:

. . . The caucus men treat the measure lightly, and as one of little or no importance; but having regard to the time and the quarter whence the measure proceeds, so far from a measure of no significance, it merits the most grave and deliberate consideration.

The people of Maryland daily observe the restless and extraordinary appearance of the Members of Congress, who from morning to night are engaged in discussing the subject of the presidential election, instead of being occupied in the business of the country which periodically comes before Congress for adjustment. According to present appearances the whole session

will be consumed by management & intrigues to promote the presidential election, and the real & proper business of Congress will be postponed to another session, that will be equally embroiled by the presidential subject.

The people of Maryland are enabled with their own eyes to see the present unpleasant condition of Congress: and should the people at a distance behold what the people of Maryland see, they would with Maryland discountenance & disapprove, as Maryland has done, congressional caucus to make a President.

R. K.

R. KING TO C. KING.

Sunday, 21 Decr., 1823.

DEAR SIR:

. . . My Colleague is very busy, and if I do not mistake a great portion of the management preparatory to a caucus falls on him. From late remarks, I might doubt, whether he places much reliance on Gov. Yates, as he yesterday observed that the Govr.'s Speech was actually prepared, and that it contained the recommendation of referring the choice of the Electors to the people.

There undoubtedly is some new view presented to the friends of Mr. Clay by those of Mr. Crawford: but I cannot persuade myself, that the former Gentleman can be led to believe that the friends of the latter will in any event unite to effect his choice as President: and unless he shall expect, that they will help him, as a Candidate for the first station, he will not be satisfied to cooperate with them.

The Election of a Pope is purity, simplicity, and certainty, when compared with the system of electing a President by a caucus. The conclave of Cardinals are closed, and soon walled up, while the caucus of Congress to elect a President is composed of Members, who separately, confer with whom they please, and for one or two years carry on the intrigue to choose a President. . . .

R. K.

R. KING TO C. KING.

Sunday Evening, 21 Decr.

DEAR SIR:

We have no information from Albany since the meeting of the Senate, which will afford an opportunity to form some opinion re-

specting the probable course which the Gov. & Legislature may pursue respecting the choice of Electors—Some days ago it was the opinion of my colleague that the Legislature wd. pass a law referring the choice to the people ; lately this opinion has undergone a change : whether the Govr. will recommend it is thought dubious, and shd. the Assembly send a Bill for this purpose to the Senate, the Senate may & probably will reject it. If such should be the temper of the Legislature, the communication of the Tennessee Resolution against a caucus would be smothered : but should the late fall elections be evidence of the desire of the people respecting the choice of Electors, pledged as the Senate may be by the proceedings last Spring respecting a congressional caucus, they may perhaps be willing to concur with the Assembly, shd. they pass Resolutions of the like tenor of those of Maryland. Congress, say these Resolutions, have rights and duties respecting the election of the President. The people likewise possess rights and duties in regard to the same subject : and in respect to the choice of Electors, the States respectively possess the exclusive right *to appoint the Electors, in such manner as the Legislature there of may direct ;* but no Senator or Representative of the U. S. shall be appointed Elector. The State Legislatures by the power to direct the manner of choosing Electors, may prohibit any other initiatory, or definitive, manner of choosing such Electors ; and forbid the assumption of the rights of the Electors by persons who are not, & especially by such as are expressly forbidden to be, appointed Electors. . . .

Farewell yrs.

R. K.

There are many letters until the close of the year between Mr. King and his son, Mr. Charles King, editor of the *American*, giving the current reports and fluctuating opinions upon the presidential question, and of the intrigues, especially of the friends of Mr. Crawford, to accomplish the success of their candidate by caucus nominations in the different legislatures and particularly by a congressional caucus. Of course there is much said of the activity of his colleague, Mr. Van Buren, both in Washington and in Albany to establish the caucuses, as the means of pledging

the members of the legislatures to the nomination of Mr. Crawford, and through them to push the congressional caucus, the assemblage of which at this time was far from being assured. The Governor was closely watched, and the Legislature of New York, which was about to assemble, was to decide the question whether the Legislature was to continue to appoint the Electors or to give their choice to the people; the former course being that advocated by Mr. Van Buren and his friends. Mr. King's own opinions relative to caucuses and the attempt through them to compel the action of independent men, have been given, and, as will be seen, he earnestly, in the Senate, denounced the system, especially for the nomination of a presidential candidate.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

King to C. King—Legislature should give Choice of Electors to the People—King to C. King—Government could not aid the Greeks—J. A. King to King—Gov. Yates' Message relative to Choice of Electors—King to Gore—Congress doing no Work—Caucus Plans—Lafayette—King to Gore—Disapproves of Scheme called Internal Improvements—Questions Wisdom of written Constitution—Adams rejects Proposals of Crawford's Friends—King—Remarks—Better to secure Responsibility of public Officers—J. A. King to C. King—King's light Sickness—J. A. King to King—Address of the Caucus by Holmes and Van Buren—King to C. King—New York's Action would probably decide the Election—King to C. King—Crawford an able and adroit Intriguer—King to C. King—A Convention to nominate a President unconstitutional—King to C. King—New York Senate may yet give the Election to the People—King to *National Intelligencer*, with Sketch of his Speech on Caucus Presidential Nominations—King to J. A. King—Caucus Power killed in Albany.

R. King to C. King.

Jan. 1, 1824.

Dear Sir:

. . . The manifestation of disfavor [in Virginia] which likewise comes from other quarters, will discredit and ought to defeat, any measures that may be recommended by an usurped, unconstitutional & dangerous caucus. How the keepers, as they qualify themselves, of the people of New York, will decide upon this subject, I do not pretend to conjecture: but let them do as they may, if the Legislature gives the choice of Electors to the people, it can be of no importance. It is not a question who shall be the President, but whether the people are to be free to decide that matter for themselves. The constitution of the country, and the presumed intelligence & probity of the people, demand that the

choice of Electors be placed in their power; the allied powers in Europe, and their kindred juntas here, deny that power of this sort can with safety be confided to them, and claim to direct the people what they may & may not do.

R. K.

R. King to C. King.

Senate Jany. 2, 1824.

Dear Sir:

I send you the Message of Mr. Monroe respecting the Greeks. . . . The resolutions of S. Carolina manifest a warm and deep interest in favor of the Greeks, which is evidently most extensive throughout the country. Still I myself am not able to see any way in urging or giving my consent to an act of recognition, should it unfortunately be moved in Congress. I have no kind of objection to the proceedings of the Cities and People of the U. S. in favor of the Greeks, but do not perceive that the Govt. of the nation can without hazard go so far as in many quarters it seems to be desired they should do. . . .

Yours,

R. K.

J. A. King to R. King.

Jamaica, Jany. 9th, 1824.

Dear Sir:

. . . By the papers of this evening we have received Govr. Yates' Speech and the confirmation of what was feared, the election of Goodale as Speaker of the Assembly—I have read the Message * very hastily, and more with a view to learn what was

* At the opening of the Legislature of New York in 1824, the Governor, adverting in his message to the choice of electors of President and Vice President, said that as there was no uniform rule on this subject, one should be ingrafted in the Constitution of the United States, for no alteration "in any one State will produce a material change in the various modes now existing throughout the union. . . . It is to be expected that another opportunity will shortly be presented for the Legislature of this State to sanction an amendment, not only establishing a uniform rule in the choice of electors, but also securing the desir-

recommended in reference to the choice of Electors of P. & V. P. than from any expectation that he would, under the promises which have been held out to him, dare to propose and advocate as he otherwise would have done, the choice of Electors by the people. This would have been a plain course for him to take and would have aided much his re-election ; he has been made to see other things, for which he has abandoned the votes of New York for those of the electoral colleges. Should those who have promised have the power, and with it the *inclination*, to fulfil the pledge, I hope from the bottom of my heart, that he may receive the reward, which his subserviency to their will deserves—a nomination by a caucus and a rejection by the people. There are two avenues through which the Governor has been approached upon the subject of presidential Electors, and both have had their weight in changing the settled purpose of his mind in relation thereto. He has been told that all now depends upon New York ; that he has it in his power, by the manner in which he shall treat the subject in his message, of preventing the choice of Electors being given to the people ; that by discouraging the alteration of the mode at this time, he would be considered as rendering an efficient service to the Republican cause and its candidates at Washington, which, at the approaching caucus, would neither be overlooked nor remain unrewarded.

He has been further given to understand that in case the caucus could not be induced to nominate him as V. P., the thing which is next nearest to his heart, his re-election should be secured, by giving him the regular nomination at Albany. His hopes have been raised by the vision at Washington, and his fears of Young & Sanford have been diminished by the promise of support from V. B. and his friends. He now thinks himself secure at home and would venture abroad in quest of adventures ; not as Knight but as Squire. If Van Buren would have a Dutch Man for Vice

able object of directing such choice to be made by the people. A more propitious period of evincing its propriety and consequently affording a more favorable prospect of obtaining a constitutional number of States to assent to it, I am inclined to think has not presented itself since the organization of the government." " An executive recommendation to the Legislature to retain in their own hands the power of appointing the electors" (Hammond's *Pol. Hist. of N. Y.*, ii., 142).

President, he should have made a better selection, or have become the candidate himself; and then I think the Georgian would have been well matched. . . .

Affectionately yours

JOHN A. KING.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

GEORGETOWN, Jany. 20, 1824.

DEAR SIR:

I have just rec'd yours of —— and rejoice to hear that your general Health is so comfortable; may it continue so. As our winter has been mild in a most unusual degree, for that or some other cause I have enjoyed uninterrupted health, without colds or catarrhs, and as Mr. Rensselaer is a slow walker, I walk with him often from our quarters to the Capitol. You observe by the Nat. Intelligencer that Congress do no business of importance, tho' they are busy in carrying on from Washington an extensive presidential correspondence, and are incessantly employed, out of Congress in the preparations to promote or to defeat a congressional caucus: it is still asserted that this measure will certainly take place, while the opponents of the measure say it will be defeated.

Whether it happens or not, is of inferior importance to the question at Albany whether the Electors be chosen by the people or by the Legislature—if by the former, so far as respects that State, the caucus will be of little importance; and without one, the Legislature would appoint Electors who would coincide with the views of the friends of the caucus here, whether it does or does not take place. I feel but little concern, who is chosen Pr., if the Electors be chosen by the people, but a choice by the Legislature will be the choice of the unworthy Juntas who manage the Legislature; so long as this shall be the case, the people are not the keepers of their own liberties. . . .

Another topic has presented itself, letters from Lafayette having been received that he intends visiting the U. S. This has become the occasion to pronounce his eulogium and to express our

gratitude, wh' is believed to require that the U. S. should send a *ship of the line* to bring him to this country ; it not being recollected that vessels of this class are never employed for such a service, which is more conveniently performed in a frigate or smaller vessel.*

I remain faithfully yours

R. K.

J. Q. Adams, Memoirs.

Extract from *J. Q. Adams' Memoirs*—vi., p. 237

Jany. 24, 1824.

"I told Taylor that my mind was made up. I was satisfied that there was at this time a majority of the whole people of the United States, and a majority of the States, utterly averse to a nomination by Congressional caucus, thinking it adverse to the spirit of the Constitution, and tending to corruption. I thought it so myself ; and therefore would not now accept a Congressional caucus nomination, even for the Presidency. And of course a nomination for the Vice-Presidency, in co-operation with one for Mr. Crawford as President, could have no charms for me. Not that I despised the Vice-Presidency, nor wished peevishly to reject the second place because I could not obtain the first ; but because the people disapproved of this mode of nomination, and I disapproved of it myself."

Jany. 27—vi., 239.

"Mr. King said the course I had taken was such as he should have expected from me, and, he thought, the only one worthy of me. He said he had had some conversation with Mr. Clay, from

* On the 21st January, 1824, the House of Representatives passed unanimously a resolution reported by a committee which had been appointed to consider the proposed visit of Lafayette to this country, expressing grateful and affectionate attachment still felt towards him, and directing the President to hold in readiness a ship of the line and to ask the Marquis to take passage therein, whenever he desired to visit this country (*Annals of Congress*, 1823–4, p. 201). When this resolution was sent to the Senate, Messrs. Hayne, King, Macon, Smith, and Jackson were appointed to consider the subject, and reported a resolution with some modifications on 26th January (*Annals of Congress*, p. 146), which was adopted by the Senate, and finally by the House on 29th January (*Annals of Congress*, p. 1263).

which he had learnt that Clay was for going to the caucus ostensibly for the purpose of voting it down, but to take his chance of the nomination if there should be a majority for it. . . . King is much dissatisfied with the indications from the State of New York, and, I think, does not yet see them in all their bearings.

January, 30,—vi., 342.

"Mr. King spoke of the state of affairs in New York. His own views are in some respect biassed by his situation. He has been heretofore himself a candidate for the Presidency. He had at one time during the present Administration hopes of being the next in succession.* There is a spice of disappointment in all his opinions, and his grounds of preference now are too much sectional. There is something peculiar in the state of his mind, for it is transparent in his conduct and discourse that although strenuous for the Northern man, he would, in the event of his failure, not be without consolation. King is one of the wisest and best men among us. But his own ambition was inflamed by a splendid success in early life, followed by vicissitudes of popular favor and hopes deferred, till he has arrived nearly at the close of his public career. He has one session of Congress to sit in the Senate, but talks even now of resigning."

R. King to C. Gore.

Georgetown, Sunday, 1 Feby., 1824.

Dear Sir:

The House of R. are now employed in a wide and questionable scheme, of what is called internal improvements; and it seems not unlikely, that the surveys and examinations wh. the bill authorizes, will be approved. The consequence will be the establishment of a construction of the Constitution, that will render the Treasury of the U. S. wholly insecure by exposing the

* There is nothing in his papers, or shown in any other quarter, that he had any such desire or even "hopes." Mr. Adams seems to have misunderstood, as he did on a previous occasion, the motives that influenced his conduct. —Editor.

same to the combinations, that wlll be formed, to apply the same, from time to time, to the local demands of all parts of the country, for the making of Roads, Canals & Bridges. The necessary consequence of the exercise of this power, without check or limitation, must in the end be, to corrupt the public councils, and to endanger those great interests the care of which are confided to the impartiality and integrity of Congress. To survey and explore the route of roads & canals throughout the whole of the U. S. is a useless & unnecessary business ; while the ascertainment of the route of particular roads or canals, which it may be desirable & of common benefit to make would be expedient, if any power for such purpose be given by the Constitution.

On this subject, I am disposed to doubt, whether a written Constitution, of which we have boasted, can alone define & limit the powers of Govn.; be in fact more precise than a Constitution deposited, & preserved, in rules & maxims like those of the common law, which tho' unwritten are transmitted from age to age, with almost the precision of mathematics or geometry : numbers, and diagrams do not change, but such is the imperfection, & uncertainty of language, that words & propositions, which at one time, impart a definite or precise meaning, at another & subsequent time are understood to mean other and different interpretations. Upon this consideration, it may well admit of doubt, whether the written and modern Constitutions of one country are, upon not a few cardinal points, as precise, & incapable of erroneous construction, as the Constitution of England found in the ancient rules and maxims of the unwritten, or common Law.

The safety of the right of election, so far as the right may be affected by the mode of exercising the same, tho' vital in our system, is exposed to, and now encounters extreme difficulty : as the right appertains to the people scattered over extensive regions, and there is no authorized manner, or means, to obtain the concentration of the votes ; the result will be to effect that by corruption, wh. ought to be brought about by the fair operation of the elective right. . . . The difficulty arising from the want of some prescribed means, to obtain a previous concentration of the opinion of the Electors is so great, that not only irregular but forbidden means are justified, because it is only by a caucus, that

the remote Electors are informed of a nomination, which they may be led to approve. . . .

The friends of Crawford * have approached those of Adams in hopes of prevailing on him to accept the V. Pr. This has been promptly refused—the same means were employed with Clay, who has also, as is understoood with equal decision rejected the overture; "Aut Cæsar, aut nullus" is the motto of each and all.

With great affection I am always & faithfully yours

R. K

R. KING TO C. KING.

GEORGETOWN, Friday evening, Feb. 13, 1824.

DEAR SIR:

. . . V. B. puts a bold face upon affairs and speaks, however he thinks, that all is going on well both here and at Albany —tho', entre nous, I saw a letter that came by the morning's mail from General Root—saying "*we are here in trouble*, and *that there is not a majority of the members of the Legislature in favor of any of the Candidates.*"

Yrs

R. KING.

The Senate, February 10, 1824, discussed a bill "better to secure the responsibility of public officers," upon which Mr. King said:

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* "January 29th, 1824.

"*Memorandum.*—Mr. A. informs me that overtures having been made to him by the friends of Mr. Crawford, † to withdraw as a candidate for Pr., and consent to be V. Pr.; that the same were rejected, and the Person who spoke them informed me, that if the Caucus w'd offer to nominate him as Pr., that he w'd in like manner reject the proposal. It is probable that the same thing has been offered to Mr. Clay so far as respects the V. P., and that the offer has been rejected; if so, all the friends of the candidates except Mr. Crawford are united in opposition to a caucus, wh. is the main and only measure by wh Mr. Crawford expects to be elected Pr."

† At a later period, March 24th, when these offers were renewed Mr. Adams says: "I told him, Mr. Burton of North Carolina, that intimations of a similar character to these I had received from Mr. Crawford's friends, had since been made by partizans of General Jackson, and had received answers substantially the same" (*Mem.*, vi., p. 266).

"That in all the accounting offices, the laws prescribed qualifications for the persons who filled the offices. Where Congress has the right to create the offices, it has also the right to prescribe the requisite character of the persons by whom they are to be filled. For the collection of revenue, the imposition of taxes, etc., Congress has a right to make laws, and to provide for the appointment of the necessary officers, under these laws, and to prescribe the qualifications for them. If the officer is created by the law, he is subject to such regulations as the wisdom of Congress may impose. The older governments grow, the more lax they are apt to become in their provisions for the accountability of their officers. Great sums of money must, necessarily, be paid out, through individual agents, and the object is to protect the nation against the appropriation of the money to the private purposes of the agents. Corruption of public officers had been the greatest bane of governments. The fact whether a person really was a public defaulter or not, he conceived to be easily ascertainable, and, if he were so, he ought not to be appointed to any office. It had been the custom, upon nominations by the executive, to reject such as were known to be public defaulters. Great benefit had resulted from this practice. In some cases the provision of this bill might operate against persons who were not, in fact, indebted; but those instances would be rare, and others, equally qualified, might then be appointed to the office. On the whole, he thought no great public disadvantage could arise from the passage of the bill, and, on the contrary, that it would be of great benefit to the Government; that bad administration and bad morality were encouraged by laxity in this respect. If the case of a public officer were suspicious, it would always be better to get a man who was not so circumstanced."

The bill was finally passed by the Senate, but failed to pass the House.

J. A. KING TO C. KING.

GEORGETOWN, Feby. 19, 1824.

DEAR SIR:

. . . My father has had a bad cold for the last three days: and is now suffering from a bad sore throat. He has sent for Dr. Worthington of Georgetown this morning who prescribed for

him . . . he has little or no fever and bears his malady with great coolness. The Doctor wished to bleed him, as he said his symptoms indicated that course of treatment; but he was unwilling, because when bled formerly, it had produced a convulsion fit. . . . Yours affectionately

JOHN A. KING.

J. A. KING TO R. KING.

JAMAICA, March 5th, 1824.

DEAR SIR:

Uncle William [King, of Maine] whom we overtook in Baltimore, and who returned with us to New York is greatly chagrined by the address which the caucus-men published to the Democracy of the Country: he says that it was all Holmes' and Van Buren's work; that it was drafted by Holmes, and revised by Van Buren; that it was against the opinions and wishes of a great majority of Crawford's best friends and supporters in and out of the caucus, and above all misrepresented the sentiments of the man it was put forth to serve; that it placed him in a most unpleasant predicament at home, where his administration had known no distinction in politics and where he had uniformly, and not without authority, asserted, that Mr. Crawford's course in conducting the affairs of the government would be tolerant of all sects and parties; that the principles contained in the address could be explained it was true, but that the necessity of resorting to this humiliating office might well have been spared; seeing that New York and Pennsylvania alone could respond to the doctrine of party contained in it. This was told in confidence to me and afterwards to Charles and myself at Charles' house. . .

Affectionately yours

JOHN A. KING.

A bill was before the Senate and discussed on the 9th of March to make appropriations for four years for the purchase of cannon, etc., for the fortifications. Objections were made to this arrangement, many deeming it better to make the appropriation for only one year at a time. Mr. King was one of these and is reported to have said *:

* *Annals of Congress*, 1823–4, p. 331.

"He was inclined to the annual appropriation, as furnishing more frequent opportunities of revising this subject; he thought it one of great importance. It might be expedient to fortify the country at certain exposed points, but he did not believe that the general feeling of the nation was in favor of a general fortification of the frontiers and seaboard. The whole number of fortifications proposed to be built would cost twenty millions of dollars. He did not believe that the country ought to go so far. Another consideration was in this question: the support of a large standing military force; this was certainly contrary to the genius of our institutions. The navy furnished a great arm of defence; but we had a still better reliance in the stout hearts and strong arms of our countrymen; arm them with guns and bayonets, and they are a better defence than cannon and fortifications; this is the source to which we must look for protection. The battle of Bunker Hill furnished a proof that the hearts and arms of the yeomanry were a better reliance than cannon or forts. France had taken the notion to fortify her country; the enemy passed by her fortifications and conquered her in the very interior of the country. She had no such militia as the honorable gentleman from Tennessee (Gen. Jackson) had called to his assistance. The character and the principles of the people are what we must rely upon. If the people are not armed, give them muskets and bayonets. He would trust to Providence that, with these means, they would prove themselves not unworthy of their fathers. He believed that with these means the country would be able to protect itself from enemies abroad and insurrections at home. He had no doubt we should become a great and formidable naval power; and to that quarter we might look for a highly important means of defence."

R. KING TO C. KING.

DEAR SIR: GEORGETOWN, Mar. 10, 1824.

Appearances as far as understood tend to shew that the Election Bill will be rejected by the Senate, tho' some still believe

at Albany otherwise: but admitting that the Legislature retain the power of choosing the Electors, they must convene in November to make the choice, a period when their own elections will be before the people, and when they will be less likely to choose Electors disapproved by the people, than at the present time; furthermore, as the refusal of the right of choosing Electors by the people will be ill received, and lead thro' the Summer to popular meetings throughout the State, meetings which will be excited & encouraged by similar proceedings in the other States, it will be at least uncertain in whose favor the Electors will be chosen. It is now in the power of N. York to decide the election in favor of the northern Candidate; if instead of doing so the question be deferred till the Autumn, the decision of New York may be of no significance or avail, as altho' Virginia dislikes the northern Candidate her apprehension of the military candidate is the stronger passion, and should Crawford's case become, as it probably will, desperate in the course of four or six months, Virginia will decide the election in favor of Mr. A. and N. Y'k will be left at the tail of the Union. Is it not possible that the probability of this result may be reasonably understood at Albany. R. K.

In R. King's Handwriting dated March 13, 1824.

That the Spanish colonies are independent in fact.

That Eng. has deferred in deference for Spain to acknowledge their independence. If Spain was prepared to acknowledge, Eng. wd. mediate to obtain com. ad. or preferences for Spain, being herself content to have equal coml. rights with all other nations—this instruction sent to *the ambassador of* Eng. at Madrid, and in reference to this the expected answer referred to by the Eng. papers refers.

A treaty between France and Spain has been made, by wh. the former employs a Fr. army in Spain for its protection and order, & Sp. shall pay to France 34,000,000 Livres.

The Pr's message is not relished by Canning, tho' universally applauded by the people of Engd.; England may not relish the anti-colonization upon the Am. Continent, and Russia may dislike the same more than England; and as the interference of boundaries

upon the shores of the northern Pacific is more likely to affect the rights of England than those of the U. S., it may have occurred to the Eng. Ministry that the joint negotiation between Eng. and the U. S. on the one side & Russia on the other, might be pursued with less zeal in favor of England by the Ministers Bagot & Middleton united in the negotiation, than if the same shd. be considered separately. Mr. Canning suggested this view to Mr. Rush, and proposed that the further discussions should be separately carried on—and this of course will become the course.

Upon the subject of Mr. Canning's former overtures to Mr. Rush, respecting a joint understanding and concert of measures respecting the Span. Colonies, and after the ascertainment of the policy of the U. S. as announced by the Pr. message, Mr. Canning informed Mr. Rush that Eng. had communicated to Sp. that in his opinion these Provinces were in fact independent, that Eng. out of regard for Sp. had delayed to acknowledge their independence, preferred that Sp. shd. take the lead; but as matters became more urgent, that Eng. would not wait much longer; that if Sp. decided in favor of the policy, that England would mediate &c, in order to preserve certain advantages for Spain, reserving to herself equal coml. rights with other nations; and at the last Eng. dates, no answer had been recd. from Spain; and that as matters were actually situated, it did not appear requisite to pursue their former communications any further; and so things were placed at the latest dates.

R. KING TO C. KING.

SENATE CHAMBER, 16 March., 1824.

DEAR SIR:

. . . If the people have generally desired that the Legislature shd. restore to them the choice of Electors, I have myself believed that the measure of the Senate to force upon them Mr. Crawford as President, would inevitably create a feeling that must defeat the views of Mr. Crawford, and sink the influence of his supporters. Mr. Crawford is not well understood unless he be regarded as the most cunning, and dangerous intriguer of the U. S., and if his advocates and supporters be enumerated, you

have a catalogue of the ablest, and most adroit intriguers throughout the country which such a master could recruit.

What will be the condition of the people of the U. S. under such a Chief, assisted by a band of such counsellors?

I recur to the suggestions made to you in my last and now advisedly recommend that of yourself you propose, or suggest, the nomination of Adams as President and Jackson as V. President: the two together will overwhelm Crawford & Gallatin.

R. K.

R. King to C. King.

Senate Chamber, 23 March, 1824.

Dear Sir:

Referring to a late article in the American, I ought to express to you a decided opinion in opposition to the suggestion of the expediency of a general convention to nominate the President. Having had occasion to examine the Constitution of the U. S. relative to nomination by a congressional caucus, I have arrived at the opinion that no provision of it authorizes or countenances any general meeting for the purpose of concentrating the votes of the States in the election of the President: but as the incipient measures for the presidential election, are assigned & limited to the respective States, this manner of beginning the election excludes every other manner.

Each State must appoint the Electors, to wh. it is entitled, within 34 days before the day of giving their votes. They are required to assemble within their own State for the purpose of giving their votes on the same day, and the Electors of two or more States are not at liberty to convene at a third place; and from the shortness of the time between their choice & the exercise of their office, it becomes impracticable that they should hold intercourse with the Electors of the other States; a circumstance that secures them in some degree from intrigue & corruption. The election of the Pr., as it is one of the most important, so it is one of the most intricate provisions of the Constitution, and in its object, except in the first stage of the process, is assigned to the States acting in their federal equal capacity. For this reason, measures which may be employed in the several States, under regulations and provisions of simple, and single sovereignties,

could not be adopted in the balanced system of the Constitution of the U. S.—a compact between the States, wh. contains special provisions whereby the executive, legislative and judicial officers must be appointed.

Because Conventions may be, and are, held to nominate State officers it does not hence result that they may be held in order to concentrate the opinion, of the States, relative to the election of any officer of the U. S.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO C. KING.

GEORGETOWN, Monday Evg., 25 March, 1824.

DEAR SIR:

We yesterday received the news from Albany. Those who believed that the rejection of the Election Bill, was equivalent to the certainty of the choice of Crawford Electors, estimate the information as the pledge of 30 electoral votes for the Treasury Candidate; but on the presumption that the people have actually desired the restoration of the choice of the Electors, and that this sentiment has occasioned some zeal to be gratified, the ungracious refusal would make the election of a popular candidate uncertain, and by the influence of the press, of popular meetings during the Summer, the courage of the Senators will be put to a severe trial at their meeting in November.

Perhaps the immediate effect may be so considerable, that a Bill may be passed before the adjournment of the Legislature, giving the choice to the people; unless the opposition to the course, which is counselled from this, and pursued at Albany, be much less than we have believed it to have been, the Legislature may probably yet pass the Law. Tho' I confess that the temper which the vote to postpone manifests, tho' enfeebled by the previous vote to refer the election to the people, looks somewhat discouraging that a revision may still occur. . . .

R. K.

On March 18, 1824, in the debate upon postponing the Constitutional amendments, Mr. King delivered an address in which he denounced a Congressional caucus for the nomination of a candidate for the Presidency. He was requested by

the editors of the *National Intelligencer* to prepare a sketch of his remarks for publication in the report of the debate which they proposed to publish. He excused himself by saying that being at the time so engaged in the finance committee he would be unable to do so in the time proposed, but would do so at his leisure and furnish the sketch to them. They did not wait, but, as he says in a letter to C. King, they presented his speech "in their own way, which was not mine."

In the same letter, he writes:

"The whole amendments were indefinitely postponed by a vote of 30 to 13., and as De Wolf observed to me and V. B., addressing himself to the latter, as we were leaving the Senate, 'we have thrown King Caucus overboard.'"

It was not until March 31st that he sent the draft of his speech to the editors of the *Intelligencer*,* with the following preliminary remarks, which were published with it:

"March 31st, 1824.

"Mr. K of N. Y has not had leisure since the debate of the Senate of the 18. instant, a report of which was published in the Intelligencer of the 24h. instant, sooner to prepare a sketch of the opinion, which led to the remarks which he delivered to the Senate in that debate; he now sends the same to the editors of the Intelligencer.

"To such parts of their report of the 24th. as contains the observations made on the occasion by some junior members of

*R. King to C. King.

Georgetown, April 6, 1824.

Dear Sir:

Gates has printed my remarks with more care than usual. The rebuke which I deemed it proper to make upon the observations which were made by Noble and Himes, not having been heard, if they were expressed, in the debate, I could reply to them in no way, better than by the note, which I sent to the Editors with a request that it should precede my remarks in the Senate. This also afforded me an opportunity of expressing my determination to retire from the Senate at the end of the next Session. I could have wished to have debated some of the points, but had I made my remarks longer they wd. not have been read.

R. King.

the Senate, it may be remarked that observations of this character, are so contrary to the usual decorum & mutual deference which in all former times have distinguished the debates of the Senate, it may be hoped that like observations may not be imitated in future debates of this body. While this anticipation is indulged by the oldest member of the Senate, not in his own behalf, as he will retire at the close of the present Congress, but from the long & habitual attachment & respect which he must always desire to cherish for this distinguished & respected body." *

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

SENATE CHAMBER, Apl. 3, 1824.

DEAR SIR:

. . . At Albany the caucus power if not dissolved, is greatly distracted: of which I have the proof in V. B's alarm, manifested by an overdone effect to appear well satisfied.

Lt. Gov. Root wrote to me a week ago a letter, which I construed into a misgiving in his expectation of the success of Crawford. In a reply of today, I say we understand that great difficulties exist in the wigwam at Albany, but that such is the necessity here for the services of the Leader, who could put things in order at Albany, that he cannot be spared: so that his deputies must correct what they have unskillfully managed in the necessary absence of the master.

R. K.

* For speech see Appendix VIII.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

King's Country Life—To P. Mellen—Death of his Sister—C. King to King—Effect of Young's Nomination for Governor by Caucus—King to C. King—Lowrie's Attempt to injure Jackson—Wheaton to King—Removal of De Witt Clinton from Canal Commission—King to J. A. King—N. Edwards' Charge against Crawford—King to J. A. King—Action of the Committee—Effect on Caucus Men—King to Edwards—Should obey the Summons—King to C. King—Removal of Clinton Condemned—Goldsborough to King—Approves Anti-Caucus Speech—Regrets King's intended Retirement from Public Life—King on the Edwards Inquiry—Conclusion of it—Col. Miller—King—Senate Ratification of Convention with G. Britain—Circumstances connected with it—Crawford's Action relative to the Convention—King to Gore—Legislation on Public Improvements may be a Cause of Corruption—Convention with G. Britain—Lafayette's Visit to the United States—King to C. King—Action of Committees of Congress slow—Amount of Compensation to Lafayette likely to be Adopted—Action of Congress—King to C. King—Lafayette accepts—Views on the Presidential Canvass—King—Changed Relations with Van Buren.

In the midst of his public engagements at Washington, Mr. King found time to write many letters to his son John, living near him at Jamaica, relative to the management of garden and farm and the choice Devon cattle, of which the first had been imported years before from England and which he had since carefully bred. Indeed to the end of his life, he loved the country, the flowers, the shrubs and trees of which he had brought together very many varieties, the birds which were always protected against intruders, and all animal life, a dog, or a cow, or a well bred horse. Though he lived alone since the death of his wife, his country home was the place where his happiest hours were passed and in which, at the end of his senatorial career, he expected

to spend the remainder of his life, for he had already given notice of his intention then to retire from public life.

About this time he received a letter announcing the death of one of his sisters, which he acknowledged in the following terms:

R. KING TO PRENTISS MELLEN.

WASHINGTON, Aprl 10, 1824.

DEAR SIR:

Be good enough to accept my thanks for your letter of the second instant. The event which it communicates was not wholly unexpected, as my sister's malady has been severe and of late has been regarded as incurable. The order has been interrupted by the death of this worthy and exemplary woman; it was naturally to have been expected that she would have survived me, as I was her senior. The interval cannot be long before we may reunite again; I may remain here a short time longer, but I am admonished to withdraw from public service, which I shall do at the next session of Congress. Poor Thatcher! I deplore the misfortune (a paralytic stroke) which has befallen him. We are bound to submit, but I earnestly hope that the transition may be neither sudden nor lingering. With great Respect and Regard,

I am, dear Sir, your most obedt. Servt.

RUFUS KING.

To return again to the consideration of the events which were so agitating the members of Congress, to the neglect of the business of the country, the canvass of the prospects of the candidates for the Presidency, and the attempts by the friends of individual candidates to forward their success, the letters of Mr. King present in his almost daily correspondence with his son, the Editor of the *American*, a fair summary of the current phases of opinion. It would require much space to record them here, but there are some statements, which represent his views as to men and their apparent motives, which it may be proper to present here as part of the history of the times.

C. KING TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, April 5, 1824.

DEAR SIR:

You will see that the caucus, have nominated Young & Root. I am myself at a loss to say what it argues, tho' arriving at the same moment with your letter of 2 April which refers to efforts making to induce a co-operation between the friends of Crawford & Clay, it strikes me as confirming that idea. Young and his friends have been decidedly anti-Crawford & rather Clayish; the condition of his nomination may however be that Crawford is to be supported by his friends. This nomination will at any rate augment the present political confusion. Many of the supporters of Jackson, & who are at all events opponents of Crawford, mean to abide by the caucus nomination of Young & Root, and it will be altogether a queer war. As yet matters are in a state to render it difficult to say whether we are losers or gainers by this nomination, tho' I fear the former. We mean however to fight the battle out.

Yours Truly

CHAS. KING.

On April 9th he writes:

"I observe that you take notice of the matter of Lowrie;* hitherto I have thought favorably of him; but he has become so

* On March 11th, Mr. King had written to Mr. C. King, an account of the attempt of Senator Lowrie to discredit General Jackson in Pennsylvania, by stating that at the time Mr. Monroe was elected President, General Jackson had written to him to advise him to be "the President of the nation . . . and to be this should call to his cabinet two federalists and two republicans," and that the President answered this by approving the policy, but expressing the reason why it would be inexpedient. It is not possible to give the details of this proceeding, which may be found in the contemporary publications, but it may be said that Jackson's letter was one recommending Colonel Drayton an old comrade as Secretary of War, but contained no advice such as Lowrie had reported. "It was an attempt to discredit Jackson by attributing to him a disposition to do away with all parties." Mr. King further says, "while the general tone of the letter will reflect honor upon Jackson, it will prove embarrassing to Lowrie and his counsellor, and cannot be injurious to the General in Pennsylvania." Mr. Van. Buren was supposed to be the counsellor.

much of a zealot in favor of the caucus nomination of Crawford & Gallatin, that he has, as I think, adopted the course which he has now taken, in the belief that he may affect the standing of Jackson ; and what is quite as improbable, promote the interest of Crawford. Neither the Pr. nor Genl. Jackson will gratify Mr. Lowrie with any reply or notice : the standing of the former restrains him from taking part in difficulties like those of wh. Mr. Lowrie complains, and the latter has more discretion than to be drawn into disputes of this character.

Private. I am much inclined to believe that V. B. has contributed to lead Lowrie into the course wh. he has pursued, & that Gallatin's nomination was effected by V. B., in the belief that it would gratify Pennsylvania, and have a favorable influence there in promoting the interest of Crawford ; another consideration operated in favor of Gallatin. Lowrie is by birth a foreigner ; and came with his father in infancy to this country ; he therefore feels, as foreigners generally feel, dissatisfaction in the preference, that is commonly expressed in favor of a native citizen ; if Gallatin should be elected V. Pr., and furthermore should he, by the death of Crawford, attain even temporarily to the office of Pr., it would gratify in a peculiar manner every person in Mr. Lowrie's situation.

R. K.

H. Wheaton to R. King.

Albany, April 12, 1824.

My dear Sir :

I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 6th & also your Speech on "the Central Power." I have read it with great pleasure, & am convinced that if anything will open the eyes of the People it must be the parting counsels of one who has so long observed the operations of this Government. . . .

The Senate sent us this morning a vote to remove De Witt Clinton as a Canal Commissioner, just as we were on the point of adjourning. This was a contrivance of the faction to fix on us the imputation of partiality to him. They believed we should vote against it. But they were much mortified to find that the most conspicuous members on our side of the House voted *for*

the Resolution. The gun missed fire, as many of their own men voted against it.*

Yours respectfully

H. WHEATON.

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

GEORGETOWN, 19 Apl 1824.

DR. SIR :

. . . The H of R. have been to-day agitated by a letter from Mr Edwards † lately appointed to Mexico, who on his arrival at the River Ohio, on his way home, had drawn up a charge, which he has addressed to the speaker of the House of R, against Mr. Crawford. Mr Edwards avows himself to be the author of the A. B. Publications, against the secretary of the Treasury, of the former session, and desires that they may be now rec'd as portion of the charges that he now makes to the H of R ag't this officer, concluding his complaint with a number of specifications. I understand that the complaint is ordered to be referred to a committee with power to send for persons and papers. As this affair has occurred just before the expected adjournment, it must

* Mr. Clinton, who had been the promoter of the Erie and Champlain canals, had devoted himself faithfully and gratuitously to the work of their construction, had been and was at this time the "President of the board of commissioners, a majority of whom were his political opponents. No malconduct was charged and insinuated against him, as canal commissioner" ; and yet, "on the last day of the session of the Legislature . . . a resolution was submitted for his removal from his office. It was acted on without a moment's delay, all the Senators save three voted in the affirmative." In the Assembly it was instantly passed by a vote of 64 to 34.—Hammond *Pol. Hist. of N. Y.*, 11–159.

† The nomination of Mr. Ninian Edwards as Minister to Mexico, Mr. King says in a letter to C. King, Feby 21, 1824, "has excited much dissatisfaction among the caucussites, who impute to Mr. Monroe the want of friendship for Mr. Crawford in their expression of confidence in the A. B. charges of last year against the head of the Treasury. . . . An effort will be made, and fail, to defeat the appointment of Governor Edwards."

He was confirmed as Minister by the Senate by a large vote, and after his instructions were made out and while he was on his way to his post, he drew up a paper, addressed to the House of Representatives "defensive of himself against a charge contained in a report made to the House by Mr. Crawford since Edwards left Washington."—*J. Q. Adams Mem.*, vi., 296; Benton's *Thirty Years View.*

give rise to perplexity, and it may be feared to a little less moderation than could be desired. Our presidential affairs are without material change, V. B. says all things are going well for Crawford, but he sees what I cannot. Jackson continues to observe & maintain the dignified course which he has done throughout our session, and has certainly given not a few proofs of his firmness and of capacity beyond what was anticipated.

R. K.

The Committee of the House reported that they had issued a process requiring Mr. Edwards to attend before them, and had sent it after him by a messenger; the House ordered their proceedings communicated to the President.

R. KING TO J. A. KING.

April 21, 1824.

DEAR SIR:

This proceeding (the action of the Committee) will arrest Edwards' mission to Mexico; indeed it will not be extraordinary, considering the importance of his charges to his own reputation & safety in case of his failing to sustain them, if he offers his commission to the Pr. immediately on his arrival at Washington.

All this shews that a question of great consequence is referred to the Committee of the House, that the parties who are to be affected by it, are drawn into deep waters, and that reputation & safety on the side of the accuser, or accused, will be exposed to imminent peril.

I have not been able to see, and observe the countenances and manners of the friends of Mr Crawford on this occasion, nor to judge of the effect upon the caucus men of these proceedings; which are of a grave character, and seem inevitably to lead to consequences more decisive than we are accustomed to. If I do not mistake the caucus men cannot gain, but may lose by such measures: if the proceedings are protracted, they must affect the reputation of Mr C. and with the greatest caution, rumours will circulate, & conjectures will be formed, that must be injurious to Mr C. So at this moment the subject may be regarded; a few days may enable us to form a more correct opinion.

RUFUS KING.

R. King to N. Edwards.

Senate Chamber, Apl. 21, 1824.

Dr. Sir :

Without knowing the opinion of others I think it right to lose no time in apprising you of my own, that the Committee of the House ought to, and probably will, require your attendance before them, on the matter of your letter to the Speaker from Wheeling, and that your reputation & safety make it necessary that you should without hesitation or delay obey this summons.

Reflect that unless the charges in your letter be made good, the Report of the Committee may state, the same to be false & calumnious ; a result that would be wholly insufferable.*

With friendly sentiments
I am Dr. Sir, yr. ob. Serv.
Rufus King.

R. King to C. King.

Apl. 21, 1824.

Dear Sir :

The Politics & Parties of N. Y. are in great confusion, and I should be better satisfied could I think that our friends had done nothing to produce the disorder—The course of the friends of the electoral Law was so plain that I am surprised it should have been lost sight of. The opposition to the fair claim of the people was so certain to give influence to the friends of the electoral Law, that it seems unaccountable that they shd. have forfeited their good name in a case which afforded them the opportunity of acquiring additional reputation, if they had stood up in their places and observed that tho. they shd. not propose to bestow power or honor upon Mr. Clinton, they would not allow those, who desired to gratify their animosity, to avail themselves of this temper, to force them into measures that all men of moderation must condemn ; & therefore that they wd. not join in a vote to remove Mr. Clinton without cause. The public feeling everywhere condemns the removal of Mr. Clinton, and

* Copy of letter I wrote & sent on 20th of Apl. by mail, having first showed it to Mr. Cook, Mr. Mills and Mr. Calhoun, each of wh. approved. R. K.

will I fear have the effect of destroying the discrimination between the friends & enemies of the electoral Law.

It will not surprize me if the real object of our friends in obtaining a convention at Utica will not be disappointed by this mistake, and that shd. be cause to apprehend that the Utica convention may nominate Mr. Clinton for Gov. & perhaps Jackson & Calhoun as Pr. & V. Pr.

Should this happen your determination may not be incorrect; and abstinence at least from State Politics may be eligible. . . .

R. K.

ROBT. H. GOLDSBOROUGH TO R. KING.

MYRTLE GROVE, Aprl. 21, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . Your last, covering the paper contg. your remarks in the Senate upon a late occasion gave me great pleasure, and I am happy to say, I hear but one opinion expressed upon the subject.* All agree that you have treated it in a most commanding and able manner, that you viewed it in new lights and that your whole course on this occasion was worthy of yourself and of one of the revered fathers of the fedl. Constitution.

I sincerely regret your contemplated retirement, but as you have determined on it you cd. not have left a better memorial behind you than your unanswerable exceptions to that infernal "Central Power," whose continued growth wd. unquestionably derange the whole system of our Govt. I am disposed to believe, Sir, that you have planted a principle of resistance agt. an abuse, or rather an usurpation, that will grow. I think the Amern. People will cherish it, and that, coupled with your name, it will be regarded in after times as one of the happiest stands ever made by the wisdom and firmness of Amern. Statesmen in defence of the fair and just principles of the federal Constitution.

Wishing you, my dear Sir, the enjoyment of health and happiness, I beg you to be assured of my highest respect and most faithful friendship.

Sincerely yrs.

ROB. H. GOLDSBOROUGH.

* See Speech, Appendix, viii.

The opinion of Mr. King on the character of the enquiry in the Edwards matter that it should be thorough as the establishment or non-establishment of the charges would ruin the character of one or the other of the parties implicated, is very clearly manifested. Mr. J. Q. Adams writes in his Memoirs May 3d, 1824.*

Mr. King in a conversation with him says:

"The issue of the whole depends on the firmness and incorruptible integrity of Webster, (one of the Committee) who told him that he was determined there should be a thorough investigation of the subject. King, at Webster's desire, has written to Mason, of New Hampshire, and to R. Stockton, of New Jersey to ask a free communication of their views as to the propriety of a complete investigation. . . . King plainly told Webster that it depended upon him whether this affair should be laid open in all its true colors, or smothered as it has been twice before. King says that Van Buren told him that General McArthur, one of the members of the Committee, had said to a third person that he had examined all the documents, and satisfied himself that Mr. Crawford was a perfectly honest man."

In a memorandum, which follows, Mr. King relates some interesting facts relative to this controversy.

In handwriting of R. K.

May 7th, 1824.

Recd. by the mail to-day a letter of Rd. Stockton in answer to mine asking his opinion of the mode of proceeding wh. shd. be observed by the Edwards' Committee of Enquiry. The letter conjectures that the Committee will make a general and unsatisfactory Report, and that Webster is the only person who will be likely to pursue the investigation thoroughly and to make a Report wh. may enable the community to make up an opinion on the charges. I enclosed the letter to Webster, who returned it to me in the H. of R. with the remark, that Mr. Stockton was mistaken in respect to the Comee., a majority of whom were in favor of making a thorough examination.

* Vol. vi., 317.

In the evening at Col. Taylor's, met with Mr. Secretary Adams, —spoke freely respecting the Edwards' Committee—he said that he had no doubt of the tenor and import of the conversation between him & Edwards respecting the writer of A. B., that a similar conversation took place between Edwards & Mr. Reed of Mass., who also lodged at the same quarters with Edwards of —— ; that the A. B. publication being anonymous, Reed had told him, Mr. Adams, that talking of the author of A. B., Edwards, to the inquiry whether he was the writer, in a kind of badinage, observed that he might not be, or was not, the writer ; the publication contained the truth &c, leaving Reed to conclude that Edwards was, and did not mean to deny that he was the writer. Cook of Illinois told me to-day that whatever passed between Edwards & Noble had no effect on his vote, and that he would now say so. I asked Adams whether the Pr. had appeared to take any part respecting the A. B. publication ? Mr. A. said that he did not believe that he had ever read it, tho' he might have heard of it, and that in deliberating about the Mexican mission, the reflection that Edwards' appointment on acct. of A. B. might be supposed to have occurred, tho' he probably had not formed any opinion in favor of or otherwise, of Edwards on acct. of this A. B. publication ; that from the constant employment of Mr. Monroe, he was not able to read newspapers ; and in respect to the measures of the heads of Departments, that in giving his consent to & approbation of such measures, it must be given from confidence in the officer & not from any examination in detail ; that this must have been the case in his approbation of the measures respecting the western Banks and the Receivers of the public money ; that he, Mr. Adams, had read and examined the charges made by Edwards agt. Crawford, and had carefully gone thro' this document, wh. in his opinion, most fully supported the charges ; indeed that he had never seen so full and complete proof in any case ; that he much doubted whether Crawford had not left the management of these affairs to Dickens, and in the Reports made to the House had not trusted to him, without having the mass of the money transactions distinct in his own mind.

Mr. Adams, in his *Memoirs*, vi., 355 says, May 25th.

" Plumer spoke of the report of the Committee investigation.

. . . It admits all the facts charged by Edwards, but acquits Mr. Crawford of all evil intention, explicitly states that the charge of having mismanaged the finances is not supported by the evidence, and exhibits from beginning to end a prevailing bias in his favor. It abstains, however, from expressing an opinion *against* Mr. Edwards—which is more than I expected." *

R. KING TO C. KING NEW YORK.

GEORGETOWN, D. C., 22d. May, 1824.

DEAR SIR:

The Senate has advised the Ratification of the Convention with Great Britain for the suppression of the Slave Trade upon conditions that will defeat the same; in other words they have rejected it.

Yrs., R. K.

Entre nous this rejection of the Convention in my belief is produced by the presidential Election.

R. K.

In another letter May 23, Mr. King says:

"The convention after suffering amputation, and receiving an article reserving the Right of Reservation upon six months notice, will be ratified by the President. Whether G. Br. will also ratify may be uncertain; the Crawfordites with V. B. & Holmes at their head effected the alterations; and in the end voted to reject the same: but 2/3 of the Senate were in favor of a ratification."

Mr. J. Q. Adams (*Mem.*, vi., 350) refers to the opinions of Mr. King on the adoption, by the Senate, of the Convention with Great Britain relative to the abolition of the slave trade.

* "The House dispatched the Sergeant at arms; Edwards was overtaken fifteen hundred miles from Washington and brought back. He failed to sustain the charges, and Crawford was exonerated; though so anxious were Crawford's friends to have him vindicated before the presidential election that some minor points were hurriedly passed over. Public opinion bore hardly upon Edwards, whose time and method of accusation were, to say the least, ill chosen. He resigned his mission; and an affair ended, which to Monroe considering his delicate relations with Crawford and the good faith in which the appointments had been made, was one of the most painful of his whole public life."

Schouler, *Hist. of U. S.*, iii., 308.

May 23, 1824.

"Mr. Rufus King came, & in a long conversation gave me all the particulars of the proceedings in the Senate; he showed me the parts of the Convention which have been stricken out and the yeas and nays upon every question that was taken. He said that in the management of the opposition there had been great disingenuousness and rancor, and it had been clearly and plainly disclosed to the observation of every one that the main object of it was an electioneering engine against me. He said that after making the crime piracy, and inviting all others to do the same, to cant at the right of searching for the pirates was an absurdity; and without meaning to compliment me, he would say he thought the abuses to which the exercise of the right were liable had been guarded against with the utmost care in the Convention. He knew not how they could have been better guarded. The message of the President had been very properly sent in; but that all it contained had already been said in the Senate, before it came in. He did not know whether now the Convention would be worth adopting, or would be adopted by Great Britain.

"I told him I thought it would. The essential bases of the Convention were untouched. The three great principles—that the trade should be piracy, the mutual right of search & capture, and the trial of the captured party by his own country are secured. The two articles eliminated were no part of our project. The exception of the coast of America from the searchable seas has operation only with regard to the coast of Brazil: and may hereafter be removed, so far as may be necessary by further negotiation.

"The only material injury done to the Convention is the reservation of the power in either party to renounce it with six months' notice—a power leaving an important question, what authority in the organization of *our* Government is competent to give this notice? I presume it must be by authority of an Act of Congress."

Memorandum by R. King.

May 23, 1824.

The project of Mr. A. was in the usual manner circulated among the cabinet, who, after a meeting, of four hours, all approved it, to the last letter of Mr A. to Mr Canning, in wh. Mr A. went with particularity into the enumeration

of the mischiefs of our submitting to the search of Br. naval offices. *Mr. Crawford* proposed to expunge the declamation as he called it, of Mr A.'s letter on this point ; and afterwards the Pr. suggested that in his opinion, as the parties were endeavoring to unite for a laudable purpose, it might be expedient to follow Mr Crawford's advice ; and on Mr A. enquiring how the letter sh'd supply the part to be struck out, and on the Pr.'s answer, Mr A. asked if the Pr. w'd dictate the paragraph : the Pr thereupon wrote the substitute wh. makes the conclusion of the letter from Mr A. to Mr Canning. Now Mr Crawford says that the plan was not shewn to him, and that he never consented to it ; tho' he not only saw the papers in their circulation, but attended a meeting of several hours where the project was considered & sanctioned. He moreover had an interview with Mr Canning who informed Mr Adams thereof, civilly complaining that Mr A. stood alone in opposing the exchange of the Right of Search ; Mr A. asked Mr. Canning what authority he had for this decln. ? Mr Canning repeated the remark of his conference with Mr Crawford. How in these circumstances Mr. Crawford sh'd now declare his ignorance of the project seems strange.

R. King to C. Gore.

Georgetown, Monday, May 24, 1824.

My dear Sir :

I have attended the Senate this morning, and this being the last day in which we send new Bills from one to the other house, I shall conclude the session and set out for home tomorrow. Our session has been so infested with the presidential Election, that it has been little satisfaction even to those who are more easily gratified than I am. The new and unlimited power of appropriating money for public improvements, has opened a new course of corruption, and combinations, which will make the preservation of the Union very difficult. The multiplication of States, and the union of men in different stages of education and manners must multiply these difficulties, and I cannot perceive how our scheme of Government can go quietly on. The convention lately concluded with England has been altered by the Senate, and tho' the Senate has recommended its ratification, provided the alterations be agreed to by England, some doubt may be entertained whether this will be the case. These alterations have been made by a minority of the Senate, which if more than a third, limit the acts of the Senate. The friends of Crawford expect by these objections to discredit Adams. This they will fail to accomplish, sh'd the convention be accepted by England as altered. The Tariff

bill will for the next year increase the revenue, and moreover serve to encourage cotton & woollen manufactures. Monroe's charges agt. the federalists * are unjust as they are known to be unnecessary. Farewell.

R. KING.

The invitation which had been sent to General Lafayette by Congress and by the President, to visit the United States at his convenience, and placing at the same time at his disposal a national vessel, in which to cross the ocean, was cordially accepted by him, though he declined the offer of a national ship. Sailing from France in a packet ship, with his son George, he arrived in New York on August 15th, "and found a whole community's gratitude to be his welcome, himself a public guest in the midst of holiday rejoicings." Wherever he went during the fourteen months he was in the country, the same demonstrations of welcome and grateful remembrance awaited him in every state. He was the "nation's guest, the people's friend; with Governors and the most distinguished of local characters to perform the public honors of each occasion the great body of American citizens themselves constituted his host." †

Some little time before the meeting of Congress, he went to Washington, passing the whole winter there, though making excursions from it. The President in his message to Congress, announced his arrival, recommending that besides giving him a warm welcome, they should show their affectionate estimation of himself and his services by some substantial token. Both Houses of Congress appointed committees to make joint arrangements for his reception and each on a fixed day received him with addresses of welcome, to which he responded with every evidence of

* In his correspondence with Genl. Jackson, *Nat. Intell.*, May 7, 1824, Mr. Gore, in a letter of May 31st, says:

"Monroe seems to have rendered himself contemptible even to the courteous federalists of this quarter (Boston), who have been immoderate in their praises of him."

† Schouler's *History of United States*, iii., pp. 320, 321.

gratified feeling. The committees of the two Houses seem to have acted slowly upon that portion of the President's message, recommending that some provision should be made for him, as the following letter will show.

R. KING TO C. KING.

WASHINGTON, Decr. 17, 1824.

DEAR SIR:

I am not satisfied with the proceedings respecting Lafayette. The Committee of the House of Reps. have made little or no progress, and I fear, is not well composed. The Senate a day or two ago appointed a committee, which met yesterday morning, and directed Mr. Haynes their Chairman to communicate to Mr. Randolph, the Chairman of the Committee of the House, that the Committee of the Senate had no desire to interfere with the business of the Committee of the House, tho' they were anxious that it should meet with the least possible delay; that they wd. prefer to follow the proceedings of the House, rather than to originate any measure themselves, which they shd. omit to do, unless the Committee of the House found difficulties in their way. The Committee of the Senate, were of one opinion, and will if requisite report a bill, to allow & pay to Genl. Lafayette for losses, and sacrifices, in the war of the Revolution $200,000, and to grant him a township of land to be selected by direction of the Pr. of the U. S.; in case the land be not added, that the allowance in money be three, instead of two, hundred thousand dollars.

I fear that we may not be unanimous, and that like everything else it may be made matter of debate and division, instead of one passed upon, without discussion. It may not be expedient to publish this communication,* tho' it wd. be well to impress the opinion that public expectation authorizes the belief, that Congress will promptly & liberally provide for the great losses and services of Genl. Lafayette, who performed such early, important and invaluable services in the wars of the Am. Revolution.

Yrs &c

RUFUS KING.

* In the *American*, of which C. King was the editor.

In touching this question, we appear before the old, as well as the new World, who will judge of our liberality, not according to the rules which we ordinarily apply, but to those which on extraordinary occasions they employ. If after the éclat with which Genl. Lafayette has been every where recd. it. wd. have been more fortunate that we had not invited his visit, than that we shd. delay, or fall short, in providing for his distinguished remuneration; this present condition is humiliating. On his expected arrival at this place, the Pr. consulted his cabinet, respecting his expenses, and called upon the Secy. of the Navy before doing so, for an estimate of the expenses of sending a ship of the line, or a frigate to bring the Genl. to the U. S. The Secretary of the Navy reported, that the frigate wd. cost 50,000 Dol. the ship of the line 75,000. The President submitted to the Cabinet whether he shd. set apart one or the other of the sums to defray Lafayette's expenses. The Cabinet answered that neither shd. be advanced; as Congress were in session, it was said to appertain to them to provide for this object.

The Committee of the House make no progress. Randolph is chairman, Webster & McDuffie are members. The last does not speak to Randolph, and declines meeting with the Comee. The former has a misunderstanding with Randolph, in consequence of his letter from the Hook, wh. you must recollect, and who cannot meet the Committee, being absent on a visit to Mr. Jefferson in Virginia. I therefore think it not improbable that the Comee. of the Senate may conclude to report a Bill to the Senate on Monday.

R. K.

As suggested by Mr. King in his letter, the committee of the Senate reported a bill to give $200,000 in stock and a complete township of land in any of the unsold lands, which was passed on the 21st, and adopted by the House of Representatives on the 23d, being first amended to pay in money instead of stock. The vote in both Houses was nearly unanimous. A joint committee reported this action to the General, who accepted the donation with grateful thanks.

R. King to Charles King.

Washington 24 Decr. 1824.

Dr. Sir :

Excepting the conclusion of the Provision for Lafayette, we shall have nothing to say & little to do before February ; we are adjourned over Xmas, and shall not make a full meeting until the holidays have passed. Having been a little unwell I have not seen the General for some time, and though I have heard that the Debate & Division, gave him uneasiness, I learn that the conclusion is satisfactory to him.

The vote of Louisiana shut Mr. Clay out of the House ; the effect which this may have on him & his friends has been variously computed ; should the votes of the western country be consolidated in favor of Jackson, his chance of election will be increased ; it may be hoped, but I believe is not expected, that Mr. Crawford's interest, is probably to be promoted by their division ; it was said, by a friend of Mr. Clay, that had he recd. the votes of Louisiana, by wh. Crawford wd. have been shut out of the House, he wd. have withdrawn himself, leaving the question to be decided by Jackson & Adams ; from this circumstance it wd seem that the contest is to remain between these gentlemen. I have reason to think that Mr. Clinton and friends are doing what they can in favor of Jackson ; at the same time that the voice of the State is in favor of Adams.

The N. Yk. friends of Crawford still affect to believe that Crawford in the first vote will outnumber the other Candidates, and if on the 1. Feby. he can be pronounced a well or sound man, that he will yet be the President. V. B. holds this language, and according to his perception, the friends of Jackson are not so confident as they have appeared to be. Whether this abated expectation arises from the better hopes of Crawford, or Adams is not explained. I still believe that the question is not yet decided and that the minds of men are still to be settled. The east * is

* The following extracts will show the opinion of Mr. King on a certain important subject and the changed relations between him and his colleague :

"With Jackson & Benton Van Buren voted for it (the protective tariff of 1824,) against men differing as widely from each other as his associate the venerable federalist Rufus King differed from Haynes, the brilliant orator of South

united, the west & south partially so, the middle divided, who are to choose the President. . . .

faithfully yrs.

R. K.

Carolina. Nor was Van Buren then left without the light, which afterwards reached him, on the constitutional question. Rufus King said that if gentlemen wished to encourage the production of hemp and iron, they ought to bring in a bill to give bounties on these articles; for there was the same constitutional right to grant bounties as to levy restrictive duties upon foreign products."—E. M. Shepard, *Life of Martin Van Buren*, p. 86.

"Van Buren (in the session of Congress, 1824–5) . . . spoke for the abolition of imprisonment for debt, his colleague Rufus King differing from him on this as he now seemed to differ from him on most disputed questions. King had not been reelected Senator, having declined to be a candidate, because, as he said, of his advancing years. But doubtless Van Buren was correct in telling John Quincy Adams, and the latter was correct in believing, as his diary records."—*Ibid.*, p. 93.

In a visit to Mr. Van Buren, February 1st, Mr. Adams says that, among other things:

"He spoke to me of Mr. R. King, his colleague, whose time expires with this session of Congress, and who has declined a re-election. I supposed because he could not have been re-chosen, Van Buren said this was the fact. He told me that King had shown him a very interesting correspondence between Gouverneur Morris and him about the Hartford Convention. Mr. Morris had pressed him exceedingly to join in that conspiracy, which he firmly declined. I asked him if Mr. King had ever spoken to him of the separation project of 1803–4 after the cession of Louisiana. He said, No."—J. Q. Adams's *Memoirs*, vi., p. 487.

[It is altogether probable, as is noted above, that Mr. King would not have been re-elected to the Senate, but there is not any evidence than the surmises of the above gentlemen, that that was the reason for his declining to be a candidate, as the correspondence given relative to this decision distinctly shows.—EDITOR.]

CHAPTER XXXV.

King to Gore—Friendly Remarks—Presidential Question rests between Adams and Jackson—Dinner to Lafayette—King to C. King—Objects to Clinton's Speech—Should be no Cession of Land in the United States to obtain Land for a Canal in Canada—King to J. A. King—Clay meets with Difficulties—Lafayette says he had been made very Rich—Adams—King's Coldness towards Monroe—King—Notes Presidential Election—Relations of Jackson and Crawford—King-Memoranda—Charges against Clay—Election of President—S. Van Rensselaer's Vote—King to J. Q. Adams—Congratulation on his Election as President—Adams to J. Adams—Note sent to his Father—J. Adams to J. Q. Adams—Response—King-Memoranda—Crawford offered Treasury Department—President's and Adams' Views on Nominations to foreign Missions by the Former—Mexican Mission—Clinton objected to—Better to conciliate Clay by making him Secretary of State—Duer to King—Anecdote of the Leaders at Albany—King—Resolution to appropriate the Proceeds from the public Lands to the Emancipation of Slavery—Randolph to King—Regrets his Decision to retire from public Life.

R. King to C. Gore.

Washington, Sunday, Jany. 2, 1825.

My dear Friend:

As this is our first winter day, the ground being covered with snow, and the wind north, I hope you are comfortably settled in your house in Boston; where you may expect to pass a quiet winter. Allowing for ill health, which is no small circumstance in the valuation of life, you have much of what constitutes the source of enjoyment, and all that our comforts require. Above all you possess, what nothing else could supply, the society and affectionate aid of the friend, whose tenderness never abates, & without the consolation of which the infirmities must soon overcome the love of life.

. . . You may suppose, that I can, and ought to, give you some information respecting the approaching election. If I were able to do so, you would certainly have a claim to my communication, and as certainly receive the same. But the truth is, that with some exceptions of the interpretations which are given to the views and interests of the several States, and of the persons who at this time manage and direct the same, the like uncertainty continues which has prevailed during the two last sessions of Congress; the points are narrowed on which these interests rest, but there is the same uncertainty in combining and settling them as heretofore. On the whole the question appears to rest between Adams & Jackson; for tho' his friends say otherwise, I consider Crawford to be out of view, tho' no one can confidently predict what may occur. As between Adams & Jackson, there is a singular calm of the public opinion, the precise import of which, none but careful lookers on can interpret, and about wh. the most calm may mistake. The zeal that at first appeared for Jackson, and which was apparently confident, does not continue; passion appears nowhere, and moderation in this respect wd. seem favorable to deliberation and sober judgment.

We yesterday celebrated a Fête in honor of Lafayette. The Dinner was given by the members of Congress & very generally attended; the Pr. and heads of Department * were guests. The whole went off well; the Toasts were good; Lafayette was greatly gratified, made a speech, as did the Pr., Mr. Monroe: this concludes the Drama.

I was disappointed that Mason lost his Election, after coming so near obtaining it. I am in hopes that it may be felt in the election of the next Legislature and that he may yet succeed. I considered it to be of more than common importance that he shd. do so, for with the exception of Mills, who is a pure, able & correct man, I do not allow to the North her former, & just proportion of integrity & strength in the Senate of the U. S.

R. K.

* Except Crawford who was not present.

R. KING TO C. KING.

Jany. 10, 1825.

DR SIR

. . . I have waded thro' Mr. Clinton's speech, which is a *to pan*, as was expected. As respects the negotiation he is mistaken I believe in saying that it has failed ; he might more correctly have said, that it meets with difficulties ; the truth being that G. B. cannot deny the law wh. she asserted and by wh. the rivers of Europe are free. The project of obtaining territory for a canal in Canada by giving territory in the N. E. Angle of Maine, would gratify England, but ought to be refused by the U. S.— because it would enable England to make a military road which would unite Canada & Nova Scotia. At present the forces of G. B. must go to Canada through the St. Lawrence, which is closed nearly half the year ; make a military road from Nova Scotia to Canada, and the troops of Eng. from the W. Indies or Europe may be thrown into Halifax and from thence proceed to Canada. Our New England angle ascends so far that, *rebus sic stantibus*, the communication cannot take place.

R. KING.

R. KING to J. A. KING.

Jany. 12, 1825.

DR. SIR :

. . . I cannot believe that Crawford can be elected, and regard it to be all but certain that Jackson or Adams will be—but which, is certainly matter of uncertainty ; my own belief gives Adams a preference—for the same reason that Gov Clinton is understood to be in favor of Jackson, Mr. Clay may be supposed to prefer Adams ; but Clay meets with difficulties from his own State Legislature, who may openly express an opinion in favor of Jackson ; perhaps may instruct their Representatives to vote for him. Some few days since Clay remarked, that in ten days, or a fortnight he would avow himself ; in other words ; that, as soon as the Kentucky Legislature adjourns, he will shew his hand.

Genl. Lafayette is still here, he told me that we had made him very rich, that the munificence of Congress was undeservedly

great ; that he was so rich that he sh'd keep the lands for his children, should take 80000 Ds to liquidate his affairs in France, leaving 120000 Ds. behind, and he believed, by investing it in the stock of the Bank of the U. S.

Farewell,

RUFUS KING.

J. Q. Adams in his Mems. vi. p. 481, on January 27th makes this note :

" Mr. Rufus King, Senator from New York, came and had a long conversation with me upon the present state and aspect of things. They are flattering for the immediate issue, but the fearful condition of them is, that success would open to a far severer trial than defeat. I spoke to Mr. King of the coldness and alienation which has taken place between him and the President, occasioned by an opinion expressed by Mr. Monroe in a letter addressed to General Jackson, that some of the leaders of the federal party were monarchists. I wished that these two contemporary distinguished men, retiring to private life at the same time, after so many years of public service together, should part in friendship. But I found Mr. King too much hurt for reconciliation and that an abortive attempt to effect it had already been made through C. T. Mercer."

Mr. Adams had on Janry. 21, 1824 stated that,

" Ayer told me that there had arisen a coolness between the President and Mr. Rufus King—occasioned by the publication of the President's letter to General Jackson, which charged some of the leading federalists with monarchical designs ; that Mr. King had not called to take leave of the President at the close of the last session of Congress, as he had been wont to do, and had not visited him, or been invited to dine with him, this session." *

R. KING NOTES.

JANUARY 29, Saturday, 1825.

Presidential Election 1825.

Since the Electoral votes have been known, the choice has been considered as lying between Ad. & Jackson for the inferiority

* *Mems.*, vi., 472.

of the votes for Crawford, joined to his ill health, seemed to have put him out of the question. At the commencement of the Session the friends of Jackson, including Calhoun, showed some jealousies of the good will wh. appeared to subsist between Adams & Crawford. Since the disclosure of the votes of the Electors, other & new combinations seem to have presented themselves; during the week, which closed on the 22d. January, rumours circulated, that Mr. Clay would, contrary to the instruction of the Legislature of Kentucky, which requests the Reps. of that state in Congress to vote for Jackson, use his influence in favor of Adams. Saml. Swartwout who was very active in East Jersey to promote the choice of Jackson's Electors in that State, about this time appeared in Washington, and it is understood proposed a reconciliation between Jackson & Crawford, towards which purpose Mrs. Jackson made a visit to Mrs. Crawford, who returned it without delay. On Monday Jany. 24 the purpose of Mr. Clay was publicly & openly avowed in the H. of R., in wh. much excitement was manifest; on Monday or Tuesday, the 25 Jany., Mr. Crawford came to the Senate, taking a seat under the Gallery, it was believed, to afford an opportunity to Genl. Jackson to meet him there, and by what wd. appear casually, to make progress in reconciliation. R. K. whose seat is near that of Gen. Jackson, wished to pass to that part of the Senate, in order to see, and be able to form an opinion, by seeing Mr. Crawford, of the state of his health, not having seen him since his return from Virga. in 1823; but being curious to observe the course of Genl. Jackson, R. K. kept his seat till Mr. Crawford retired from the Senate. Genl. Jackson did not leave his seat, nor did he see Mr. Crawford, who if he expected to meet Genl. Jackson was disappointed. Yet as Mrs. Jackson wd. not have made her visit without the consent of the Genl., it wd. be natural to infer that Jackson, in the same spirit, wd. adopt the necessary measures to manifest the appearance of reconciliation; and one may safely, conclude that such is the Genl's purpose, in order that their respective friends may unite in opposition to Adams; in hopes perhaps that such opposition might eventuate in the election of Jackson or Crawford.

If Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois, Missouri, & Louisiana unite with Clay to elect Adams, these with six eastern States would make

but eleven votes, and two more wd. be wanting to elect Adams : for these two votes the friends of Adams rely upon N. Yk. & Maryland. These States are each divided ; the vote of N. Y. may be more sure than that of Maryland, where Crawford, Adams, Jackson & Clay each have friends ; and there may be difficulty in obtaining a majority for Adams. Delaware, Virginia, N. Carolina & Georgia are likely to adhere to Crawford, while N. Jersey, Pennsylvania, So. Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee & Indiana may adhere to Jackson. The vote of Missouri and of Louisiana is sd. to be uncertain, Gurley holds the vote of Louisiana, one of his colleagues Brent being for Adams and Livingston, the other, being for Jackson ; as Gurley is from N. Engd. he is believed to be in favor of Adams ; and Scott from Missouri was in favor of Clay, who has much influence over him, & who told Genl. V. R. that he had promised Clay before he avowed himself that he wd. vote for Adams. Genl. V. R. thinks that N. Y. will vote for Adams possibly in the first instance, certainly in the end. Kent, Neal & Spence are avowed friends of Adams ; Mitchell, Lee, McKim pledged to Jackson ; Hayward for Crawford, Warfield unknown, but very friendly to Clay who may influence him ; Little much suspected to be for Adams. If he and Warfield unite for Adams, the vote of this *State will go for him ;* there is doubt respecting this vote.

Memoranda.

Monday 31 Jany.

Mr. Clay published a card in the N. In. of denial & defiance respecting the charge in the Observer of Philadelphia, that Clay had engaged to support Adams, in the expectation that he shd. be appointed Secretary of State. On Thursday Feby. 3. Mr. Kreemer publd. another card, avowing himself the author of the letter in the Observer, and declaring his ability to prove the charge : the same day Clay in a speech to the H. complained of the letter, declared it to be false, and requesting the House to appoint a committee of enquiry, when Mr. Kreemer, in the House, admitted himself to be the author, repeated the charge saying he could prove the same and joined in requesting a committee. The House adjourned without acting on Mr. Clay's

request. Friday Feby. 4, the House spent the whole day in debating the question of appointing a committee, and decided the question in the affirmative by 126 to 79, votes: The Committee of 7. will be appointed to-morrow.

The committee wrote a letter to Mr. Kreemer inviting him to appear before them, to prove the charge. Kreemer by letter denied the power of the House & the committee to question him. The Committee reported these facts to the House, who took no further order in the matter.

Wednesday Feby. 9. The Senate at 12 o'ck went to the H. of R. where the Pr. of the Senate opened the electoral votes which were counted. The Pr. of the Senate declared that no person was elected Pr., and that Jackson, Adams & Crawford were the persons, who had recd. the greatest No. of votes, and that according to the Conn. the choice had devolved on the H. of R.: that Calhoun having recd. — votes was elected & declared V. P. This business was done in a little more than 2 hours, when the House withdrew & returned to the Senate Chamber. In about an hour, information was brot. to the Senate that Adams was chosen Pr. on the first ballot. Great disappointment was felt by the friends of Jackson & Crawford; these gentlemen expected that the balloting wd. last for some time, and predicted that it might continue till the 3d. of March and that Adams not being able to obtain the choice, his friends might & probably wd. come over to Crawford who might in this way be chosen.

The Crawford gentlemen at the moment of the election held this language, declared that no choice could be made on the first ballot. . . . *Mercer of Virginia* who is in favor of Jackson said that he applied to V. Rensselaer just before the Ballot, who *assured* him that Adams wd. not be elected in the first ballot, and afterwards repeated the same thing to McClane, to whom he, in the morning after much agitation, and even the shedding of tears, declared that he *shd. not vote for Adams.* This pressure on V. R. had for its object, to ascertain and inform Scott of Missouri & Gurley of Louisiana of the division of the N. Y. delegation. This was done, but all the points failed, and 13 States, on the first ballot voted for Adams, 7. for Jackson & 4 only for Crawford. These expectations & disappointments greatly mortified the opponents of Adams, who expected a protracted

ballot, and opportunity to make their arrangements either to elect Crawford, or Jackson, or to settle the terms on wh. they wd. elect Adams. The last was the most powerful motive, and the disappointment of electing Adams without their aid, is the true source of their mortification, & will lead to an opposition to Adams' Administration.

So strong has been the disappointment, that McClane (as Mercer, reports) expresses his dissatisfaction at living with V. R. who has deceived him.

Thursday 10. Feby. Genl. V. R. came to see me this evening. We entered into a free conversation respecting the election ; the Genl. said that his purpose could not have been unknown to the opponents of Adams ; that I might remember his expressing opinions favorable to Clay last winter ; that Mr. Clay knew them, and early in the Session, he reminded Clay of this circumstance, and asked him what course he should pursue. Clay answered that he would not then tell him, but that he wd. inform him at an early day ; that not only he, but every man in the Country shd. understand the course that he should pursue. Soon afterwards Clay asked him how the State of N York would vote, and afterwards told him that the vote of N. York would have an influence upon the vote he might give, and urged him to give him an assurance that N. Y. would vote for Adams. Upon his, the Genl's, expressing his belief that N. Yk. wd. vote for Adams, Clay came out explicitly, and said that he should vote for Adams, and that Kentucky wd. join him ; that Ohio, Illinois, Missouri & Louisiana would unite with Kentucky ; these votes, joined to Maryland, & New York, together with the Eastern States wd. suffice to elect Mr. Adams ; that Scott of Missouri had given him his word ; that Louisiana would also give its vote, that Maryland might be depended on. Genl. V. R. said that in respect to Maryland, he by request had put the question to Mr. Adams, in respect to the course wh. shd. be pursued respecting the federalists and the party divisions of the Country : that the answer of Adams was that the most able & worthy men, without reference to parties, ought to be preferred and employed. By asking this question, and its being answered in this manner, Genl. V. R. must be understood to have led Mr. A. to expect his Gen. V. R.'s support. This was communicated to Lee of Md. and served to weaken his

preference to Jackson, who by avowing this opinion, had acquired the support of the federalists, and the number of votes, wh. he recd. These measures between Clay & V. R., & V. R. & Adams, pledged each of them ; left neither at liberty to pursue a contradictory course, so that V. Buren, McClane, & Mr. Mercer must have been mistaken concerning the vote of N. York. Speaking of Morgan's vote for Jackson, Gen. V. R. said that he had understood that Morgan was in favor of Adams ; that since his vote he had so stated his understanding to Morgan, who said he must have misunderstood him, to wh. V. R. replied that he could take his oath to having understood him. Alluding to our former conversations he said that supposing that Adams wd. be elected he had, according to my suggestion, conferred with V. B. to this effect, in hopes that he might seasonably prepare for such an event ; that V. B. could not therefore be mistaken in respect to his opinions and belief on the subject of the election.

The election of Mr. Adams to the Presidency having been announced in the Senate Mr. King immediately wrote and sent by a special messenger from the Senate, the following note of congratulation to him, of which Mr. Adams says : (*Mem.*, vi., 502). "I received an affectionate note from Mr. Rufus King, of New York, written in the Senate Chamber after the event."

R. KING TO J. Q. ADAMS.

SENATE CHAMBER, Feb. 9th, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR :

We have this moment heard the issue of the Election, and I send to you and your venerable Father, my affectionate congratulations on your choice as President of the United States upon the first ballot of the House of Representatives. I include your Father in my congratulations as he will agree with me, that this Election makes amends for the injustice, of which he was made the victim. To me and mine the result has been such as we cordially hoped for and expected.

RUFUS KING.

"The recipient of this note," says Mr. Charles Francis Adams, "in his turn sent it immediately by post to his father at Quincy, with the following accompaniment":

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS TO JOHN ADAMS.

WASHINGTON, 9th, February 1825.

MY DEAR AND HONORED FATHER:

The enclosed note from Mr. King will inform you of the event of this day upon which I can only offer you my congratulations and ask your blessings and prayers.

Your affectionate and dutiful son

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

"John Adams was at this time quite infirm in body, yet he did not fail to respond to the felicitations of his son":

JOHN ADAMS TO JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

QUINCY, 18th, February 1825.

I have received your letter of the 9th. Never did I feel so much solemnity as upon this occasion. The multitude of my thoughts and the intensity of my feelings are too much for a mind like mine, in its ninetieth year. May the blessing of God Almighty continue to protect you to the end of your life, as it has heretofore protected you in so remarkable manner from your cradle. I offer the same prayer for your lady and your family—and am

Your affectionate father

JOHN ADAMS.

"This may fairly be classed among the rare dramatic events of history." *

* Mr. C. F. Adams also says: "It is much to be regretted that no adequate notice has yet been taken of the eminent services of Rufus King, nor have any of the valuable papers which he must have left behind him seen the light. Few public men have served so long or acted in more responsible positions. His relations with both the Adamses had been sometimes intimate, and always friendly; hence it was natural that he should feel a strong interest in the issue of the present struggle. No sooner was it absolutely decided and the news had passed from the House of Representative to the Senate-chamber, than he at once indited and sent to Mr. Adams by a special messenger the following note (given above)."

J. Q. Adams's *Memoirs*, vi., p. 503.

Memoranda.—Friday, Feb. 11.

On returning from the Senate in a coach with V. B. & Mr. Hayne of So. Carolina, Mr. V. B. said that Adams had written a letter to Crawford, requesting him to continue in the Tr. Department. I expressed the opinion that this measure was magnanimous, and asked what answer Crawford had given ; it was replied that it wd. not be acceded to. At Dinner, reference was made by me to the report that Crawford had been asked to continue in office ; Col. Mercer said that the report was true, but that Crawford's friends had given their opinion that no answer shd. be given. I asked why, and was answered that it was an insult ; that during the summer Adams had taken sides with Ninian Edwards, the bitter enemy & persecutor of Crawford ; that the refusal to attend the anniversary of the 4th of July was a public evidence of Adams' enmity ; besides that Clay was, or might be, invited to take the Department of State, which was in rank above that of the Treasury, and Mr. Crawford wd. be degraded by the acceptance. I answered that I thought the omission to answer was wanting in decorum, and agt. the usage of gentlemen ; that I did not believe that Adams had offered the office to Clay, and if he had, I did not think that Clay would take it ; that the advice & determination looked like seeking for an opportunity to unite a party in opposition to Adams' administration, wh. to have strength must be founded upon something more worthy of praise, than the alleged charges agt. Adams, for having declined to attend the 4th of July dinner, or the degradation of Mr. Crawford by being desired to remain in the Department of the Treasury.

In the evening Genl. Scott came to my room and I communicated the reported offer of Adams to Crawford & the counsel of his friends ; Genl. Scott united with me in opinion on this subject. The General afterwards told me that James Swartwout today informed him that Jackson & Crawford had a meeting, at wh. they became reconciled & shook hands.

Saturday 12th Feb. 1825

To day we understand that the rumour that Adams had requested Crawford to remain in the Treasury is true, and that instead of its being considered an insult that Crawford had answered the invitation by letter, declining the offer in becoming language.

Saturday 12. february 1825

In the latter part of January Commodore Rogers came from Lynn Harbor Bay in the N. Carolina with a crew of 60 persons, officers included, into the River Potomac ; it was proposed that the Pr. & Secretary of the Navy, with such members of Congress as wished, should go down the River in steamboats to visit this ship, moored off Ragged Point. Accordingly the President, Secretary of the Navy, and a number of the members of Congress, making a company of about 40. persons, made a visit to the Ship and returned on Monday the last day of January.

Before the President visited the N. Carolina, he had more than once spoken to Mr. Adams respecting the appointments of foreign Ministers, the expediency of such appointments by him, and that of leaving them to his successor. Mr. Adams observed that shd. the election be in his favor, he shd. be satisfied that Mr. Monroe shd. make these appointments before his retirement ; that he had no person to recommend, nor to whom he shd. object. After these conversations Mr. Monroe expressed his opinion against nominating, preferring to leave the subject to his successor. Mr. Monroe the day after his return from the N. Carolina, sent for Mr. Adams and told him that he had concluded to make the nominations. Mr. Adams asked when he would do it? Mr. Monroe answered immediately. Mr. Adams observed that as the election would soon take place it might occur to some persons that the nomination was made to defeat some supposed nomination that might be intended by his successor, and in this way, made to bear upon one of the Candidates ; in this light it might be proper that the Pr. shd. then write the names of the persons he proposed to nominate, to place the same in his desk, and to make the nomination immediately after the election of his successor. Mr. A. added that he had no wish to know beforehand the names of the persons to be nominated ; be they whom they might, he should be satisfied. Mr. Monroe, tho' he appeared to adhere to his project, yet said he would consider further the expediency of the measure. A day or two afterward he renewed the conversation, and appeared to adhere to the nomination. Mr. A. renewed the objections wh. he had before made, & Mr. Monroe so far yielded as to say he would give the subject further consideration. In this situation the election was made on the 9th of February ; and

things still remain as they stood before the choice. Mr. Adams said in relation to the objections he had made, that he knew that the mission to Mexico had been expected & promised to Col. Benton ; not he was persuaded by Genl. Jackson. but by some of his friends ; tho' he could not suspect any of his friends, it might be possible that some of them might be liable to a similar charge. The correspond. of the 5. & 6. Febr. between Benton & Scott * illustrates the truth of Mr. Adams objection. I spoke to A. of his having written to Crawford, offering him the Treay. Department, and of Crawford's declining to keep it ; that I considered the offer to be generous, & the refusal fortunate, as I considered Crawford's health to be unsound, &, with it otherwise, that he wd. continue to be, as he has been, the centre of opposition. Mr. Adams said he had written a short letter to Crawford proposing to him to continue in the Tr. Department, and then showed me Crawford's answer, stating that he had resolved to withdraw from the office at the end of Mr. Monroe's term, that he could not therefore accept the friendly offer of Mr. Adams. I made no particular reference to any other office, nor did Mr. Adams. I said that while I recommended no individual, I hoped that he wd. bring about him a Cabinet, who would continue united, that great abilities were of less importance than integrity and good standing, with influence in the quarter from whence they are taken ; if he shd. invite Mr. Clinton of N. Y., to wh. he might be urged, it wd. be well to remember that he had always been surrounded, not by that class of desperate men, who would appear about a military chief, but by a band of profligate intriguers, whose object was to cheat and defraud by help of whatever power they might acquire, or be able to influence. Mr. Adams said that he was much pressed respecting N. Y.—I conjecture in favor of Clinton—I did not pursue this subject.

* 5 Feby. 1825. 6 Feby. Correspondence of Benton & Scott shewn to me by Benton. Jno. Scott to H. H. Benton announcing his inclination to vote for Adams. Benson to Scott, expressing his dissatisfaction with Scott's purpose, as violating his printed pledge to the pub., his departure from former opinions as repugnant to the opinions of Missouri : after so distinct an avowal, a friendship of ten years is broken, and dissolved forever: protest against the moral of Scott ; the vote is the vote of the State of Missouri.

Feby, 9. Scott voted for Adams, and as B. says did an act that must be fatal to himself.

Nothing was said of Southard, not much of Calhoun, who I conjecture is believed by Adams to have been opposed to him, & in favor of Jackson. Such being the case, McDuffie & Hamilton, and possibly Cheves may have been opposed to Adams : tho' as Cheves is understood to have been opposed to Calhoun, his concert with Mc Duffie & Hamilton in support of Jackson wd. appear uncertain. Tho' I believe that Cheves may favor Jackson, yet as he is supposed to think well of Clay, his support of Jackson wd. be matter of doubt. If Cheves would support Clay agt. Jackson, it wd. merit the consideration of Adams whether it wd. not conciliate So. Carolina to nominate him to the Try. Department.

I inferred from Mr. Adams, that in his opinion Jackson would persist, and strive to be chosen at the next Pr. election. Perhaps after carefully reviewing the whole subject Mr. Adams ought to fully conciliate Clay by making him Secy of State ; his influence is great in the West and, as agt. Jackson, he will be formidable ; tho' not as well qualified for the office, Mr. Adams could without labour supply his defect. Will Clay accept the office, or will Kreemer's denunciation prevent ? It ought not, tho' some men may believe Kreemer's letter, wh. he never wrote, but which, like his letter to the Committee of the House, was prepared by McDuffie or Hayne.

As to Crawford, Mr. Adams thinks that his race is run, and that his recovery is at least very doubtful.

Mr. Adams, whom I have not seen since his election, to whom I sent my servant to enquire if he was at home & without company, saying that in this case I wd. make him a visit recd. me with great kindness, expressed his thanks to me for the note I sent him from the Senate, congratulating him & his venerable father upon his election as Pr. of the U. S. ; adding that he had enclosed it to his father—my servant whom I had directed to return in a short hour, came for me, & I took my leave.

William A. Duer to R. King.

Albany, February 17, 1825.

. . . That Mr. Clinton & Mr. Spencer now avow themselves by anticipation friendly to the administration of Mr.

Adams, is notorious & certain ; but it is no less so, that they exerted themselves to procure from the Legislature, or from the Assembly at the commencement of the session, an expression in favour of General Jackson : and it was not until they found that the Senate were united against it, & a majority of the two houses opposed to any man as Senator of the U. States who was hostile to Mr. Adams, that they desisted from the attempt. . . .

A person of the strictest honour & veracity, who was in company with Oakley, John C. Spencer and others, when the news of Mr. Adams' election arrived, informed me, that they exhibited & expressed the strongest mortification & disappointment. Oakley scarcely could recover himself & upon being rallied by Spencer (who with the others had already determined to put the best face on the matter & expressed their acquiescence to what they found to be inevitable)—he replied—"Why really gentlemen, I do feel it most sensibly—I feel it as a national calamity—& so do you all, but I am the only honest man among you & cannot conceal my feelings." . . .

Very respectfully yours,

W. A. Duer.

Mr. Adams on the 13th, January * made the following memorandum :

"Returning home, I met Mr. R. King, who spoke of a proposition of J. T. Johnston to apply all the proceeds of the land sales to purposes of education. He, (King) thought of proposing that they should be applied to the emancipation and exportation of slaves, with the consent of the slave States. He said they would all consent, north of S. Carolina."

This was no crude suggestion on the part of Mr. King, but a well considered and, as he hoped, a possible method of abolishing the curse under which the country was suffering and which threatened its future welfare. He was willing that the common heritage should be used to extirpate the local evil, as soon as it was relieved from the obligation for which it had been pledged, the redemption of the public debt, an obligation which would soon be removed ; and as

* Memoirs, vi., 467.

the last contribution of a life passed for so many years in his country's service, he put upon the records of the Senate on February 18th, 1825 the following resolution with the preliminary remarks, thus recorded.

"Mr. King of New York, rose and said, in offering the resolution he was about to submit, though it was a subject of great national importance, he did not desire to debate it, nor did he offer it with a view to the present consideration. He submitted it as a matter for the future consideration of the Senate and hoped it would be received, by all parts of the House, as one entitled to its serious attention. He then laid on the table the following resolution :

Resolved by the Senate of the United States of America, That as soon as the portion of the existing funded debt of the United States, for the payment of which the public land of the United States is pledged, shall have been paid off, then, and thenceforth, the whole of the public land of the United States, with the nett proceeds of all future sales thereof, shall constitute and form a fund, which is hereby appropriated, and the faith of the United States is pledged that the said fund shall be inviolably applied to aid the emancipation of such slaves, within any of the United States, and to aid the removal of such slaves, and the removal of such free persons of color, in any of the said States, as by the laws of the States, respectively, may be allowed to be emancipated, or removed to any territory or country without the limits of the United States of America.

The resolution was read, and, on motion of Mr. Benton, ordered to be printed. It was never taken from the table or considered. It was one of the honest endeavors to remove this blot from the land—but it was too deep to be washed out by anything but the treasure and blood of the *whole country*, both of those who cherished it in their homes and in support of their industries, and of those, who when the opportunity to crush it by its own weght, failed to make use of it, but tolerated slavery and profited by using the products of slave labor, and the political power resulting

from the combination of the slave owners for their own protection.*

J. Randolph to R. King.

Friday, Feb. 25, 1825.

Dear Sir:

. . . A letter which I received the day before yesterday from the most intimate friend that I have in the world, who has held himself aloof from all official connexion with public affairs, expresses the deepest regret at the retirement of Mr. K. from public life. He adds that so distinguished a federalist of the old school would have tenfold the weight in opposition to weak & wicked measures, that could be given to one of the opposite party, whose principles are now discarded or cried down. "But he continues. I do not wonder at Mr. K's despondency—not only the principles which now hold the ascendency but the open Corruption in all departments, State as well as federal, is too well calculated to produce it."

In these sentiments of a man, than whom few, are more able & none more pure, I cordially concur & am with the highest respect & regard,

Dear Sir,

Your faithful & obliged

John Randolph of Roanoke.

* Register of Debates in Congress 1825, i., 623.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

King to J. A. King—Attack of Gout—J. Q. Adams to King—Offer of Mission to England—Adams to King—Hopes he may accept and soon sail—King to Adams—Though Answer not explicit, may overcome the Difficulties to Acceptance—King to Gore—Mr. Adams's Offer of the Mission and his Views—Hesitation about accepting the Mission—King to Gore—Asks his Advice—Adams to King—Considered his Letter as accepting—Gore to King—Urges his Acceptance of the Mission—King to Gore—His Decision depends on his Son John's Appointment as Secretary of the Legation—C. King to King—Interviews with Mr. Adams—He acquiesces in the Request—C. King to King—Interview with Mr. Clay who highly approves of the Arrangement—Friendly Treatment—Spoke of the Dartmoor Inquiry—President had adopted as a Rule that he would not send a Minister in a Ship of War—Addington to King—Gratified he has accepted the Appointment as Minister—Letters from old Friends—King to E. Mills—Mercer and Colonization Society—Van Buren to King—On his Acceptance of his Appointment—King to Gore—Farewell Letter.

R. King to J. A. King.

Washington, March 1, 1825.

Dear Sir:

I thought of leaving this on my return on Sunday last, but on reconsideration, concluded to defer it till next Sunday. This reconsideration has been fortunate, as on Saturday night, I was attacked after I went to bed by rheumatism, or gout, in my right foot: on Sunday I found the joint of my great toe much inflamed and very tender; on Sunday night it swelled, and the pain abated; on Monday I called in a physician, who told me that my case was a distinctly marked gout. . . . Thus I am at a short month from seventy, attacked for the first time with gout.

R. King.

The mission to England was offered to Mr. King by Mr. Adams, on the 6th of March, who thus records the fact.*

"After returning home, I called upon Mr. Rufus King, at his lodgings at Williamson's. His term of service as a Senator expired on the 3rd. and he had declined a re-election, intending to retire from the public service. He leaves the city tomorrow morning to return home. I told him of the nominations I had made, and that I had omitted that for the mission to England at the earnest desire of Mr. Clinton's friends. But, I said, the reason † assigned by Mr. Clinton for declining the appointment was, in my opinion, one which he could not *reconsider*, nor had I any expectation that he would. I therefore asked Mr. King if *he* would accept that mission.

"His first and immediate impulse was to decline it. He said that his determination to retire from the public service had been made up, and that this proposal was utterly unexpected to him.

"Of this I was aware: but I urged upon him a variety of considerations to induce his acceptance of it; the general importance of the mission—in my estimation not inferior to any one of the Departments; the special importance to the States of New York and Maine of certain interests in negotiation with Great Britain; his peculiar qualifications for the conduct of those negotiations; his duty to the country not to refuse services so important, and for which perhaps no other individual would be so well suited; the satisfaction which the appointment, and his acceptance of it, would give to the federal party throughout the Union; the tendency it would have to heal our divisions and harmonize the feelings of the people; the opportunity which he would afford me of promoting this reconciliation of parties, and at the same time of proving by my example the sincerity of the sentiments avowed in my address. I dwelt with earnestness upon all these motives, and apparently not without effect. He admitted the force of them, and finally promised fully to consider of the proposal before giving me a definite answer." ‡

* *Memoirs* vi., 522–3.

† That he had but recently been elected to the office of Governor of the State of New York, and was bound to fulfil the duties to which he had been called.

‡ "The conciliating bent of the new administration, to which allusion has been made, appeared further in filling the vacant English Mission, the best office, if

Private.

J. Q. Adams to R. King.

Washington, 17 March, 1825.

My dear Sir :

On the evening before your departure from this place, I apprized you of my desire and intention to invite your acceptance of a Mission to Great Britain. Of the general importance of the objects of negotiation involved in that Mission ; of the special interest to the States of New York and of Maine, connected with it ; of the credit to the administration, derivable from your acceptance of a trust so high and confidential from it, I shall only now speak by referring you to the considerations which I then more fully suggested to you. There were others perhaps not less impressive, and which I hope have not lost their weight in your mind upon reflection. I now write in fulfilment of the purpose then adverted to ; and to express the hope that you may find it convenient to embark for England, in the course of the next month. Mr. Appleton, the Secretary recently appointed to the Legation, is now in this Country ; and it is desirable that the successor to the Mission should arrive in England before the departure of Mr. Rush to return home.

Let me have your favorable answer, as soon as may be.

I am with the highest respect, Dear Sir,

faithfully yours,

J. Q. Adams.

R. King to J. Q. Adams.

Jamaica, Queens, March 22d, 1825.

My dear Sir :

In reply to your letter of the 17th instant, which I received last

not the only one outside the cabinet which Adams held clearly at his own disposal ; this was tendered to DeWitt Clinton, who had already gone into the opposition, and was refused ; and then the aged King, who had been one of the first to congratulate the President-elect, received the appointment, and after much pressing consented to accept the post. There was something touching in the return of this illustrious statesman to the court of London that he might serve the son abroad as he had served the father ; but King, who had reached his threescore and ten, belonged already to the past, and after accomplishing nothing, ill health sent him back over the ocean to die at home." —Schouler, *Hist. of the U. S.*, III., 343.

evening I may observe from the tenor of the observations, which occurred at the interview of the evening before I left Washington, that I supposed myself at liberty to take time to consider the friendly but unexpected proposal, that you made to me on that occasion, & respecting which I did not at the time omit to allude to difficulties standing in the way of my consent. It being understood that the return of Mr. Rush was not expected till towards midsummer, I not only believed that the interval would afford me the opportunity to confer with my family, to arrange my private affairs, but also to consult the friends, whose opinions I am accustomed to respect. I left W. with this opinion, strongly impressed, however, with the importance of the communications, which you had made to me. As yet I have not been able to do more than to break the subject to the members of my family, distressed as we have been by a recent affliction * : although I cannot say that I am prepared to make an explicit answer, I may observe that the importance, which you were good enough to ascribe to my acceptance, has acquired such weight in my mind, that I am encouraged to hope that the difficulties in the course proposed to me, may still further diminish. It is nevertheless proper that I should be explicit, as to the time mentioned, of embarking for England, foreseeing as I do, the personal difficulties to my doing so, in season to meet Mr. Rush there, before his embarkation. I should not suggest delay, although the habitual relaxation of business during the long vacation of Summer, did I not thereby hope to overcome objections. I perceive no reason, why Mr. Appleton may not proceed in time to meet Mr. Rush in England, and receive from him, the Charge of the Affairs of the Legation : I myself might be glad to meet Mr. Rush, which may happen in this country, should his arrival be delayed as expected.

With the highest Respect
I am Dr. Sir
Your faithful & obedient Servt.
R. K.

* The death of his son Charles's wife, to whom he was warmly attached.

R. King to C. Gore.

Jamaica, March 22, 1825.

My dear Friend:

I left Washington on Sunday the 6th instant, and reached home Wednesday the 9th; during the last week of the Session I was confined, and unable to attend the Senate. I was not present at Mr. A's inaugural Speech, & did not see him afterwards, till the day before I left Washington, when he sent a message to inform me that in the course of the day he would make me a visit. I ascribed the message to my confinement, which had induced me to send a card to Mr. Adams' house, to take leave of him before my departure the next day. Mr A. did not come till the evening. After the usual salutations, and enquiry respecting my health, and the expressions of regret on my part that I had been unable to call upon him before my departure, I renewed my congratulations on his election, and alluding to his inaugural Speech, expressed my satisfaction with it, provided it was intended to be observed in practice; adding that tho' the construction of the Constitution, went beyond my interpretation, on the matter of internal improvements, it might be, that the growth of the country and the increase of its resources may be thought to call for the enlarged construction that is given to it.

In regard to the reunion of parties, the inaugural Speech deserved my unqualified approbation, since no event, would in my opinion be more likely to promote the welfare & prosperity of the country. The theory of our Government may not authorize the expectation that we are to be exempt from the influence of party, perhaps we ought not to wish such exemption, as the occasional appearance of parties proved the freedom of our condition, and if they are temporary, evince the innocence of their existence. Mr. A. confirmed with decision what is contained in the Speech, observed that the subjects had been deliberately considered and the opinions being well settled would, as far as depended on him, be faithfully executed; in carrying them into effect, he must rely upon the assistance of those, without whom it could not be done. The success of his administration would depend upon two important points: a Treaty with England, on matters concerning which a negotiation had been commenced, had reached a given stage without coming to an agreement, and which, at the request

of England, was to be again resumed ; the principal points of the negotiation relate to the English colonial trade with the U. S. the navigation of the River Saint Lawrence, and the settlement of Boundaries.

With the first, Mr A. observed that I was fully acquainted, and on this account as well as what Mr A. called my favorable standing in England, I was believed to be well qualified to resume the negotiation on our part ; the independence of the Spanish provinces would serve to strengthen our claims, and the diminished importance of the colonial dependencies to England might facilitate the negotiation.

If England did not admit our right to navigate the R. Saint Lawrence, it was plain from the discussions which had taken place respecting it, that she may be willing to allow the same in exchange for a road, or right of passage, between her Provinces, thro' the N. E. angle of the State of Maine ; that as N. Y. of wh I was an inhabitant, & Maine of wh I was a native, were particularly interested in such exchange, no other person would be more fit than myself, to adjust these questions in a satisfactory manner. Though I had honorably retired from the Senate, with the exception of my present attack of the gout, which might be expected to promote my general health, I could not in the language of Mr A. claim to be exempt from public duties ; having many friends in England, he thought I was more likely than any other person, to conciliate or remove the jealousy & difficulty connected with this negotiation ; that the settlement of these questions by me would probably receive the approbation of N. Y. & M.

As regards a treaty with England, my assistance was deemed by him most desirable ; the reunion of parties was in his mind an object of the very highest importance, to the success of his administration, and the welfare of the Union ; and as I was distinguished in one of the parties, my employment would prove the sincerity of his Speech on this head, and could not fail in all respects to be satisfactory ; that he offered me the mission to London, with an earnest desire that I should accept it ; that he regarded my doing so, to be very important in the obtaining of a beneficial treaty with England ; and as the first, and great step in the reunion of parties ; that he would not urge an immediate decision, as things could wait for the present, & as Mr. Rush would

not return till the summer, I should have time for consideration.

I observed in reply, that nothing could have surprized me more, than what he had been saying, so far as it personally respects myself; that it was wholly unforseen & neither expected, nor desired; that after much reflection I had determined to withdraw from public life; that the topics on which he had touched relating as they did to matters of great interest & importance, did not fail to awaken my attention, but my mind could not readily abandon its actual bias; that I could say no more, than that I would consider the subject, perhaps consult my friends, without being able to give any assurance of my answer. Mr A urged me to do so adding that there was no occasion of an immediate answer.

With great respect & regard
I am your faithful & obedient
friend & servant.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

Private.

JAMAICA, 24 March, 1825.

I am your Senior, and though my health is good I am today seventy years of age. Time has neither spared my body, nor mind, both feel the effects thereof. Some time since I deliberately concluded that the period of retirement had arrived, yet as you will perceive, I am invited again to engage in public affairs, although "non sum qualis eram." I am told that this fact will not excuse me, but we are not the safest Judges of questions which concern ourselves, and on no subject are we more likely to deceive ourselves, than upon such an occasion as that, which I am now to determine. I therefore adjure you to consider my case, and give me the counsel of a faithful friend without fear or flattery.

RUFUS KING.

J. Q. ADAMS TO R. KING.

WASHINGTON, 26 March, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR:

When in my last Letter I expressed the hope, not only that you would on mature deliberation accede to the proposal which on

the eve of your departure from this place I had first intimated to you, but that you would find it convenient to embark in the course of the next month, I was not aware that the shortness of time would be one of the obstacles to be overcome ; or that from the circumstances of any part of your family you would have occasion to wish for a delay. This however can constitute no difficulty. The time shall be accommodated to your convenience ; and if desirable to you may be postponed till after the arrival of Mr. Rush. I hope that in the meantime I may consider your Letter of the 22d. as expressive of your assent, and that my arrangements may be made accordingly. I add only the request that you would have the goodness to let me know, at or about what time you think you will be able to go.

We sympathise deeply with you in the distress of your recent bereavement ; of which I pray you to assure your Son, as well for Mrs. Adams as for myself.

I remain, Dear Sir, with great Respect, and attachment

faithfully your's J. Q. Adams.

C. Gore to R. King.

Waltham, 31 March, 1825.

My dear Friend :

I cannot but applaud the judgment of Mr. Adams in the Proposal He has made to you. He certainly says no more than can be justified, in speaking of the high character you have sustained in the old Country, & which has doubtless not been diminished by the contrast displayed in the weakness, caprice & queer temper of some who have represented the U. S. there, since your Return. I perfectly accord with his opinion, that any arrangement you could & would make on the Topics referred to, would probably be more satisfactory to this Country than by any other man, and for this Reason ; because I am thoroughly convinced that no one is so capable of attaining the Purpose proposed by our Government. The Points & Principles, on which the negotiation would be likely to depend, unless I greatly mistake, have long been the subject of your thoughts & meditation, and are familiar to your mind with all the Learning applicable thereto

and which can be brought to elucidate & support the grounds of a termination & Decision favourable to the Interests of the U. S.

These Reflections do, in my judgment, evince clearly your duty to undertake the Business ; if there exists no personal objection to the voyage nor to your absence from Home on account of feeble Health.

I should be much inclined to believe that the occupation abroad, the Change of Country, and the variation of Scene would be conducive to your Health & Enjoyment.

Considering the Course of your studies, Reflections, and constant occupation for many years on the Subjects to be arranged, it cannot be a work of Labour inconsistent in any degree with the Health of either your Body or mind, and I do verily believe, these will be more promoted by the Employment than by any plan of Life you are likely to pursue at Jamaica.

Your letter of the 24 & its Enclosure reached me on the 28, and has been constantly before my mind till this day, when I came to the Result as stated above, and in the Correctness of the Judgment I have offered I am without doubt, that you may come to a Determination, which shall produce Good to our common Country, Health, Happiness and Increase of fame to yourself.

C. GORE.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA, April 4th, 1825.

MY DEAR FRIEND :

I have received your letter of the 31 ultimo. I may give to it more influence than the difficulties of the mission will authorize. Except the members of my own family I have consulted no person but yourself. My inclinations are quite equal to my strength : and I am less confident even with the support of your opinion, than formerly I should have been. It belongs to my period of life to estimate objections in all their force, and to place less confidence in the power to overcome them. The removal for a time only to England, and the separation from family and friends offer

greater impediments than had been anticipated ; so much so, that unless John * and his wife, with a portion of their children accompany me, I ought to hesitate upon my going without them. The measure is liable to difficulty. John is not of an age to go abroad without employment or for mere amusement, & his wife may be unwilling to leave her father,† who is about my age, & has less good health than he has formerly enjoyed, & he too may be unwilling to consent to her absence. Neither Charles, nor James, could replace John & his wife ; besides, Sally, in addition to her own family, takes charge of the elder daughters of Charles ; the two elder boys are at school at this place, and one or two of the youngest are with Mrs. Gracie. Frederic marries next month, and goes into Dr. Post's family, in professional connection with the Doctor; besides he and his wife would want my care, instead of my receiving theirs. At present this part of the subject employs my mind. Should the arrangement respecting John & his family be settled, it will still remain for Mr. Adams to decide whether he will appoint John Secretary of my Legation, without which he & his friends may be unwilling that he should go abroad.

A person of the name of Appleton has been employed at Lisbon & Madrid as Secretary of Legation. Lately he has exchanged with young Smith, nephew of the President, who is appointed Secretary to the Legation at Madrid in place of Appleton, who is also appointed Smith's successor of the Legation of England. Appleton is protected by the President ; who if he can be otherwise provided for, would make a vacancy to which John might be appointed, and thus our little project might be carried into effect.

I am not disposed to write to the President for these purposes ; but in the event that John, his wife & her father consent, I shall write a letter to the President, informing him that Charles will proceed to Washington for the purpose of making to him a communication on my part, according to which I consent to accept the Mission to G. Britain, and shall be ready at such time as he may name, after the middle of May, to embark.

You will observe that my proposition is affirmative, saying

* His oldest son. † Cornelius Ray.

nothing concerning my course in case of Mr. Appleton's appointment stands in my way : thus before I am in office I commence *en diplomate.*

faithfully yr. ob. sert.
RUFUS KING.

Mr. King had written to Mr. Adams that Mr. Charles King would call upon him to make a proposition upon which would depend his acceptance of the Mission. The following letter explains the result of the visit.

C. KING TO R. KING.

WILLIAMSONS, WASHINGTON, Saturday 3 o'clk.

DR. SIR :

I arrived about two hours ago & called immediately on Mr. Adams to communicate my business. He replied with very little hesitation, that I might be assured of his disposition to do whatever you desired ; that he would see what disposition could be made of Mr. Appleton, for that was the only difficulty, tho' he confessed he did not know just then how he was to be provided for ; but that he would consider of it, & let me know on Monday. He repeated more than once, that the only difficulty was how to dispose of Appleton. He seemed to enter at once into the motives which interested you in desiring this arrangement, and understood perfectly well, that it was from no disrespect towards, or want of confidence, in Mr. Appleton. This gentleman is now in Boston. The decision will however be made without consulting him.

I put it to Mr. Adams entirely as a matter of personal convenience to you, and not at all as one in which John had any immediate interest.

. . . Very truly yours

CHA'L. KING.

C. KING TO R. KING.

Saturday Evening, 9th Apl. 1825, ½ past 8 o'clk.

DR. SIR :

I have just come from Mr. Adams, who said to me immediately on entering his room this afternoon that he had thought of the

subject I had mentioned in the morning, and that he had come to the conclusion to acquiesce at once in your request, and take the chance of what might offer for Mr. Appleton. He then went on to say that he thought the request perfectly natural & reasonable, and such an one as he had pleasure in complying with; adding that he was desirous you should go as early as convenient. I mentioned the middle of next month as the earliest. I shall probably leave here Monday—dining again to-morrow with Mr. Adams, who with Mrs. Adams, seems to take pains to make me welcome.

Yours truly,
CHA'L. KING.

C. KING TO R. KING.

WASHINGTON, Sunday Evening, 10th April, 1825.

DR. SIR:

After I wrote to you last evening I paid a visit to Mr. Clay who received me with all the warmth of an old friend. He very soon introduced the topic of the London Mission, told me he had seen Mr. Adams, who had communicated to him your request concerning John, which he unhesitatingly told the President ought to be granted; that as to Mr. Appleton there were one or two objects connected with the foreign intercourse of the Country to which he might be directed, and that in all other respects he thought the request reasonable & proper; that the President acquiesced readily in these suggestions, and that it was therefore determined so to inform me. As I apprised Mr. Clay the President had done so at dinner, Mr. Clay then went on to speak in a very flattering, manner concerning your appointment which he said was highly satisfactory to him first as regarded the nation which he thought would be more effectually served by you than by any one else, and second as regarded himself, as from your perfect knowledge of, and acquaintance with, the subjects at issue between the two Countries, he would be spared much labor in making out the instructions—a task, as he added, to which he had looked forward with no little concern. We spent a long evening, or almost night together, and I was gratified not less with the manner in which he spoke of you, than with his unreserved &

friendly treatment of myself. He paid me a long visit to day by appointment, in which the same frank & kind spirit was manifested, and we parted with the promise of keeping each other mutually informed of what was going on around us.

Among other things which he volunteered to say to me was this, that he had always felt that he had been the means, tho' most innocently as to intention, of putting me in a piece of business, which had been the source of much vexation & undeserved reproach to me, the Dartmoor inquiry ; that the attacks which had been made upon me on account of it, were most infamous ; and that he hoped one day to have an opportunity of making amends to me for it. I thanked him of course for his kindness, and merely added that as I had nothing to reproach myself with on that occasion, the attack to which it had led, had not at all affected me.

With respect to the notification of your appointment, it will I presume be made in a few days ; without any reference however to that of John, which will merely be announced, after Appleton shall have been disposed of, and when you are about embarking. Mean time Mr. Clay said both you & John would be written to immediately.

As respects a frigate the President told me, that there had been so much disagreement & jarring between the Commanders of ships of war & the Ministers whom they had been ordered to carry—and citing in proof thereof the cases (which I had never heard before), of G. W. Campbell with Capt. McDonough & of Rush with Stewart, as well as that of Rodney with Biddle—that he had determined to adopt it as a rule, that wherever a minister could conveniently go out in any other way, he would not send a ship of war; that both in point of expense, and comfort a merchant vessel was preferable, & that as to the dignity the effect of it was confined to the single port of debarcation in the foreign Country ;—he added with respect to Poinsett's going out in the Constellation, that he in the first place was bound to that station, and secondly that no other fitting conveyance was to be had. My respect to the Secretary !

Yours very truly

CHAS. KING.

H. W. Addington to R. King.

Private.

Washington, April 16, 1825.

My dear Sir :

I cannot refrain from writing one line to you to express the sincere pleasure which it gave me to find that you had been prevailed upon to accept the situation of American Minister to "The old Country." I am more particularly gratified at this circumstance at the present moment, as the negotiations on foot between our two Countries are of an arduous and deliberate nature, and require the liberal and gentleman like feelings and thorough acquaintance with business, of a man like yourself to bring them to a successful termination.

I therefore congratulate both our Countries and yourself equally on your appointment. You will find many an old friend in England heartily glad to see you there once more.

I conclude it will not be long ere you set out for your destination.

I beg to offer you my best wishes for a happy voyage, and success in the objects intrusted to your charge, such as shall conduce equally to the well understood interests of two nations which ought to be, and I trust will soon be, bound to each other by the closest ties of friendship and mutual regard.

I am, Dear Sir, with real esteem,

Your very faithful Servant

H. W. Addington.

There are many letters among Mr. King's papers from his old friends at home, R. H. Goldsborough, C. F. Mercer, Benj. Hall, H. G. Otis, his brother William King, and others, sending him affectionate greetings and confident expressions of opinion that his own fame and the welfare of the country will be increased by the labors he will be engaged in. Mr. Mercer (April 22d) says among other thoughtful suggestions, that his friend Mr. Carter will send him some Virginia hams to be consumed on his voyage to England, and that

"they may be provocative to thirst and prompt you to drink

one glass more of wine than your habitual sobriety might otherwise quaff. All I have farther to add is to beg it may be in remembrance of our common efforts to abolish two great calamities, afflicting alike the two great Continents, the slave trade and slavery.* . . . The voyage I hope will add many years of happiness to your life, and crowning your latter days with honor alike augment the glory of our common and beloved country."

M. VAN BUREN TO R. KING.

ALBANY, April 29, 1825.

DEAR SIR:

Yours of the 12th was received at the moment of my departure for Columbia where I have since been confined by indisposition. I have however entirely recovered & in a few days go west on some private business. The fact of the offer of the Mission to you had been previously communicated to me & I am happy to learn that you have found no objection to its acceptance. When will you go? If it is not before the middle of June, I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you, but whether I do or not my sincere prayer is that health happiness and honour may attend you.†

With respect & esteem

Your obedt. Sert.

M. V. BUREN.

* Mr. Mercer was an earnest advocate for the colonization of the colored people in Africa, which, as will appear by the following letter Mr. King did not approve.

R. KING TO ELIJAH MILLS.

JAMAICA, June 14, 1824.

DEAR SIR:

I thank you for your kind letter after you arrived at N. Hampton; the enclosure I shall in due time send to Mr. Mercer, who will publish it in the Journal of their Colonization Society; never having had confidence in the benefits expected to be derived from what has seemed to me a project doomed to failure, the late accounts from Africa must generally discourage the efforts making at Sierra Leone as well as at Cape Mesurado. The only point, which this scheme of Colonization was calculated to promote, was the attention which it drew to the desperate condition of the slave States; which without the adoption of adequate means to mitigate, or put an end to slavery, must at no remote period endure calamities, that the order & justice of providence prepare for the oppressor.

† In the letter of C. King to J. A. King, July 22, 1825, the following remarks are made:

"By the enclosed article (from the Albany Argus) you will now see that it is

R. KING TO C. GORE.

JAMAICA, 18 May 1825.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I have received your kind letter of the 13th instant; so many little affairs have called for my attention, a daily correspondence with Washington, and the fixing upon the 12th as the day for Frederic's marriage, stood in the way of my inclination to have made a visit at Waltham before my departure for England. I cannot withhold another circumstance which pressed upon my mind, that the interview would be clouded by the apprehension that it might be our last, the parting of old friends, by a separation for an uncertain period, and for greater distances, which would have been our case, constitutes a scene which we both must have desired to avoid. . . .

Today I received by a messenger the concluding despatches from the Department of State; we expect to sail on the first of June, and I am diligently employed to prepare for this Event; my health is pretty good, tho' somewhat enfeebled by the attack of Gout; my voyage may assist me in regaining my strength.

Let me hear from you often; a word from some is worth more than a volume from others. Farewell my dear, & faithful friends, may it be the will of Providence, that we may not yet be separated—Again farewell.

RUFUS KING.

judged expedient to treat it (the appointment) as 'ill judged and unpopular.' The whole of the article is, I think, Van Buren's, or, at least, written with his concurrence; for it is in the nature of a manifesto to the party."

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Hamilton Papers in King's Hands from Judge Pendleton—Demand for their Delivery to Hamilton Family—King's Refusal—J. A. Hamilton's Correspondence—Chancery Suit to obtain them—Suit not pushed while King in England—Bushrod Washington to C. King—About Farewell Address—King's Statement—J. Duer to J. A. Hamilton—Directed to deliver the Papers—Suit discontinued—King sails for England—Stays at Cheltenham—Proceeds to London—Sir H. Halford to J. A. King—The King regrets Mr. King's Health prevents his Presentation—Canning to King—Will visit him at Cheltenham—King to Canning—Thanks and Confidence that their Business will be frankly conducted—King—Interview with Canning—Conversation about Cuba—England's Views agree with those of the United States—Lord Bexley to King—Kind Expressions of Welcome—Bishops Hobart and Chase—C. King to King—Noah and the *Argus* against his Appointment—Lord Bathurst to King—Welcome—King to Lord Bathurst—Pleasure in finding so many distinguished Men whom he had known in Office—Lafayette to King—To embark for France—Lord Grenville to King—Cordial Welcome.

Shortly before leaving for England an incident occurred to Mr. King which caused him much annoyance and at the same time was the means of breaking up relations with the family of General Hamilton, which had previously been of the most intimate and friendly character. It appears that in 1810 Judge Pendleton, who was one of General Hamilton's executors, placed in Mr. King's hands a sealed package, from among General Hamilton's papers, which he requested him to keep, and which had remained from that time unopened and as originally sealed.

Previous to the present year, Mr. John C. Hamilton had been engaged in collecting evidence to show that his father was the writer of Washington's Farewell Address. This is

not the place to enter into a discussion of the merits of this question, but as Mr. King was incidentally involved in the case by the possession of the above-mentioned package, which it was claimed would furnish the proof of the fact, the subject cannot be omitted here.

Mr. James A. Hamilton in his *Reminiscences*, p. 24, relates that

"in the year 1824, Nathaniel Pendleton, Esquire, one of my father's executors, stated to me on board the steamboat that the evidence of my father's having written the farewell address was most conclusive. That he had placed the draft in my father's handwriting, with the correspondence between him and General Washington, in the hands of Mr. King for safe-keeping, where they would be found. He added—you ought to get those papers and you may ask for them in my name.* Some time afterwards, in conversation with Mr. King on this subject, . . . I told him what Mr. Pendleton had stated to me, and he replied that the information was correct, and that the papers were in his possession."

On May 20, 1825, "at the earnest solicitation of my mother I went to Mr. King's house at Jamaica to obtain those papers. . . . requested him to place them for safe-keeping with me, at the same time telling him that I did not ask for them to make them public and that I was willing to receive them as he held them. He told me that he would not part with them, but that they should remain with him during his life, and at his death, should go to his executors (his sons John and Charles).

"He said he would give no instructions to his executors about them; that he did not withhold them from want of confidence in me; he would not permit me to see them, that they should remain for the present where they were; that this was not 'from want of confidence in me.' . . . I assented to his declaration that it was fortunate they had been separated from the other papers at the time that it was done by Mr. Pendleton, but requested him not to decide without further reflection upon the application I had made. He said he would reflect upon the subject, but

*I did not see him again. He died, I believe, shortly after the conversation.

that he did not think he should change a determination deliberately formed."

Mr. James A. Hamilton on the 23d and 25th of May wrote to Mr. King, expressing in both letters his anxiety for the possession of the papers, saying:

"I am confirmed in the opinion that it is not only reasonable but quite proper, that the draft of the farewell address, with the correspondence on that subject between my father and General Washington, deposited with you by my father's executors, should be returned to the surviving executor before your departure for Europe, or left with me; and I indulge the expectation that upon further reflection you promised to give to this subject, you will agree with me in this opinion. If you should not (which I shall never cease to regret) I must request, as a personal and very particular favor, that you will permit me to peruse those papers at your house. I again assure you that the anxiety about the possession of these papers, or my desire to see them, is not induced by a wish to make them public. . . . "

To these letters Mr. King replied:

JAMAICA, Thursday morning, 26th May, 1825.

DR. SIR:

Yesterday I received your second letter, having before received one on the same subject. . . .* As the fidelity of my attachment to the memory of your father has suffered no abatement, nor my respect for other considerations changed, it gives me some concern that you should at the present time press me on a subject, which has been in concert with other impartial persons considered by me, and which now I have no opportunity to revise or alter.†

I ought to be the last to appear liable to just suspicion of

* This hiatus is not given in Mr. H.'s publication, and there is no copy of the letter among Mr. King's.

† He was engaged in making his final preparations to sail for Europe on June 1st.

a desire to impair the admiration of our countrymen for the merits and services of your father. Things will remain as they now are, at least for the present, and I cannot take measures to change.

With much esteem & regard,
I am faithfully your obedient servant
RUFUS KING.

Mr. Hamilton says (p. 26):

"The day following, my brother John and I called upon Mr. Fish, showed him my letter to Mr. King and his reply. He expressed a decided opinion that Mr. King ought to deliver the papers to him (he being the Surviving Executor of Genl. Hamilton's Estate), and his willingness to call upon him for them, which he did that day in company with my brother John, without success."

The result of this interview is thus recorded in the draft of a letter probably to Mr. J. A. Hamilton. It is not known whether or not the letter was sent.

"JAMAICA, May 28th, 1825.

"It is a matter of regret that contrary to my intention or expectation you should feel dissatisfied with the manner of my last communication.* Not having enjoyed the like intimacy with your brother John, which my acquaintance with you has afforded so much to my satisfaction, I was prepared by the supposed object of his visit to confine myself to the restatement of the determination that I had formed and communicated to you. After the knowledge which I presumed your brother to have of this communication, I was admonished to avoid on my part every thing which in any manner might give offense; and I feel confident on this point that I have no cause of dissatisfaction with myself, tho'

* Mr. Hamilton on the 28th wrote to Mr. King that his letter of the 26th had given "him great, very great pain. I assure you my application was not dictated by feelings at all inconsistent with the friendly relations which have for a long time existed between us; or from the slightest diminution of my confidence in your fidelity to your trust, or your regard to my father's fame."

the circumstances in which your brother, after learning my determination, for purposes which I am at a loss to explain, thought himself at liberty to menace me in my own house, and in the presence of a third person, with the employment of legal process to coerce me. This behaviour entirely disappointed and mortified me, and might have excused one of the oldest and most faithful friends of your father in meeting this language in a different manner."

It has been the belief of Mr. King's family that the threat was to get out a writ of *ne exeat* to prevent Mr. King sailing from New York a few days after. Whether this was the fact or not, a suit in chancery was commenced for the recovery of the papers.

Mr. Charles King writes to his brother John in London, October 31, 1825, a long letter telling him that after much deliberation he had been induced to publish in the *American* an article denying statements made by Mr. Noah in the *National Advocate*, "which he affected to state officially," that the reasons why Mr. King withheld the papers for the possession of which the suit had been instituted by Mrs. Hamilton were probably and perhaps "chiefly because, if published, they would compromise his reputation and that of other leading federalists." Not contented with this he afterwards stated in his paper, "that the papers referred to were put into Mr. King's hands by Genl. Hamilton on the eve of his fatal duel, which it is asserted, on the same authority, Mr. K. rather provoked than sought to prevent." Mr. J. A. Hamilton in a card refused to be drawn into a newspaper discussion of the merits of the case, and says:

"the unauthorized statements of the Editor of the Nat. Adv. are not entitled to notice."

In this same letter, Mr. C. King says:

"Noah is making an attempt through his paper to induce a rejection by the Senate of my father's nomination. As the President passed thro' here, I asked him whether such an attempt was

likely to be made, and with what success? He thought it would hardly be attempted, and at any rate could not succeed; no more than a similar one with which you [his brother] are menaced. . . . Here Clinton seems to reign and is posted Lord of the Ascendant. The grand canal celebration, which is to be got up next Friday, the 4th, on the arrival of the first boat from Lake Erie, will be turned as far as it can be done to his exclusive honor and glory. The elections coming on at the very same time—Monday 7th—will be influenced more or less by the pageant."

R. KING TO C. KING.

LONDON, November 26, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have received your letter of the 24th. ultimo, together with its enclosures. I wish that you had also added copies of your letter to Mr. Justice Washington,* and to Governor Wolcott, as from

* BUSHROD WASHINGTON TO CHARLES KING.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 6th, 1825.

SIR:

Your favor of the 14th Sept. reached Alexandria after I had left home. A copy of it has lately been forwarded to me at this place by a friend authorized to open my letters during my absence, and I now beg leave to thank you for the communication which it conveys.

Referring to your father's letter to you, I have to observe, that I cannot agree with him in opinion that, as Executor of General Washington or otherwise, I have any power over the letter in question, altho' it should have been a private and confidential one, as to which I have no knowledge whatever, except what is derived from the statement contained in your father's letter. Neither do I conceive that I have the most remote right to interfere in the extraordinary suit instituted by Mrs. Hamilton to which your letter refers. And I beg leave further to add that, if my right in either, or both, of these cases was incontestable, I should not condescend to exercise it. If Mrs. H., in claiming for Genl. H. through the medium of a Court of Justice, or otherwise, the authorship of the farewell address (the validity of which claim is by no means admitted) supposes that the establishment of the fact will do honour to his memory, I shall throw no impediment in her way, but leave her to pursue her own course.

There is one mistake into which your father has been led by some person, which it becomes me to correct. He states "that if not misinformed, Mr. J. Washington had been called upon to search for and deliver to Mrs. Hamilton letters supposed to be in his possession written by Genl. Hamilton to Genl.

the tenor of their answers, especially of Mr. Justice Washington's, I may be thought to have taken a part in this affair, the correctness whereof may be doubted. It should be remembered that the Papers of General Hamilton came into the possession of Judge Pendleton as the friend and executor of the General, and some time after his death were delivered to me by Judge Pendleton, with a declaration that his object in their delivery to me, was to prevent their falling into the hands of the General's family. Why Judge Pendleton omitted to keep the papers in his own possession, or preferred their delivery to me, I can explain in no other way, than his being liable to enquiries respecting them, and that as he more

Washington respecting his farewell address." I have no hesitation in affirming that the information he received was without foundation. Mrs. Hamilton, with a son and daughter, did me the honor, some years ago, to visit me at Mount Vernon, where they spent some days. She requested of me as a favor, or perhaps a request before made by letter, to collect for her Genl. H's letters to Genl. W., of which copies had not been kept by the former, promising to have them copied, and to return me the originals. She furnished me with a list, *by dates*, of those which were wanted. I cheerfully engaged in the search, which employed parts of many days, and delivered to her every one mentioned on the list which I could find. To the best of my recollection, the farewell address was never alluded to even in conversation, and I feel considerable confidence in stating that it was not, until after this visit, that I was informed in Philada. by a friend, that the authorship of that address was attributed to Genl. H. in whispers, by certain persons in New York and Phila. As to dates, my memory may possibly mislead me, but I cannot think I can be mistaken in saying that no demand or request resembling that above referred to, was made by Mrs. H. A demand of so extraordinary a character, on many accounts, could not have failed to make an impression not easily to be forgotten.

I will add further, that I have never, at any time, met with any letter or copy of a letter amongst the papers of Genl. W., which could warrant the conclusion that Genl. H. wrote the farewell address. I am authorised by Chief Justice Marshall (who had possession of all the papers for some years whilst writing the life of Washington) to aver that he never met with any such letter. This statement I have thought it due to his and my character to make that it may be communicated to your respectable father, to whom I pray you to present my thanks for his kind and considerate letter on this unpleasant subject.

very respectfully, sir

yr. mo. ob. st.

BUSH. WASHINGTON.

P. S.

I must beg the favor of you to forward a copy of this letter to your father, for whose information it is alone intended.

than once, intimated the understood views of Mrs. Hamilton to endeavor to shew that General Hamilton, not General Washington, was the author and writer of the farewell address, ascribed to the latter; Judge Pendleton believed it to be drawn up by General Washington, and for this reason and because he thought that it was important, he concluded that public opinion, upon this subject, should not be disturbed. Those who were acquainted with General Washington know, that it was his habit to write down, or make memorandums of thoughts or conversation which he deemed to be of importance; that when the Farewell address was under consideration, he may have communicated these detached thoughts to General Hamilton, with whom he was accustomed to communicate upon important occasions, would not be extraordinary. Such was in fact the conjecture of those who knew the parties well.

Of Mr. Wolcott's letter, I will barely say that time appears to have weakened the strength of his former opinion respecting the publication of private and *Confidential* letters.

Should you deem it necessary to publish any thing upon this subject, I earnestly desire that you confine yourself to plain facts, without reasoning—the first affects me, the latter concerns yourself, but may be made to involve me. As I have nothing to say to, nor to do with, Mr. Noah, so I do not admit myself in any manner accountable to him. With the power of the Court of Chancery I cannot contend, and if I could, I have neither interest nor motive to do so. I presume that the Court will leave me quiet so long as I remain here, and therefore I hope and expect not to be drawn into Controversy. I have made no answer to the Bill in Chancery nor have I been advised to make any, nor have I consulted any person here. Such being my Case neither I myself nor any one in my behalf ought to plead to Mr. Noah's New Bill. What the law may be touching the power of Executors over the papers of their Testator, whether such as here seems to be understood, or restricted in the degree, that Mr. Justice Washington appears to believe, is matter in which I can only be affected in case of my doing wrong respecting the papers placed in my hands by Judge Pendleton. Hitherto I have complied only with the Judge's opinion expressed to me at the time of the unasked delivery of these papers.

What I have written will I trust be sufficient respecting the

suit of Mrs. Hamilton ; considering my friendship and connexion with General Hamilton, it is matter of sorrow and surprize to encounter the doubting opinion of his family. There are many papers from the General to me while in Congress and during my first Mission to England, relating to the public men of our Country. All my replies as well from Congress as during my residence in England were many years after their dates, placed in my hands by Mr. J. A. Hamilton with permission to withdraw such of them, as I might select. But the whole of them without exception numbered as I suppose by Mr. J. A. Hamilton in succession, were returned by me to him a little before I last left the United States, and after Notice of the Chancery suit against me by his mother.

faithfully & affectionately
Yours
RUFUS KING.

So anxious was Mr. King to ascertain authoritatively whether he had acted rightly in the course that he had adopted relative to the demand for the papers, that while in London he wrote a letter to Lord Eldon on March 23d, and another, not hearing from him, on June 12th, shortly before sailing for New York, asking his professional advice and assistance in the chancery suit which was pending, as he was "a person conversant with the Proceedings of the Court of Chancery of England," and as he (Mr. King), was soon to embark for the United States, he hoped that, as it would require but little time, the Lord Chancellor "might direct the assistance of which Mr. King stands in so much need."

The answer to this was not made until July 1st, as stated in a memorandum by Mr. King :

"Received a dispatch from the Lord Chancellor, referring to an opinion on the Chancery Suit on Mr. King's return, which the Chancellor is informed will soon take place : read the dispatch in haste, which may explain the little satisfaction it affords : the advice might have been communicated several months ago."

The dispatch cannot be found ; but it is believed to have

been in substance that the letters belonged to the writer and therefore to his family.

Mr. James A. Hamilton (p. 26) writes:

"On October 17, 1826, I received the following letter from Mr. John Duer, with a bundle of papers, endorsed in the handwriting of the Hon. Rufus King as follows: 'Papers received by Rufus King from Judge Pendleton in 1810, to be returned.'

"'DEAR SIR:

"'A letter from Mr. Jay to Judge Peters, of Philadelphia, containing a full explanation of the circumstances attending the composition of Washington's farewell address, has lately appeared in the public papers.

"'The statement it contains, the truth of which it is impossible to doubt, as (it is but justice to you to add) has been admitted to me by yourself, renders it proper to terminate at once the controversy in relation to certain papers and documents entrusted to Mr. King by a deceased executor of your father's estate, and which your mother, as residuary legatee, has demanded in a suit in chancery now pending. Mr. King in his own opinion, and in that of his counsel, is now exonerated from the trust under which those papers were originally placed in his hands. The reasons which led to the creation of this trust, and have hitherto induced Mr. King to withhold the papers, have ceased to exist.

"'I am therefore instructed to inform you that the papers are now in my possession ready to be delivered to yourself on the authority of your mother, or to the surviving executor.

"'I am most respectfully yours.'"

Mr. Hamilton answered on the 17th that the suit in chancery instituted by his mother had been ordered discontinued, but that whether the

"conclusion intended by that letter [Mr. Jay's] to be established is correct or not, will be a subject for more enlightened consideration when these papers are examined."

The papers were delivered, but it does not appear that they helped to establish the authorship claimed by the Hamiltons.

Having completed his arrangements, Mr. King sailed from New York for Liverpool * on June 1st, accompanied by his son, John A. King and his wife, their two oldest and their youngest daughters. He arrived there on the 26th, after a boisterous voyage, during which he was daily seasick and much debilitated.† Remaining in Liverpool several days to recover from the effects of the voyage, by the advice of physicians he was induced to pass some time at Cheltenham, to take its waters and to undergo medical treatment. He remained there until the 17th of August, when he started for London, without very material improvement in health, although he says in a letter to Mr. Gore of August 11th, "I think my health is better than when I left home."

Immediately after his arrival at Cheltenham, he wrote to Mr. J. Adams Smith, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States in London, announcing his arrival there, and on July 8th received from him a letter stating that he had had, as requested, an interview with Mr. Canning, who "was sorry to learn the cause of the delay of your arrival at London; he desired me to make to you his former recollection of you," and to say that after the 13th of July he would be in London to August 1st, after which he would be in the country for some six weeks.

* Mr. King was in the habit of using for each year an almanac interleaved with blank pages upon which he recorded various matters connected with his farm operations and country work, and sometimes made notes of current events. In Beers' *Long Island Almanac* for 1825, there is on the 1st of June a memorandum:

"Embarked this day in the Pacific for Liverpool, where we arrived Sunday the 26th. after a rough passage, in which I was sea-sick every day, and when we arrived much fatigued and weakened. Saturday, July 2d. Remained at the Waterloo, but today under the advice of Dr. Brandreth we set out with two P. chaises for Cheltenham, reached Chester the first day, Shrewsbury the second, and Cheltenham Monday 4. July."

† Mr. Charles King in a letter to Mr. King, August 18, 1825, says that he had heard of his arrival, and that he perceived "with regret that it was rather his previous complaint [gout followed by intestinal troubles], than seasickness that had debilitated him."

Mr. John A. King having gone to London to make the necessary preparations for residence there, and to communicate directly with Mr. Canning, Mr. King received through him the advice of Sir Henry Halford, the King's Physician, to remain at Cheltenham for some time, and wrote to his son on the 19th of July:

"In making my acknowledgments to Sir. H. H. I wish, should it in no respect appear misplaced, or unusual, that he might find an occasion of expressing my concern that the delay in my proceeding to my destination has not arisen from the want of zeal, but has been imposed upon me by want of health, that still detains me.* . . . Every day convinces me that I derive advantage from my delay and gives me encouragement that I am pursuing a prudent course. I am solicitous lest it should be supposed that I want zeal to appear as soon as possible at my post. I confide in Mr. Canning's liberality to protect me against this injustice."

Through Mr. Smith, on July 22d, a notification was sent to Mr. King that as Mr. Canning was going out of town he would make his arrangements in such manner as to take Cheltenham in his way and would "be able to see him at or not far from Cheltenham."

Mr. Canning addressed him a letter from the Foreign Office:

July 28, 1825.

DEAR SIR:

The pleasure of renewing the very old acquaintance, which authorizes me, I hope, so to address you, induces me to take

* SIR HENRY HALFORD TO J. A. KING.

WISTON HALL, MARKET HARBRO August 23, 1825.

Sir Henry Halford laments very sincerely that it will not be in his power to wait upon His Excellency Mr. Rufus King at present.—Sir Henry left Town on Sunday sennight after having spent two days at the Royal Lodge, where he took an opportunity of saying, what his Majesty took most graciously, how much Mr. King laments that the state of his health retarded the satisfaction His Excellency promised himself in paying his respects to the King.

Cheltenham in my way to the north of England. I hope to arrive there on Monday, and to pay my respects to you that evening or early the following day, as may best suit your convenience.

In the meantime I take the liberty of sending for your perusal the enclosed extracts of letters lately received by me from Mr. Addington. The sentiments of your Government as therein reported are *ours*.

I shall be exceedingly glad of an opportunity of talking them over with you, and I wish that we may be able to agree in some mode of giving to them a salutary effect.

I have the honour to be with high Respect and Esteem,

Dear Sir, your obed. & faithful Servt.

GEORGE CANNING.

CHELTENHAM, July 29, 1825.

RIGHT HONORABLE GEORGE CANNING, &c. &c.

DEAR SIR :

I have just received your letter of yesterday, and cannot lose a moment in the expression of my sense of the kind recollection in which it has originated. The occasion, I hope, will justify the avowal of the satisfaction with which I shall meet you in the Foreign Office, especially as it permits me to rely upon the frankness and directness with which the business of our intercourse will be sure to be conducted.

By the extracts from Mr. Addington's letters which you have sent for my perusal, and for which be pleased to accept my thanks, you have anticipated the subjects which had seemed to me most important at the present moment ; while there are other topics upon which we may desire an early occasion to discuss, there is none I would push upon your attention at the present moment.

I have the honor to be with high Respect and Esteem

your obedt. & faithful Servt.,

RUFUS KING.

In his first despatch to Mr. Clay, Aug. 9, 1825, Mr. King, after stating the facts relative to his taking Cheltenham on his route to London, to the benefit he was deriving from the drinking of its waters, and also to the adjournment

of Parliament, and speaking of the notification that Mr. Canning would on his journey north, which he was about to make, take Cheltenham on his route and meet Mr. King there, writes:

"Aug. 2. Mr. Canning arrived last evening and sent me a message that he would call on me at 10 in the evening of his arrival, or at 9 o'clock the next morning. Having named the morning, he came to my house at 9 o'clock of this morning. After the ordinary salutations, I expressed my thanks for his making me this visit, and repeated my acknowledgment that he had sent for my perusal the extracts from Mr. Addington's letters to him and my satisfaction that the United States and Great Britain thought alike on the subject of Cuba and the new States. . . . Alluded in general terms to the employment of the influence of the United States to engage Russia, France and Great Britain to influence Spain to make peace with the new States by acknowledging their independence.

"Mr. Canning *soon* replied that such a hope was desperate, that Russia was unchangeable on this point. . . . that Alexander now avows the doctrine that crowns and succession can lawfully be regulated by Kings & Emperors only. . . . I asked whether Austria, Prussia or France would be likely to admit of change in this theory? He answered that France had one foot in the water and one foot on the land, and as respects the water foot she seemed inclined to agree or rather not to disagree with England: that Austria would feel the power of Russia, though perhaps she may fall short in the strength of her faith: Prussia is slow in her movements, and not as zealous in the cause with which she is ranked, as may have been supposed. . . . Mr. Canning observed that while England despaired of the favorable interposition of Russia and of the temper of Spain to make peace with the new States by acknowledging their independence, they felt themselves so greatly reinforced and sustained by the views of the United States and the agreement which existed between the United States and England in these views, that they had directed all their efforts to prevail on Spain to conclude an armistice with the new States, which would in the end lead to peace; that it had occurred to England that by a note drawn up

and approved by England, the United States and France, in such form as should be approved, Spain may consent to such an armistice, especially if coupled with the same it be provided that Cuba and Porto Rico shall remain under the dominion of Spain. . . . I asked Mr. Canning what probability existed that France would be prevailed upon to unite with England and the United States in the adoption of such a note? Mr. Canning made use of expressions of his belief. . . . To these remarks he joined with emphasis the influence which he said was so fully due to the Union of England and the United States in their views respecting Cuba and Porto Rico, and the new States upon the continent. . . .

"It becomes the more important that you receive this letter, in order that I may obtain the earliest instructions of the President concerning the measure recommended by this Government should it be resumed, as I conclude it will in some form, in which I may be called upon to take a part, which I shall be cautious in doing without the orders of my Government."

It may here be stated that though these matters were afterwards discussed with Mr. Canning, of which discussions or conversations the despatches of Mr. King to Mr. Clay, the Secretary of State, make interesting reports, with carefully digested views not only of affairs in England but of the varying aspect of public sentiment on the continent on the Spanish question, no result was attained, for the want of positive instructions from his Government until just before the termination of his ministry, and the pressing business relations of England with continental governments, and the financial troubles which were embarrassing the country, both in ordinary business affairs and in the transactions of the Government itself, engrossed the whole attention of the Ministry.

As will be seen, Mr. King reports there was not any reasonable probability that any successful engagement in the discussion of the boundary and commercial questions could be expected at the time he received his instructions.

LORD BEXLEY TO R. KING.

Private.

FOOTS CRAY PLACE, KENT, 9 July, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR:

If I had not expected before this time to have the pleasure of seeing you in London, I should not have omitted so long to thank you for kindly taking charge of Bishop Chase's letter to me, & to congratulate you on your arrival in England; a circumstance which I can assure you has given the greatest satisfaction to the Public here & which, I hope I need not say, must be peculiarly gratifying to those who have so long had the honor of considering you with feelings of personal regard & respect. Among them I hope you will allow me to be numbered; & that this place will occasionally be your retreat from the fatigues of public business & the hurry of London. At so short a distance as 13 miles, I hope I may look for an early visit; & that you will recollect how easily we are within reach. In order to pay my respects to you as soon as possible, I had desired Mr. Planta to give me intelligence of your arrival in town; & I hope your stay at Liverpool has not been occasioned by indisposition though you may have found a few days rest necessary after the fatigue of your voyage.

I trust that both Bishop Hobart, & Bishop Chase were satisfied with their reception in England. Their plans (which I regret were not quite in unison with each other) received considerable support here; & the latter excited particular interest by the apostolic simplicity of his appearance & manner. Believe me ever

My dear Sir

very sincerely yours

BEXLEY.

Mr. Charles King in a letter, New York, July 22, 1825, says to his brother John:

"Mr. Rush has returned here and said many gratifying things as to the manner in which Papa's nomination had been received in England—all of which you will, I presume ere this, have in part realized the truth."

The letter speaks also of many attacks in the *Advocate* (Noah) both against him and his father upon old charges made and long since refuted, and of the article in the *Argus* speaking of the appointment of Rufus King "as ill judged and unpopular. The whole of the article is I think Van Buren's or at least written with his concurrence."

The belief expressed above that Mr. King would be well received in England, is fully evinced by many letters from distinguished men whom he had known during his previous residence there. One above from Lord Bexley, soon after he reached Cheltenham, one from Lord Bathurst, and others, containing similar kindly greetings, among them from Mr. Canning, the Earl of Essex, Lord Grenville, Alexander Baring, were received.

LORD BATHURST TO R. KING.

CIRENCESTER, Aug. 7, 1825.

DEAR SIR:

As it is now more than twenty years since I had the honor of making your acquaintance, I am afraid you must have forgotten me; but I cannot permit you to be so near me, without endeavoring to bring myself back to your memory, and asking if I could prevail upon you to do me the honor of coming over here either during your stay at Cheltenham, or in your way from thence to London, as this place is only a very few miles out of your road. Allow me to express my hope that the waters have been of service to you, believe me to be

with great truth & respect
Your obedient humble Svt.
BATHURST.

R. KING TO LORD BATHURST.

CHELTENHAM, Aug. 7, 1825.

MY LORD:

I return you my respectful & hearty thanks for your obliging note of this morning. It affords me great satisfaction to find so many persons of distinction still in the administration, who were in the Govt. when I was formerly in this Country. I recollect with great pleasure yr. Lp's participation in the Cabinet of those

perilous days, and as Mr. Canning, whom I lately met at this place will be for some weeks absent from London, I shall avail myself of the opportunity, by using the waters of this place for the benefit of my health, to delay my progress to London. And will do myself the honor some morning in the course of the week to pay my respects to yr. Lp at Cirencester—

with great truth & Respect
I have the honor to be yr Lp's
Obed. & most humble Servt.
RUFUS KING.

LAFAYETTE TO R. KING.

WASHINGTON, August 13, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR:

We have had indirect but very pleasing accounts of your safe arrival in England; letters from you will, no doubt, be arrived when I return on the 24th from a visit to Montpellier and Monticello. The members of the Cabinet will then be collected, and I shall from the President's house embark for France in the first days of September. With what feelings I will leave these happy beloved shores I need not tell to you, my dear friend.

My affectionate compliments to your son; George and Le Vallier beg to be remembered; accept the high regards, best wishes, and cordial affection of

your old friend
LAFAYETTE.

In a letter from Mr. King at Cheltenham to Mr. Gore, August 16, 1825, he says:

"Much good feeling respecting us has appeared, and I am in hopes may continue; of business as yet I can say nothing."

Among many letters from distinguished men, is one from Lord Grenville.

LORD GRENVILLE TO R. KING.

DROPMORE, Aug 25, 1825.

DEAR SIR:

I had this morning the pleasure to receive thro' Bishop Hobart, your letter introducing him to me, & I sincerely regret that his

approaching departure has not afforded me more opportunity of evincing the attention which I should so gladly shew to any recommendation of yours.

It was with great pleasure that I heard of your return to this country in a public character. It is to us a very flattering testimony of the impressions which you received from your former residence among us, & it is on public grounds very gratifying to think that this part of the intercourse between our two countries, will pass thro' the hands of a person as sincerely desirous of promoting good will & friendship between them as I well know you to be.

I talk of things in which I have no longer any other concern than that of a good subject of our own country, & a well wisher to the happiness of so large a portion of mankind as is interested in the welfare of the British Empire, & of the United States. Both age & health have wholly withdrawn me from the scene, & I pass, & hope to pass what remains to me of my allotted time, in quiet retirement, & almost total seclusion, here. I come to London only for a few weeks, in February, & March ; but before that time I flatter myself that you will find leisure from your active occupations to come here, & visit an old friend, who has at all times cherished a very pleasing remembrance of our former intercourse, when he entertained very little hope of the pleasure which he now solicits of seeing you again under his roof.

Believe me, my dear sir,
with sincere regard, & attachment,
Most truly & faithfully yrs,
GRENVILLE.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Jefferson to King—University of Virginia–Asking him to receive and care for Funds sent to London for Purchases—Mr. Bonnycastle's Case—King to Canning respecting this—Asking his Interference—Canning to King—Bonnycastle's own Conduct prevents any Action to relieve him—King to Canning—Hopes the Lords of the Admiralty may review their Decision—Canning to King—Bonnycastle's contumacious Conduct prevents favorable Action—He must make proper Application—King to Canning—Enforces his Plea asking for the Relief desired—Canning to King—Mr. Bonnycastle's Fine remitted—Could not officially, as a Government Act, but on Mr. King's personal Desire—King's Thanks—Hobart to King—Attentions from Lord Grenville—Position in England—Lafayette to King—Arrival Home from the United States—King to C. King—English commercial Regulations—King presented his Letter of Credence to the King—C. King to R. King—About Charge of inviting a Prussian Prince to this Country to reign over it—H. Clay and J. Barbour—Mentioned by latter in a Debate in the Senate—J. Q. Adams—Prussian Prince—King never charged with this Proceeding—Adams to C. King—His Father's and Brother's Nominations confirmed—Is there any longer Necessity for King's witholding the Inspection of the Hamilton Papers—Clay to J. A. King—Nominations of his Father and himself confirmed nearly unanimously.

There are two long and interesting letters from Mr. Jefferson to Mr. King in London, dated June 30 and July 28, 1825, recalling to him the fact that

"they were establishing an University (in Virginia), on a scale of considerable respectability and that we now are provided with funds to procure, for the institution, a competent library and apparatus;"

that the selection of these and the purchase of them, Mr. Barlow, a professor of mathematics at Woolwich, would attend to. They would still want

"the friendly aid of some person in London to be the depositor of their funds," and he "hoped that your friendliness to science and desire to see it promoted in your own country would induce you to lend us a hand in this enterprise;"

showing him at the same time that the arrangements he specifies "are such as would cause you little trouble."

He states that the circumstances under which one of their new professors, Mr. Bonnycastle, had been offered and accepted the office, had caused embarrassment in consequence of the fact that he had obtained part of his education at Woolwich, and for this had signed a bond for £500 not "to enter into any foreign service without the consent of the government." He then details the reasons for Mr. Bonnycastle's neglect to procure this consent before he sailed to America, and says that if Mr. King could interpose with the proper authorities to obtain a remission of the penalty, he "would deem it a great favor done myself and a very acceptable service rendered our University." He enforces this request by stating many reasons why he hopes the appeal might be successfully made. If nothing can be done the payment of the bond must first be made out of the funds remitted.

In the second letter Mr. Jefferson writes to Mr. King that he has sent to him an additional amount of money for the purchase of anatomical preparations, the selection of which has been made by the professor of anatomy and medicine of the University, Dr. Robley Dunglison, and the purchase in London by a Mr. Callaway, who would attend to all the details, his vouchers being the sanction for payments.

Mr. King, on August 28th, addressed a letter to Mr. George Canning, Principal Secretary of State, stating that he had received notification that a demand was about to be be made upon the bondsmen of Mr. Bonnycastle for the payment of his bond, and enclosing him a copy of Mr. Jefferson's letter, which would explain the circumstances

which influenced the action of Mr. Bonnycastle in going to America without asking the consent of his government. He says:

"If the facts and circumstances stated by Mr. Jefferson are, as I hope they will be, deemed satisfactory, I have the honor to request that the consent of His Majesty's government may now be granted for Mr. Charles Bonnycastle's services in the U. S. of America, and directions be given that the prosecution on the bond be stopped. In this case I should be at liberty immediately to employ the whole of the funds, which I have received, in ordering and procuring the scientific instruments which are required by the University of Virginia."

No answer having been received to this communication, on October 10, 1825, Mr. King again wrote to Mr. Canning.

R. KING TO GEO. CANNING.

20 BAKER ST., Octr. 10th, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR:

The case of the University of Virginia, in other words of Mr. Bonnycastle, though not committed to my care by the authority of my government, comes to me from a quarter, and conveys reflections, affecting the permanent interests of both countries, which will not I hope be entirely disregarded. The single case of Mr. Bonnycastle could not prove embarrassing to the United States be it decided as it may: but the denial of the overture of Virginia coming from Mr. Jefferson to seek for and obtain from England the scientific aid which her new College requires, is of much greater importance and on this account I feel solicitous, that by yielding to an error on the part of Mr. Bonnycastle the stream of scientific intercourse between our young establishment, and this ancient and venerable nation may not be broken or discouraged. It would not be difficult to enlarge on this topic, but to your mind this would be misplaced

I am, My Dear Sir,
Your obed't serv't
RUFUS KING.

On the same day, October 10th, Mr. Canning sent the following to Mr. King:

GEO. CANNING TO R. KING.

FOREIGN OFFICE, October 10th, 1825.

SIR:

Having referred to the Lords commissioners of the admiralty your letter of the 25th of August, applying for the discontinuance of the prosecution instituted upon a Bond entered into by Mr. Charles Bonnycastle "not to pass into a foreign Service;" and for permission to be now granted to him by His Majesty's Government to enter the Service of the United States, as a Professor of Natural Philosophy; I have received from the admiralty an answer to the following effect: "that if the application had come originally from the Government of the United States for the discharge of Mr. Bonnycastle for the purpose mentioned in your letter, their Lordships would probably have viewed the matter in a different light; but in consequence of the mode, and the circumstances under which Mr. Bonnycastle quitted His Majesty's Service, their Lordships cannot help entertaining considerable apprehension that a compliance with your request would be attended with injurious consequences to the Institution at which Mr. Bonnycastle was educated."

You will observe, Sir, that it is stated in Mr. Jefferson's letter, that Mr. Bonnycastle embarked for Virginia "without leave *obtained actually*;" which expression at first led to an inference that Mr. Bonnycastle had represented himself to have applied for leave, though there had not been time to receive an answer.

The truth is, however, that he made no such application—No degree of hurry could excuse that neglect; and it is feared that the passing it over lightly, might appear to sanction, and might encourage in others, so disrespectful a return for the benefits of eleemosynary Instruction.

I request you will accept the assurances of the high consideration with which I have the honour to be

Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant

GEORGE CANNING.

R. KING TO GEO. CANNING.

BAKER ST. 11th Octr., 1825.

Mr. King presents his compliments to Mr. Canning and having written the enclosed note yesterday, and received Mr. Canning's Note of the 10th inst this morning, he feels somewhat discouraged by the answer of the Lords of the Admiralty ; but referring to the great interests of the two Countries, whose permanent welfare and happiness may be affected by the decision of the personal case of Mr. Bonnycastle, Mr. King permits himself to believe that Mr. Canning will receive without dissatisfaction this little note ; encouraged by the hope that having regard to the great and permanent advantages which may proceed therefrom, the Lords of the Admiralty may see cause to review the application of the University of Virginia with more indulgence, and ultimately grant the Petition preferred by Mr. Jefferson.

GEO. CANNING TO R. KING.

Private.

SEAFORD, Oct. 12, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR :

It is a very great grief to me to view in a different light any matter in which you take so deep an interest, as you appear to take in the case of Mr. Bonnycastle.

But the question appears to me not less important in its principle and probable consequences in one view, than it does to you in another.

Mr. Bonnycastle having a favor to ask of his Government, preserves a total silence ; assumes what he had to ask as granted ; & throws upon a foreign Gov't the pleading of his cause.

It is not so much the unwillingness to let Mr. Bonnycastle go free, as the probable effect of taking no notice of the contumacious (and I might add perhaps in relation to the establishment at which he was educated, ungrateful,) manner, in which he has *taken* that liberty without asking it, that stands in the way of the consent of the Admiralty.

Why, even to this hour is there no application from Mr. Bonnycastle himself ?

And if such conduct as Mr. Bonnycastle's passes unreproved, is it not clear that Establishments hitherto national will be henceforth nurseries for the rest of the world?

Perhaps you will say, "they ought to be so." But even, if I were to grant that proposition, & should think it right to act upon it *prospectively*, Mr. Bonnycastle's conduct would not appear to me the less deserving of reprehension.

This, however, is only *my private* opinion. If you can obtain a proper application from Mr. Bonnycastle himself, I will willingly bring the request of Mr. Jefferson under the consideration of the Admiralty again. I have the honour to be

With great Esteem & regard
My Dear Sir
Your sincere & faithful serv't
GEORGE CANNING.

R. KING TO GEO. CANNING.

Private and Confidential.

20 BAKER ST., Octr. 15, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR:

There must exist no mistakes between us. Your course towards me has been in every thing that which I could have wished it to be. As regards my situation nothing has or could be ascribed to you, as having produced the same; tho' the somewhat earlier communication by Mr. Planta of the proposed Council at Windsor, might have enabled me to have been presented.*

Your Note of yesterday in reference to Mr. Bonnycastle calls upon me to say a word or two, which may require your indulgence. I have no desire to justify the course adopted by this gentleman, indeed I see the case to a given extent, as it has appeared to you; but there are facts connected with the case with which you must be unacquainted, as they have arisen out of our domestic party divisions, in which for more than thirty years I have not belonged to the same camp with Mr. Jefferson. He has belonged to the winning party, I, to the losing one: during

* Mr. King's detention at Cheltenham had prevented his presentation to the King up to this time.

his prosperity I commonly lived in retirement. Nothing is however constant ; things are now in a course of change, and this is evinced by the overture which Mr. Jefferson becomes the organ of making to me respecting the University of Virginia. I should have been gratified in complying with the request.

I not only felt desirous to meet this advance, but I fancied that consequences of importance might be promoted thereby. I have alluded to some of them in my former communication to you. It has seemed to me of importance that the youth of the United States should from the beginning imbibe the same principles of education with those of England, so that the effect and power of such education should shew themselves by the development of the same great principles of truth and reason by those who partook of it. I hoped that the fountain should be found in England, and not in another Country. Perhaps I ascribed too much importance to these reflections : but I with some anxiety desired to witness their development & influence. Besides Mr. Jefferson has held distinguished rank in our Government ; and if I have committed an error, it has been in supposing that the application of such persons was by courtesy treated with a certain degree of favour.

It has not been for a moment the propriety of Mr. Bonnycastle's conduct, which I wished to vindicate, but the ill effects which I feared might be made to proceed from the decision which was about to occur in his case.

I remain
With great esteem & regard
My Dear Sir
Your obedt & faithful Servt
R. K.

GEO. CANNING TO R. KING.

Private.

SEAFORD, Nov. 23, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR :

Silence does not necessarily imply forgetfulness ; nor can it always be taken for consent.

You must not suppose, therefore, that because you have not heard from me upon the subject of Mr. Bonnycastle's Bond, I

have been unmindful of your wishes on that subject ; and it gives me the greatest pleasure to be able now to break my long silence upon it, with the information that those wishes are accomplished.

As between Government & Government the decision *must* have been otherwise. Mr. Bonnycastle's conduct is considered by the British Gov't as most discreditable ; & the passing it over is not without danger from evil example.

But what *could not* be conceded officially, is yielded to *Mr. King's personal* desire ; and I rejoice that in so yielding it, we enable Mr. King to gratify an old political antagonist, which is the *next* thing in point of satisfaction, to the gratifying of an old political friend. I have the honour to be, with great esteem & Regard, My Dear Sir, Your sincere & faithful Servant

GEO. CANNING.

R. KING TO GEO. CANNING.

20 BAKER ST., November 29, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR :

Although it may seem ungracious to look critically into the motives which have led to acts of grace and favor, still I cannot help considering the motives in favor of the measure which by your influence has been adopted, to be of greater political influence than has been supposed, and I might I believe confidently refer to the future for the verification.

Be this as it may, we are not the less, but greatly obliged to you, for your effectual interference.

The indulgence and favor shewn to Mr. King, cannot fail to produce in his mind, grateful sentiments, the occasion of which, he will take care to treat with great reserve.

I have the honor to be with great esteem
& regard My Dear Sir,
Your sincere & faithful servant

RUFUS KING.

GEO. CANNING TO R. KING.

FOREIGN OFFICE, December 23, 1825.

The Undersigned, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has the honour to recall to the attention of

Mr. Rufus King Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States at this Court, the correspondence which has passed between Mr. King and the Undersigned, on the subject of Mr. King's request that Mr. Bonnycastle should be allowed to enter the Service of the United States as a Professor of Natural Philosophy; without incurring the forfeiture of the Bond into which he had entered.

The Undersigned has great pleasure in announcing to Mr. King, that in consequence of his earnest representations, upon the subject His Majesty's Government have been induced to give directions to suspend the legal proceedings which had been commenced against Mr. Bonnycastle.*

The Undersigned avails himself of this opportunity to renew to Mr. King the assurance of his high consideration.

GEORGE CANNING.

Speaking of the benefit he had derived from "exercise and change of scene," Bishop Hobart writes:

J. H. HOBART TO R. KING.

LIVERPOOL, Sep. 1, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . I am induced to mention this, because during the day which I passed with Lord Grenville, for whose very kind attentions I felt myself indebted to your introduction, he mentioned that either he had written or should write to you to pay him a visit at Dropmore, and I cannot help thinking that so delightful a place as Dropmore, & so highly interesting society as that of Lord Grenville would have the happiest effect on the health & spirits of an invalid. Do not think me impertinent in this suggestion.

If I did not occupy a public situation in the Church, & were not exposed from various causes to much animadversion, I think I should not be solicitous about circumstances which now appear of some importance. It *may* happen that the little intercourse which I had with Lord Grenville may have led him to form not an unfavorable impression of my character; & it *may* happen that he may think it worth while to state that impression in

* On December 25th Mr. King sent to Mr. Jefferson a copy of this dispatch.

conversation with you. His name stands so high with us, that his favorable opinion might be used as a counterbalance to reports which perhaps may be circulated of my unpopularity in Eng. on account of the collision, in which I really think without any fault of mine, I was brought with Mr. Chase. Those reports would not be correct, for tho' the enthusiastic multitude may have considered me as the opponent of an "apostolic & primitive man," from the highest dignitaries of the Chh & others, I rec'd all the attention wh. I could desire & more than I could expect. But should you bear on your mind any evidence on the part of Lord Grenville that he did not consider me as unworthy of your most favorable introduction, & would communicate this to Col. *Troup*, there is no person who would more sedulously use it to my advantage in New York.

I think you will understand my views & feelings in this matter which, if I know myself are neither vain nor selfish, & therefore make no apology for thus troubling you with my concerns.

And allow me in the sincerity of my heart to say, that for the restoration to health of one whose life is so invaluable to his family, his friends & the country that is so much indebted to him, the best wishes & prayers are offered of my dear sir, by

Yr most respectful
& faithful & affec.
fd & sv't
J. H. HOBART.

LAFAYETTE TO R. KING.

HAVRE, October 5th, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR:

Here we are arrived after a pretty rough, but short passage on board the Brandywine, a splendid ship, whh is immediately returned for Gibraltar to join Commodore Rodgers' Squadron; Captain Morris, the Commander, and Captain Read of the navy have left her on a Commission to visit the French and English Naval Establishments. Mr. Somerville is also with us. I write these lines, merely to testify my arrival and begin the Correspondence which will I hope be kept between us; part of my family

were here waiting for us ; I am just setting out to join the remainder at la Grange. . . .

Your affectionate friend

LAFAYETTE.

R. KING TO C. KING.

LONDON, October 20, 1825.

DEAR SIR :

The navig. & commerce of G. Br with Asia, and Africa, as well between those quarters and G. Br, as between them and all foreign Nations, are under the Regulation of Gr. Br.

The navigation & Commerce, between the European Dominions of G. Br. and all foreign Nations, are made the subject of conventional Regulation ; at least such is the case between G. Br. and the U. S.

The navigation & Commerce of the Br. Colonial Possessions in America, tho' the subject of early, and constant disagreement, remain without known & established Regulation ; the same being claimed alternately by the metropolitan, and the colonial Parties.

This difference has existed, not only between the Colonies, but between them and the metropolitan country ; and the American Revolution arose, and was determined, upon the Principles which it developed.

Notwithstanding the early, and near connection, of the mutual Reclamations of the metropolitan, and Colonial Parties, no, or very little progress, has been made in effecting the establishment of an equal, & practicable Regulation in respect to this navig. and Commerce ; but the same still remains open, as an unregulated concern between the metropolitan & colonial Parties ; but what in the course of things is now of greater importance, between the Colonies and foreign Nations.

It is on this point that our attention is called to the examination of the late Act of Parliament, and the Speeches of Mr. Huskisson which introduced them into Parliament.

It is not proposed to ask, how the Metropolitan Country acquired the Right to prescribe the Regulations by which the navigation & Commerce of the Colonies are controlled. Suppose for the present, that this be assumed as having grown out of a sort

of international Law which we may omit to investigate. This may satisfy the Colonies, especially if they find Benefit from the latest, and apparently the most reasonable, Regulations of the metropolitan Country: but it cannot satisfy the just claims of the foreign nations, which in the progress of navigation and Commerce, find their interest in such colonial navigation and Commerce multiplied, and for want of reasonable Regulation subject to embarressment & dissatisfaction. This is the Case of the U. S. of A. The act of Parliament, & Mr. Huskisson's Discourse, leave things in the same unsatisfactory condition in which they found them.

Mr. H. observes that a free intercourse with the Colonies is opened with all foreign Nations; by which articles of the growth or Produce of such for. Nations may be carried in ships or vessels belonging to them, to the Br. Am. Colonies; and the Products of such Colonies received in return, and carried to and sold, in any Country, the Dominions of G. Br. excepted.

What is the Fact in respect to this free intercourse: is it not by the act of Parliament subject to a catalogue of articles from foreign countries, which are excluded from the colonies, and to a *second catalogue* of articles, which are made liable to Payment of other and greater Duties, than will be collected from like articles, coming from the mother Country, or the other American Colonies?

Will the Lumber of Georgia & the Carolinas, superior in quality and near to the Colonies; will the Bacon of N. Carolina & Virginia, or the Flour of the Chesapeake, the Delaware & New York, or the salted Beef or Pork of the northern States, be admitted into the Colonies, unless upon the payment of higher, & Discriminative Duties, above what are levied upon the like articles, coming from the mother Country, or the sister and distant Colonies, and can such a commerce be called a free intercourse?

As this branch of Trade is not included in any Convention or Treaty, as G. Br., tho' urged to do so, declines to enter into any Conventional Rule upon the Subject, there seems to remain to the U. S. as heretofore only the Power to countervail such of these Regulations as afford her cause of dissatisfaction, and why are the U. S. restrained from doing so?

The subject is, as it long has been, open to the just objection of the U. S. and it will continue to be so, until by suitable

countervailing Regulations, G. Br becomes more fully impressed with the just Claims of the U. S. Why should this Branch of n'n and commerce, be solely regulated by G. Br only ; as two Nations are concerned, why should the Business be under the control of only one, and why should not such an object be openly avowed, and aimed at ?

May not Great Br, assume the Regulation of for. Nav. & Com. with Liverpool & London, as rightfully as she assumes the Navig. & Com of Jamaica, and Antigua ?

R. KING.

On the 7th of November, Mr. Canning notified Mr. King that the King would hold a council on Friday, November 11th, and would then receive his letter of credence.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, November 12, 1825.

SIR :

It is a long time since the King has held a Council in London. I have been in town since the 19th. of August, and yesterday was the first day when I could present my letter of credence. The audience was as usual ; on my part little was said, and that little as complimentary as facts would justify. The reply of the King was unexceptionable. . . .

Though out of order of date, the following introduces an interesting historical occurrence and gives an explanation of the reason for Mr. King's unwillingness to forgive Mr. Monroe for his charge against Federalists, in his letter to General Jackson.

Memorandum by R. King.

10th May 1824. Col. Miller this evening said to me, speaking of Mr. Pr. Monroe that he had told him that Mr. Gorham, formerly President of Congress, had written a letter to Prince Henry, brother of the great Frederic, desiring him to come to the U. S. to *be their King*, and that the Prince had declined by informing Mr. Gorham that the Americans had shown so much determination agt. their old King, that they wod. not readily submit to a new one ; Mr. Monroe adding that Genl. Armstrong had given

him this information and that the papers or correspondence was in the hands of *General Hull.*

This communication arose from the letter of Monroe to General Jackson, expressing his opinion that among the Federalists of the time of Genl. Washington, were persons in favor of Monarchy, ! ! ! *

C. KING TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, Dec. 7, 1825.

DEAR SIR :

. . . I have at length thought it proper after consulting James and John Duer to make the statements you will find in the American, concerning your agency some forty years ago, as is charged, in bringing a Prussian Prince to this country to reign over it. . . . I enclose copies of the letters of Mr. Clay and Mr. Barbour on the subject. Not having any personal acquaintance with Mr. Barbour, I addressed myself to Mr. Clay, asking him as a friend to call in my name on Mr. Barbour, and ask his authority for contradicting a story that I knew could not be true. . . .

Ever affectionately yours

CHAS. KING.

H. CLAY TO C. KING.

WASHINGTON, 27, Nov. 1825.

DEAR SIR :

On the day I received your letter of the 23rd. inst., I met with Mr. Secretary Barbour, and having conversed with him on the subject of it, I put it into his hands that he might furnish me with such a statement as he deemed proper. The enclosed letter from him to me furnishes that statement. The notice of that subject by Noah is so far countenanced by this statement, as that it establishes that there was an allusion to it in a debate in the Senate by Mr. Barbour, and that this allusion occasioned some warm words between him and your father. Indeed the Honble. Secretary told me that the words which were passed, were very sharp and personal. But Mr. Noah has no support from this statement of his allegations that the Secretary intended to implicate your father, or that he silently acquiesced in the truth of the Secretary's suggestion. If

* *National Intelligencer*, May 7, 1824.

the letter is published, the malignant will seize hold of the fact of the sensibility displayed by your father (as described by Mr. B.) as evidence of his conscious participation in the Prussian scheme. . . .

I never heard of the Prussian affair before. Upon enquiry I learn that there was during the Revolutionary war, when our affairs were very gloomy and there was some dissatisfaction with Genl. Washington, a project on foot to invite the Duke of Brunswick, or Prince Henry, to take the command of our armies, not to make a King of him ; and I suspect that matter has been drawn down from 1777 to 78, when it occurred to 1786, and confounded with incidents of the latter epoch. . . . Who could have communicated to Noah the account of the Debate in the Senate? You see that Mr. Gaillard retains no recollection of it. I suspect therefore that the communication must have been made by some bitter and secret enemy. . . . Yours faithfully

H. Clay.

Jas. Barbour to H. Clay.

Washington, Nov. 26, 1825.

Dear Sir :

I have read attentively the letter you presented me, addressed to you by Mr. Charles King. I certainly feel great reluctance in appearing in a newspaper controversy ; the more especially as it is the first instance in my life of such an occurrence. Yet, on this occasion, I yield to the request of Mr. King to state what remains within my recollection of the subject to which he refers. The intervening time since the occurrence and the multiplicity, as well as variety, of my pursuits have rendered the traces of the transaction somewhat slight. As there was no note taken of the debate* at the time I have endeavored to regain its character by reference to the President, Mr. Gaillard, who says he has not the smallest recollection of any circumstances connected with this subject. Thrown on my own resources I will endeavor to give the most faithful narrative I can.

In the debate which occurred on the revolutionary pension bill,

* There is in the *Annals of Congress* a notice of the fact of a sharp exchange of words on the occasion but no report of them.

session 17–18, the utmost latitude was indulged. The effects of that revolution on ourselves as well as on the world at large, the progress of political science, the danger to which our institutions had been exposed from the termination of the revolution to the adoption of the Constitution &c were largely and freely discussed. Taking an active part in that debate, and pursuing the range of discussion, I made an allusion to a rumor, namely that a wish was believed to exist with some politicians to impart a monarchical character to our institutions, and which was said to have been manifested by a proposal of inviting some German prince to the intended American throne. But it was stated as a mere rumor, nor did I point to any particular individual, for none by name had been mentioned to me, that I now recollect.

Mr. King, who took part in the debate, spoke of this rumor as most idle and unfounded—and with asperity at its having been mentioned by me. The remainder of the debate on my part it is not necessary to state, as it went merely to repel the personal remark of Mr. King, in a manner which the feeling of the moment, as I thought justified. From that day to the recent publication, I heard nothing more of the subject. . . .*

Yours,

JAS. BARBOUR.

On December 26th, Mr. Adams records (*Memoirs*, vii., 63):

"Governor Barbour read an answer which he had written to the

* J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, vii., 55, Nov. 19th:

"Governor Barbour came in . . . with a New York National Advocate . . . with a paragraph insinuating that he did in debate in the U. S. Senate charge Mr. R. King with being one of a party in 1786 who proposed sending for Prince Henry of Prussia to come to this country to be King. Barbour said it was a perverted misrepresentation of something once said in debate by him of such a project having once existed. Mr. King had taken up the imputation with much excitement, but he never intended to charge King with being a party to the project, and had no reason to believe he had. He asked me if I thought he ought to notice the statement in the Advocate, by contradicting in the newspapers. I said Noah had got into an editorial war with Charles King, and boasted that there were twenty-four Senators pledged to vote against the confirmation of R. King to England. Perhaps he meant that some use should be made against Mr. King of this imputation in the Senate. I thought it would be better to present it there than in the newspapers. He said he would speak of it to Mr. Gaillard."

enquiries of Charles King. It denies his having charged Mr. R. King with having been concerned in the year 1786 in a project to send for Prince Henry to be the King of this Union, and gives some account of the debate in Senate, in which this project was alluded to. Mr. Clay thought the denial that Mr. Barbour had intended in the debate to implicate King was not sufficiently explicit, but Mr. Barbour thought he could not make it more so.

"I had also received a letter from Mr. Charles King on this subject."

J. Q. Adams to C. King.

Private.

Washington, 20 December, 1825.

My dear Sir:

I believe that the best answer I can give to your letter lately received, is to inform you that the Senate have this day confirmed the nomination of your father and brother. I suppose that henceforth Prince Henry of Prussia will be suffered to sleep in Peace.

I had conjectured from the first notice of the Chancery suit against your father, that it related to the farewell Address of President Washington. As the purpose of holding these papers from the public appears to have failed, will there be any motive for continuing to reserve them from public inspection?

I write in great haste, but remain faithfully yours

J. Q. Adams.

H. Clay to J. A. King.

Private and inofficial.

Washington, 26 Dec., 1825.

Dear Sir:

. . . Others will have informed you that, after making various demonstrations of a disposition to defeat the nomination both of your father and yourself, it has been approved by the Senate with scarcely any shew of opposition.

I am with great respect

Your ob. servant,

H. Clay.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

The President directed special Attention to Settlement of Indemnity Claims against Great Britain—King—Confers with Canning on these—Canning to King—Expresses Surprise that his confidential Letters are sent to the Secretary of State—King to Canning—Answer—King to Canning—Urges Settlement by Instruction to English Commissioner—King to Secretary of State—Reports Causes of Delay—Suggests Canning a Settlement by Compromise—Canning to King—His Government willing to assent to this—Canning to King—Amount suggested unreasonable—Canning to King—Government does not reject a Compromise—Reasons for objecting to that proposed—Sum named too large—Discussion in London Waste of Time—Nothing left but to refer back to the Commission—King to Canning—The United States requires a just Indemnification in Addition to Amounts awarded—Interest claimed—Canning to King—Cannot enter in London into the Merits of the Question—King to Canning—As no Discussion is to be had, requests new Instructions be sent to the Commissioner—King to Secretary of State—Reports the State of the Case—Temper controls the Action of Government—Canning to King—Discussion a Waste of Time—Instructions will be sent to Commissioner—King to Secretary of State—Fruitless Endeavor to ascertain if Great Britain wished Compromise—Cautious in his Actions—Proposal for Compromise never favorably entertained or desired—King to Secretary of State—Feels that there is a Defect in Confidence of the Envoy, though unwarranted—King to the President—Resigns his Mission—Plea uncertain State of Health—King to Canning—Relative to taking Leave of the King—Canning to King—The King will dispense with the Ceremony—King's Acknowledgment to the King—Final Settlement of the Claims by Mr. Gallatin.

Before Mr. King sailed from America, the President had written to him * his anxious desire that early and special attention should be given to the settlement of the matter placed

* In a private letter of instructions to Mr. King, May 6, 1825, the President, Mr. Adams, writes:

"The slave-indemnity commission is the object of most immediate urgency

in the hands of the mixed Commission in Washington under the decision of the Emperor of Russia, as arbiter; namely, for indemnification by England for slaves and other property carried away from the United States in violation of the Treaty of Ghent.

At an early opportunity Mr. King held conferences with Mr. Canning, which were reported to the Secretary of State,* and on the 12th of October offered to send to him "the argument respecting the exceptionable course of the British Commissioner (Mr. Jackson), by which the proceedings of

in our negotiations with Great Britain, and with regard to this the instruction will be ample and immediate. Those relating to the north Eastern Boundary, to the colonial trade and to the navigation of the St. Lawrence will be sent after you as early as possible. I feel deep anxiety upon all these subjects; though much relieved by the confidence of your perfect possession of them all. . . .

"May Benjamin's portion of the blessing of Heaven go with you, and abide with you politically and individually to the consummation of your service on this mission, prays your affectionate friend and Servt. J. Q. ADAMS."

The first instructions given to him before sailing, by Mr. Clay, the Secretary of State, were occupied in large measure by similar suggestions, and particularly as to the method of putting an end to the delay on the part of the Commission in reaching a conclusion.

* Several letters had passed between Mr. King and Mr. Canning, chiefly relative to the views of the latter on the pending question of inducing Spain to acknowledge the independence of the American republics and explaining the desire that England and the United States should not only act together as their interests suggested, but endeavor to induce France to join with them in a joint note to Spain. These communications had been rather personal and confidential, but Mr. King appears to have sent them to his Government, for reasons which the following correspondence will show.

G. CANNING TO R. KING.

Confidential.

Sept. 15, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . I confess it surprizes me to find that my letters have been actually transmitted to your Government. They were not written with that intention: not that there is anything in them (in substance) which I should have wished to have withheld from the knowledge of Mr. Adams or Mr. Clay; but that, if I had intended an official communication, I should naturally have expressed the same in language less unguarded.

The confounding of confidential with official letters has a tendency to restrict

the mixed Commission are arrested," stating at the same time his belief that circumstances existed which would lead the two Governments to prefer a settlement of this affair by an adjustment by themselves, rather than to refer it again to the Emperor of Russia.

On the 29th of October, Mr. King reports to the Secretary of State that at a conference at the Foreign Office with Mr. Canning the latter said that he had referred to the Law Offices of the Crown the matter of the disagreement between Mr. Jackson and Mr. Cheves. As he had expressed no desire to examine the correspondence which had been offered to him, Mr. King said that he had omitted to send it, as it had not been asked for; but that Mr. Canning had assented to his remark that it would be good policy to settle the misunderstanding between themselves.

correspondence wholly to the latter; and thereby deprive two public ministers who might be disposed to open themselves unreservedly to each other of one most advantageous mode of ascertaining each other's sentiments, and of preparing the way for an understanding between their Governments. . . .

Your most obed. and faithful Servt.

GEORGE CANNING.

R. KING TO G. CANNING.

Confidential.

LONDON, Sept. 21, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . You seem to think less well that I should have sent your private friendly and confidential letters to Washington. You well know that it is the duty of a Foreign Minister to make such report as would communicate to his Government the substance of what has passed between him and the Government to which he is sent without compromitting his correspondent. This you may be assured has been done and in as strong language as you yourself would have employed: and it was because I believed that the language, which you made use of, would produce a stronger and better effect, particularly in respect to France, than any précis of the correspondence that I could have prepared, that I forwarded these letters to Washington. I know the men with whom I correspond, and you may rely upon our discretion. . . .

with great regard & Esteem

Your obedt. Humble Servt,

RUFUS KING.

R. King to G. Canning.

November 25, 1825.

Dear Sir:

My government was urgent that I should lose no time in arriving early in England, in order that I should bring before you the difficulty and delay which retard, in fact frustrate the proceedings of the mixed Commission at Washington, respecting the matter which has been referred to the Emperor of Russia. Without recurring to the facts in this case, which I have heretofore done, suffice it to state, that you were good enough to inform me that you had referred the same to the Law Officer of the Crown, since when I have heard nothing further respecting the subject.

The Commission, in the habit of disagreement, in the Spring adjourned till this season, and on their meeting, it probably will be to repeat their former disagreement; for the correction of which there is no remedy but an instruction of your Government to your Commissioner, or an appeal to the Emperor of Russia to enforce his award. I have explained myself upon these measures and I have only to remind you of the unsatisfactory condition of these meetings, and the hope that what has seemed to be the only correct course may be adopted.

your obedt. and faithful Servt,

Rufus King.

On the 27th of November, Mr. King writes to the Secretary of State (enclosing the earnest appeal made to Mr. Canning on the 25th), as follows:

Sir:

Aware of the dissatisfaction with which the delays of the mixed Commission at Washington were considered by every one who was acquainted with them, I have taken every occasion that has fallen within my reach to draw the attention of this Government to this matter. But you must be sensible, during the dispersion of the Government, of the difficulty to bring any one seriously to consider a subject, which is supposed to be referred to a future day. Moreover the habit of suffering concerns referred to a Commission to go on without enquiry prevails to such an extent,

that in cases like the present, the office of a Commissioner seems to be thought to be a Government provision the continuance of which depends upon the mere convenience of the Commissioner. . . .

Your obedt. Servt.
RUFUS KING.

On December 26th Mr. King recalls to Mr. Canning's attention the urgent requirement of his Government to terminate the mixed Commission at Washington, about which they were so anxious as to give him an instruction to form an adjustment by way of a compromise for a fixed sum; and states that he has authority to settle in this way.

Mr. Canning notified Mr. King on January 16, 1826, that in accordance with his desire to settle the question of the mixed Commission, Mr. Addington would call upon him for the purpose of ascertaining the *amount* of the fixed sum by way of compromise which he was authorized to declare the willingness of his Government to accept.

In his report to the Secretary of State, January 20, 1826, Mr. King wrote that Mr. Addington came to see him on the 18th, and he named the sum of two millions of dollars, but Mr. Addington said that he was not authorized to do more than to ascertain the sum that would be acceptable, which he would immediately report to Mr. Canning.

G. CANNING TO R. KING.

Jany. 19, 1826.

. . . The sum which Mr. Addington reports Mr. King to have named (as a fixed sum) is two millions of dollars or about four hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. The utmost amount of all the sums yet specified in the demand of the United States before the Commission (whether allowed or disallowed) is three hundred and eighty thousand three hundred and twenty-nine pounds.

The undersigned therefore cannot help imagining that there

must be some error in Mr. King's proposal. A sum of four hundred and fifty thousand pounds can never be considered a "compromise" for a disputed demand of little more than three hundred and eighty thousand pounds. If there be no error, it is hardly necessary to add that such a proposal is at once declined.

George Canning.

G. Canning to R. King.

Jany. 25.

. . . He assures Mr. Rufus King, that the British Government does not mean, by the rejection of the offer of "compromise" proposed by Mr. King to the undersigned to refuse a "just indemnification" for the claims to which Mr. King's offer of a compromise applies.

To understand what is the amount of that "just indemnification" is the object of the Commission sitting at Washington. The course of what has recently passed between the undersigned and Mr. King is this.

Mr. King proposed to supercede the necessity of further labour on the part of the Commission by a proposal (which he described as being authorized by his Government) to accept "a fixed sum," "by way of compromise," in full discharge of the claims of his Government. The undersigned requested Mr. King to name the sum so to be accepted by his Government. Had the sum named by Mr. King been such as it was possible for British Government to consent to pay "by way of compromise," the undersigned would have desired nothing more than to have closed at once an obligation already so long protracted. But that sum being out of all proportion beyond any sum that the British Government can admit to be reasonable, or to partake in any degree of the nature of a "compromise," and it being a waste both of time and trouble to open a new discussion here, to be carried on simultaneously with that of the Commission, appointed under the Treaty, at Washington, the undersigned (after having marked the readiness of his Government to listen respectfully to Mr. King's proposal) sees nothing left but that the labours of that Commission should proceed.

George Canning.

R. KING TO G. CANNING.

Jany. 26th, 1826.

. . . He acknowledges the receipt of Mr. Canning's note declining the proposal to accept two millions of dollars by way of compromise, in satisfaction of the claims of the United States upon Great Britain under the convention signed at St. Petersburg 12th July 1822. Mr. Canning supposes there must be some error in the proposal of the undersigned. . . . In answer to this statement [see above note], it must be remembered that the just indemnification awarded by his Imperial Majesty, for slaves and other property carried away in contravention of the Treaty of Ghent, cannot be abandoned by the Government of the United States.

If then the British Government intends by the rejection of the offer made by the undersigned, to exclude the admission of such just indemnification, it is not to be supposed that the Government of the United States can consent to such a compromise.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO G. CANNING.

Despatch 19.

Jany. 26, 1826.

. . . A "just indemnification," instead of two millions dollars, "would exceed that sum," "as it would amount to two millions six hundred thousand one hundred and twenty dollars.* The sum named to Mr. Addington, instead of being immoderate or unreasonable, is therefore within the sum which, by the admission of both Parties might justly be named. The supposition that the Envoy of the United States presses for a settlement by compromise is so far incorrect, that this measure was suggested upon the belief, in the actual situation of the case, that such an adjustment by compromise would be equally acceptable to Great Britain and the United States : and it is hoped that, in this particular, no mistake has been made.

* By his instructions the maximum amount was that named, with a minimum amount of $1,416,000. The difference was to be met by the valuation of the slaves. Mr. Canning refused to discuss the matter.

[Mr. King then states that the grounds for his claim for the sum he had named were based on the actual amount due, "augmented by the addition of a just indemnification for at least ten years' detention," bringing up the sum to $2,693,120.—Ed.]

"It appears therefore that the real question respects the ascertainment of the indemnification. The Commissioners have agreed to fix the value of the property, but not upon the indemnification. It is this difference about which they failed to agree, which led to the belief in a settlement here [in London] by compromise, which caused the suggestion of a compromise." It seems due to the award of the Emperor of Russia, that the United States should not only claim, but should insist upon the indemnification he awarded. . . . The honor of the Umpirage requires this to be done, and the condition of the United States does not allow them to dispense with this claim. . . . By a just indemnification, something must have been intended by the Umpire; and how is the amount thereof to be ascertained unless it be by said computation.

To say that interest,* not being mentioned, was not intended to be allowed; may it not be asked, how otherwise is the indemnification to be measured, or by what other means can it be found? Though no mention is made of interest, the equivalent expression of a just indemnification is made use of by the Umpire; in the delay to perform a compact having respect to money, by what other measure can such indemnification be found? To what different Practice or Rule can the question be referred? If the indemnification was awarded by a competent Umpire can it be refused? or how otherwise is it to be measured? Those who deny such allowance of interest seem to be bound to furnish

* It was upon this very question that Mr. Jackson, the English Commissioner, refused to agree to execute the fifth article of the Convention, which by its terms required that when a difference should arise between the two members of the Commission, they should choose an arbitrator, by lot, who with them should decide the question. Mr. Clay's instructions, given before Mr. King sailed, say, "on what pretext is the extraordinary refusal attempted to be supported? Upon the allegation that interest is, in his judgment, clearly excluded from the Convention. He no doubt thinks so. Mr. Cheves [the American Commissioner], with equal honesty of intention thinks otherwise; and this difference between them is precisely one of the cases of non-concurrence which was foreseen." Mr. King therefore was acting under instructions.

another and a better Rule. It must not be said that the award of the Umpire is without meaning. If the computation of interest be excluded, what can its meaning be?

In conclusion the undersigned in answer to the last paragraph of Mr. Canning's note, is unwilling to admit that, by implication, he desires to terminate the question, by compromise, should become matter of doubt; for in conformity with the instructions of his Government, he made the proposal to compromise the question in the belief that such compromise would be acceptable to both parties. Should the undersigned be disappointed in this respect, he would regret the same; and in this event, must request that instructions may be given by the British Government to their Commissioner to proceed in the execution of his duties without further delay, and to give effect to the Fifth and other articles of the Convention, by consenting to the reference of every question of disagreement, which shall present itself for decision."

RUFUS KING.

Mr. Canning, January 28, 1826, writes to Mr. King saying that he has received

"the official note" entering into a detailed discussion of the merits of the question now in a course of settlement by Commissioners of the two Governments appointed under the Convention of St. Petersburgh of July 12, 1822.

The undersigned listened most willingly to the proposal of Mr. King to shorten this settlement by a "compromise"; and had the terms of the "compromise," subsequently offered by Mr. King been such as the British Government could at once accept the undersigned would have been quite as happy as Mr. King to concur in recommending to their respective Governments to put an end at once to the protracted labours of their Commissioners.

But the offer of Mr. King *not* being such as the British Government can accept, there is evidently an end of the question of "compromise"; and things necessarily revert to the course in which they were before the offer of "compromise" was made; that is to settlement by the Commission.

The Undersigned begs leave (he trusts without offence) distinctly and finally to decline entering with Mr. King into an examination *here* of the *merits* of the questions which the Commissioners are appointed to decide; the very object of the appointment of such a Commission by Treaty being to exonerate two Governments from the necessity of a direct diplomatic discussion thereupon.

"GEORGE CANNING."

Mr. King on January 30, 1826, answers that he has received Mr. Canning's note, stating that there is an end to the question of "compromise," and that things must revert to the course in which they were before the offer of compromise,—that is, to a settlement by the Commissioners. He says:

Mr. Canning states that he declines entering with the Envoy of the United States into an examination *here* of the merits of the question which the Commissioners are appointed to decide. The Envoy of the United States respectfully protests against the suggestion of a desire manifested on his part to propose or invite such examination. It is correct that the proposed compromise was made by the Envoy of the United States in the belief that the same would be mutually agreeable to both parties; without such belief the offer would not have been made.

In these circumstances the Envoy of the United States, being called upon by Mr. Canning, to name the sum for which the Envoy of the United States felt himself authorized to make such compromise, not only named the same; but upon the ground of Mr. Canning's objection to the sum he had named, without naming another sum himself, and without the expression of a wish on the part of the Envoy of the United States to enter diplomatically into the re-examination of the question referred to the Commissioners, he felt himself called upon to vindicate the opinion which he had given respecting the proposed compromise. If such vindication puts an end to the question of compromise, so that things necessarily revert to the course in which they were before such compromise was made, though it is contrary to the expectation, and will be regretted by the Envoy of the United States, nothing will remain for him but earnestly to repeat to Mr. Canning, the

request of his last communication to him, that the instructions therein mentioned may be explicitly and speedily acted upon."

Mr. King writes to Mr. Clay, Secretary of State (No. 21), February 5, 1826:

SIR:

I had reason to expect that Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Addington would have conducted the question of compromise, as they were named to me for that purpose, and to be employed in the negotiation which Mr. Rush last year had charge of. In this I have been disappointed; Mr. Canning retaining the subject of the Umpirage of Russia in his own hands. With the progress of this negotiation you have been from time to time fully advised. Its present condition, as I have before apprized you, does not seem to promise a satisfactory result. Whatever relates to matters referred to Russia has gone contrary to the expectation of Great Britain and has wounded the reputation and pride of her influence; when the construction that may be given to the Convention is considered, it must be evident that Great Britain has the power of embarrassing the progressive and final execution in a degree that will much impair, if it shall not destroy its beneficial influence in favor of the United States: when temper especially under disappointment guides a negotiation, it is always in the power of the negotiators to impair or frustrate what may be thought to be its reasonable conclusion. I am afraid that our disappointments may not end here. . . . A spirit of intoxicating satisfaction and self gratification on the subject of the late commercial Laws relative to what is here called, and believed to be, *a System of Free Trade*, has so spread itself through the country, that the proposal of any material alteration thereof in the present temper will be heard unwillingly and with no small distrust. . . .

RUFUS KING.

Mr. Canning, February 7, 1826, answers (No. 22) that as Mr. King disclaims all intention of provoking a discussion of the merits of a question reserved by the treaty for the consideration of the Commissioners, he has no difficulty in

entering into a more particular explanation of the grounds on which the rejection of the terms of compromise was founded. He says that the sums set forth in the list furnished by the American Secretary of State to the Commissioners may and probably will be diminished by the rejection of some.

"His Majesty's Government have the best reason for believing that this will take place to a very great extent. Now it is evident that the difference between the two sums computed will be so wide as to leave scarcely a probability of arriving at an accommodation; that considering that farther discussion of the subject would be absolutely nugatory and a mere waste of time, he had signified to Mr. King the definitive intentions of his Majesty's Government.

"That the matter of allowance or non-allowance of interest on the arrears of the "*just indemnification*," is an entirely separate matter from the "indemnification" itself, not referred to the Arbiter, and within the competence of the two Governments alone to decide; that the Commissioner at Washington, Mr. Vaughan, will be instructed, that the demand for interest, not being sanctioned by anything in the Convention, cannot be admitted."

In communicating to Mr. Clay, Secretary of State (No 23), the last note of Mr. Canning, February 7, 1826, stating the instructions sent to Mr. Vaughan, Mr. King writes, February 13, 1826, as follows:

SIR:

From my last despatch, you will not be disappointed in the communication which it has become my duty now to make. From the beginning of my correspondence with the Office of Foreign Affairs on the matter of the Russian Convention, it has been my fruitless endeavor to ascertain whether the Government of Great Britain desired that of the United States to make a compromise respecting the indemnity awarded by the Emperor of Russia. On this point, as well as every other of importance connected with it, Mr. Canning has observed the greatest reserve,

confining himself to the asking of questions which he might approve, or not, as he should deem expedient. This manner of proceeding was calculated to inspire caution, and accordingly had its influence upon our side of the discussion. When it afterwards appeared that Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Addington were not to be employed in settling the compromise, and the latter merely to deliver a message from Mr. Canning, demanding that I would name the sum for which I should feel myself authorized to enter into a compromise ; it was determined on my part, considering the cautious manner in which the discussion respecting the compromise was carried on by Mr. Canning, to reserve to myself sufficient room and to name a sum, which I might diminish should the progress of the negotiation render it expedient.

Mr. Canning somewhat abruptly considered the sum named by me as wholly inadmissible, without intimating any modification of the same, or proposing another and smaller sum, which might be acceptable to Great Britain. After exchanging some further notes expressed in terms little conciliatory and in a tone not wholly consistent with the equality of the Parties, the correspondence was concluded by the note of Mr. Canning of the 7th instant putting an end to all further negotiation here, and transfers the whole subject to Washington. The termination of the negotiation here must have been meditated, with how much candor need not be said, from the beginning ; and on the ground and construction now assumed, it is at Washington alone that this question can be decided. If a less sum, one as low as or beneath the minimum of my instructions had been named by me, it would have met the same fate, and the negotiation have terminated as it has done.

On a review of the correspondence on this subject, it will appear from the very commencement of the negotiation, and from the manner in which the same was throughout conducted, that the proposal for compromise was at no time favorably received or even desired by the British Government ; and it now as clearly appears from the conclusion of the discussion, and by the instruction sent to Mr. Vaughan, that it never has been the intention of the British Government to compromise a question of the just indemnity awarded by the Emperor of Russia, but on

the contrary to maintain in the fullest extent the construction and course adopted by their Commissioner in denial of the same.

Your obedt. Servt.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO H. CLAY, SECRETARY OF STATE (No 24).

LONDON, March 3, 1826.

SIR :

[After recapitulating the statements in the letter of the 13th of February relative to the removal of the negotiation under the Convention to Washington, Mr. King says] :

this left the Envoy to infer that confidence in him no longer existed. This proceeding would have justified the complaint of the Envoy as unusual ; and such further observations, as the answer called for ; but it was deemed expedient to suppress these sentiments, and to leave the subject where it is now placed. No notice therefore has been taken of the transfer of the negotiation, tho' it implies a defect of confidence in the Envoy which he feels to be wholly unmerited.

In regard to other matters, to which his powers extend, he does not move in them owing to the employment of Ministers in the arduous affairs of the nation.* . . .

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (No. 25).

LONDON, 20th March, 1826.

SIR :

The condition of my health requires that I resign the Mission to this Country, and that I express the earnest hope that I may be enabled to do so in time to return home in the month of June. If your orders arrive in season, they will relieve me from all anxiety on this point, as I cannot delay my departure beyond the period named ; your consent will impose upon me new and deeper obligations than those already conferred.

*Among other such things specified in the letter are "the West India negotiations" and the "embarrassments of commerce and of the money concerns of the country," which were in a desperate condition.

The Secretary of Legation will remain charged with the affairs of the Mission after my departure.

Very respectfully, I remain, Sir,

Your obedt. and faithful Servt.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (No. 26).

LONDON, March 29, 1826.

SIR :

The uncertain state of my health joined to the abrupt termination of duties confided to me, which my correspondence with the department of State will have explained, required that I should resign the Mission to this country. The transfer to Washington of matters entrusted to me at this Port, is an indignity to my feelings, and evinces a defect of confidence in me as the Representative of the United States, which I feel cannot but impair my influence in the future discharge of that trust. A treatment so wholly undeserved, I am not willing to endure. Confiding in your experience and addressing myself to your correct and honorable sentiments, I cannot doubt your approbation of my conduct on this occasion.

Very respectfully I remain, Sir,

Your obedt. & faithful Servt.

RUFUS KING.

Mr. King having, on June 16, 1826, written to Mr. Canning (No. 29), to say that in consequence of there being a possibility that the King will not hold a Court before his sailing, at which he may manifest his consideration and respect to the King, as enjoined by his Government, he hopes some means may be found by which he may be able to embark without failure of duty and without impropriety, Mr. Canning answered on the 21st :

"That he has received His Majesty's commands to inform Mr. King that his Majesty will graciously dispense with the ceremony usual on such occasions and will receive through the hands of the undersigned Mr. King's letters of recall. The undersigned is

commanded by his Majesty to assure Mr. King that it is a matter of great regret to his Majesty that the state of Mr. King's health is such as to necessitate his departure from this country."

Mr. King closes the correspondence, June 23, 1826, by acknowledging the receipt of Mr. Canning's note of the 21st:

"While he is gratified that the King has dispensed with the ceremony of his taking leave, for which he begs, through Mr. Canning, to tender his grateful acknowledgment to the King, he cannot be insensible of the proceedings of Mr. Canning himself, upon an occasion which has contributed so much to produce the desired arrangement."

On June 29th, Mr. King acknowledges the receipt of Mr. Clay's despatch of May 2, 1826, with letters of recall, and says

"The readiness with which the President has been pleased on account of my health to consent to, and to communicate his acceptance of my resignation of the Mission has added to the obligations, which he had already imposed on me. Sensible as I am of his goodness, I am not unmindful, Sir, of your kind offices."

Mr. John A. King writes, September 29th, to his father in New York:

"The British Government has made an offer of a sum, nearly equal in amount, to the Minimum prescribed in your instructions ($1.416.000) as a compromise of the indemnity due for slaves, &c, taken away in violation of the Treaty of Ghent. This proposal has been referred to our Government. Considering that the offer comes from them, upon our declining to renew it, its near approach to the sum authorized in your instructions to be accepted, coupled with the idea, that in making the Ghent Treaty, the British Commissioners were overmatched; and thence, the unwillingness of the Ministry to ask under this impression for a

further appropriation of money, will, as our Government are informed upon all these points, be likely to receive its sanction."

Mr. J. Q. Adams, in his *Memoirs*, vii., 213, says, Dec. 16, 1826:

"John A. King, Secretary of the Legation to Great Britain, arrived bringing with him a Convention concluded on the 15th of last month by Mr. Gallatin with the British Plenipotentiaries Huskisson and Addington, by which, if it please God, the long controversy respecting Slaves carried away from this country in violation of the first stipulation of the Treaty of Ghent will be closed by a payment on the part of Great Britain of a sum a little exceeding twelve hundred thousand dollars to be distributed by the American Government among the claimants. I receive this intelligence with the most fervent gratitude and joy."

CHAPTER XL.

Dayton to J. A. King—Visit to Lafayette—Lee to King—Panama Resolutions—King to Gore—Resigned his Mission—Gore to King—Commercial Distress—Adams has risen in Estimation—Vice-President wants Dignity—Randolph fit for Bedlam—C. King to King—Randolph disgracing the Senate—Will sail for Europe—Special Minister to England suggested—The President to King—Regrets but accepts his Resignation—Clay to King—The President has been satisfied with his Ministry—Troup to King—Regrets his Resignation—Clinton's Plans—C. King to J. A. King—Conference with the President—Latter regrets King's Resignation—Mr. Gallatin his probable Successor—J. A. King's Continuance as Secretary depends on himself—Essex to King—Would cement in every Way the natural Friendship of the two Countries—King sails for Home—Anecdote of Abernethy—Gore to King—Congratulates him on his Return Home—Speaks of old Friends—Addington to J. A. King—Happy his Father safely at Home—J. A. King to Rufus King—Affectionate Letter—Last Days in Jamaica and New York, where he died—Buried at Jamaica—Concluding Remarks—Literary and other Honors.

Chas. W. Dayton to J. A. King, London.

Paris, Jany, 1826.

Respected Sir :

. . . I transmit to you the letter entrusted to me. Genl. Lafayette desires to be respectfully and affectionately remembered to your family. I visited La Grange the first part of this week, and it really appears more like an assembly of celestial beings than any thing else I can compare it to, for I *never*, *never*, saw anything like it before. I took a Scotchman with me with all his prejudices, and when he came back "well," said he, "I am a ministerial man yet, but until the day of my death I shall love *that man*"

Yr. humble Servt.

Chas. W. Dayton.

WILLIAM LEE TO R. KING.

WASHINGTON, March 19th, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . Of the state of things here you are no doubt well informed—The opposition formed in the Senate will turn to the advantage of the Executive, but I am sorry to say it has lessened both the dignity & consideration of that body with all judicious thinking men. The Message addressed by the President to the House on the Panama question has had a wonderful effect. On the motion to publish 10,000 copies of it, only 37 were found opposed to it. In that body Mr. Adams has an overwhelming majority.

With the highest veneration
devotedly yours
WM. LEE.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

LONDON, Mar. 26, 1826.

I have resigned the Mission to this country, & expect to be able to return home in the month of June. My health, and other facts have required, that I should do so—having announced, the measure to the Govt. I cannot conceal it from you—of course I do not make it a matter of éclat. . . .

your ob. & faithful Sev.
R. K.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

BOSTON, April 1, 1826.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

. . . Great Complaints are made in every part of the Country of the want of Cash & low Price of Produce; however, there have been no Failures in Boston, and I believe very few in N. York & Philadelphia. On the whole the Distresses are by no means to be compared to what appears to have been suffered in England. In this State our Politics are quiet. Govr. Lincoln appears to have lost Ground in the minds of all Parties, although he will probably be reelected. The Administration of the Govt.

of the U. S. appears to have increased much in Popularity & especially among the old Federalists in Massachusetts. Mr. Adams has unquestionably risen in the Estimation of all good men here. The opposition in Congress, and, especially, that in the Senate, it is generally believed, has disgraced the Minority & will redound to the advantage of the Government. According to Charles' Paper, Governor Clinton & your former Colleague V. Buren are forming a Coalition; at least such a Connection is sought by V. B. . . .

Your ever faithful & affectionate Friend

C. Gore.

C. Gore to R. King.

Waltham, April 13, 1826.

My dear Friend:

. . . The disappointed men of Congress show their ill Temper & their brutal Disposition in a most disgraceful Manner. The Vice President neither accords to the Dignity of his Station, nor the Expectations of the People, and all the World, in this northern Hemisphere consider Mr. R. as fit only for Bedlam. I think, however, that their Conduct will redound to the Benefit of the President and his administration. . . .

Your faithful Friend

C. Gore.

C. King to J. A. King, London.

New York, 24 April, 1826.

Dear Sir:

. . . Mr. Randolph, who is disgracing the Senate and insulting its members by his intemperate harangues, has actually taken his passage in the York to sail for Liverpool on the 8th proxo.—I do not envy you his company. His duel with Clay was as crazy as every other of his acts. He said on the ground, whither he went in his white flannel morning gown, that he did not mean to fire at Mr. Clay. In a letter written on the preceding morning to Capt. Delort of the packet York (with whom he has crossed the Atlantic and whom he fancies very much) he tells him, "I have an affair on hand, and if I *can make my arrange-*

ments to hit, I will embark, &c." He is going on in the Senate most abusively; but says nothing more disrespectful of Clay. He spoke 6 hours last Wednesday and drank four bottles of porter during the speech, during which he called Holmes of Maine a fool, a knave and a liar, in plain words treated Mr. Newton of the House, tho' a Virginian, as a dunce, a mackana, an earwig; spoke of Mr. Giles and Mr. Adams as scoundrels, and of Mr. Giles in particular as a pimp, a frauder, etc. He abused Southard, Rush, Commodore Barron, Dr. Rush, John Williams, his brother Lewis and many more, and all the Northern States; and no one interferes to call him to order. He is undoubtedly benefitting the Administration by his opposition.

In a confidential letter from Mr. Clay some days ago, he hinted to me that my father was dissatisfied with the Brit. Govt. on the score of the slave Treaty; and that it was mooted in the Cabinet at Washington, whether or not a special Minister *quoad hoc* should not be adjoined to him. I hope this may not be, for it would be almost tantamount to an admission of the charge, which has been so studiously propagated against him, of hostility, or at least indifference to Southern interests *. . . .

Yrs.
C. K.

The President sent to Mr. King the following letter:

WASHINGTON, 1 May, 1826.

DEAR SIR:

In accepting the tender of your resignation, presented in your letter of 20 March, received in duplicate this day, I cannot refrain from expressing to you my regret at the loss to the public interest which must be sustained by this event, and my great concern at the infirm condition of your health, which has induced your determination. I earnestly hope that you will find the restoration of your health in your contemplated return to our Country.

I remain with the highest respect,
Dear Sir, your friend and servant
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

* The correspondence shows how untrue the charge was.

No. 10. Department of State.
Washington, 2d May, 1826.

Rufus King, *Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, U. S., London.*

"Sir:

"Your dispatch No. 25, with the accompanying letter addressed to the President, has been received and both have been presented to him. Whilst he sincerely regrets that the ill state of your health should have determined you to resign the mission to England, he accedes to your request of permission to return, and consents that it should be in the month of June, desiring that you should consult your own comfort and convenience. I am directed by him to express his satisfaction with your ministry. He approves of your leaving the mission in the charge of Mr. John A. King."

The letter closes with stating that a letter of credence to the King accompanies this, to assure him of the "earnest desire of the President that no interruption in the amicable relations between the two countries should take place in consequence of your retirement," and to assure him that no time will be lost in appointing Mr. King's successor.

"Signed, H. Clay."

R. Troup to R. King.

New York 6 May, 1826

My dear Sir:

The last evening's papers have announced the very disagreeable fact that the ill state of your health obliges you to relinquish your mission, and to return home; a fact which has filled me with the deepest sorrow! When you left us your appearance did not indicate bad health; and I attribute the change to the effect of your voyage to England.

We have nothing new here except an attempt we are making to raise money to purchase the tickets of Mr. Jefferson's lottery to the end that the tickets may be destroyed on the 4 July.

Party spirit has grown very evident, and has, in a considerable degree, embodied itself against Mr. Adams, and his administration.

Mr. *Clinton* has failed in his endeavours to obtain the good will,

and support of the Bucktail party, and he will be hard run at the ensuing Governor's election in November. I am inclined however to think that he will be the successful candidate.

It is supposed that Mr. *Sandford* will be run against him. We have no doubt that Mr. *Clinton* has his eye steadily fixed on the next presidential election. At present our State may be said to be quite undecided as to the candidate to be supported at the next election for President. I rather suspect, if Mr. Adams does not depart from his present course of policy, that he will have a majority of the votes of the state. . . .

With the most affectionate regard

Sincerely Yours

R. TROUP.

C. KING TO J. A. KING, LONDON.

NEW YORK, 7th May, 1826.

DR. JOHN:

Immediately on receiving last week your letter, and those of my father announcing his resignation of the Mission, I wrote to Mr. Adams confidentially desiring to know who would probably succeed to the Mission, and whether it would be optional with you to retain the station of Secretary, if, which I did not think probable, you desired. I at the same time expressed my apprehension that this resignation, which ill-health had forced on my father, would be seized upon by the opposition, and turned to the disadvantage of him and the administration. This morning I received Mr. Adams' answer which is copied below.

"*(Private and Confidential.)*

"WASHINGTON, 3d May, 1826.

"CHARLES KING, *Esq., New York.*

"DEAR SIR:

"I received with great concern your father's letter tendering his resignation and advising me of his earnest desire to embark for this country in June. I answered it immediately accepting with great regret his resignation. The Mission, to succeed him, has been offered to Mr. Gallatin, whose answer I am expecting. Your brother's commission of Secretary of Legation will continue un-

less otherwise desired by himself * ; information to that effect will be given him by the Secretary of State. I deeply lament the loss of your father's services to the public, but believe the nation has too strong a sense of justice to consider the misfortune of his illness as matter of censure either upon him or upon the administration. I fervently pray that his health may yet be wholly restored and

"remain ever Truly Yours,
"J. Q. ADAMS."

Mr. King remarks in his letter "that there is, I suppose, not much reason to doubt that Mr. Gallatin will accept the mission."

R. KING TO J. BROWN, PARIS.

(Confidential.)

LONDON, May 21, 1826.

DEAR SIR :

. . . Parliament will be dissolved about the 26th. The King, in the opinion of his Physician, has not enjoyed better health for many years, so that on this subject, Parliament will proceed to the elections with great confidence. . . . Very liberal contributions have been and continue to be made, for the

* He resigned his position, subject to the President's decision, in a letter to the Secretary of State of August 12, 1826.

On September 28, 1826, Mr. Clay, Secretary of State, in acknowledging the receipt of his letter, says "that the President was induced, by representation from your brother Mr. Charles King, to expect that you would be disinclined to remain in your present situation after the return of your father to the United States," and to appoint Mr. W. B. Lawrence to the situation, subject to Mr. J. A. King's decision.

"From what has passed, therefore, on the occasion, I feel myself authorized to accept your resignation. . . . I am sure that I convey the sentiments of the President [he was absent from Washington], on this termination of your public service in England, in saying that he has been perfectly satisfied with the manner in which you have discharged your official duties, and that he would have been pleased if it had been your interest and inclination to retain your appointment. I add with my own testimony to the diligence and ability with which you have executed your public duties, . . .

"I am respectfully,
"Your obedient Servant
"H. CLAY."

succour of the distressed manufacturers, who are put down by the sword, without hesitation, when their insubordination calls for it. How the actual difficulties [financial] of the country will terminate may appear hard to decide; but with the power and ductility of the Constitution, and its capacity to expand or contract so as to meet the exigencies which the change of its affairs requires, we have seen so many instances, that her public men naturally possess a confidence which assists them and the Constitution to extricate themselves in circumstances, which, without experience, alarm and appear to be desperate. Yet no one is able beforehand to predict the means of recovery, while all appear confident that the actual and extreme embarrassments will be overcome; and that the Constitution and Country will be able to sustain the present shock; which is admitted to be greater and more difficult to measure than upon any former occasion. . . .

Upon the subject of a Toulon Fleet, to which you refer, let it sail when it will, or go where it may, a British Fleet will neither be wanting, nor tardy in watching its movements.

Your obedt. and faithful Servt.

RUFUS KING.

EARL OF ESSEX TO R. KING.

CASSIOWARY PARK, June 29, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR:

Accept my most grateful thanks for your very kind expression towards myself; indeed I do most sincerely lament the cause that so soon hastens you back to the United States. It would have been most gratifying to me, had you remained in this country to have seen you frequently here: as it is decreed otherwise, I have only to offer up my most earnest prayers and wishes for your health being completely restored, and at the same time to assure you, that at any time, should any of your friends visit this country, I will be most happy to show them every attention; for I am convinced that as a habit we ought to do all in our power to cement by every possible means that natural friendship and affection, which it is the interest of both countries to preserve uninterrupted.

If your son remains here, pray assure him how happy it will make us to see him and Mrs. King also.

Once more, my dear Sir, receive the sincerest assurances of the friendship of your very faithful Servt. ESSEX.

In anticipation of Mr. King's return home, he had requested his youngest son, Dr. Frederick G. King, to come out to England to be with him during the voyage, both to look after him and his son John's wife and children, who were to return with him, the latter remaining in London as Chargé d'affaires, and as a physician to minister to him such help as his weak condition might require, should seasickness or his disease affect him. Dr. King had recently been married to a daughter of Dr. Wright Post, and was associated with him in practice. He arrived, bringing his wife with him, in time to see and become acquainted with many of the leading medical men in London.*

* Among them were Sir Astley Cooper, Sir Henry Halford, Physician to the King, Travers, Lawrence, Tyrrel, Sir A. Faulkner, and Abernethy. Of the latter he says: "Abernethy calling by request on R. K., commenced by stating that he was no physician, and perhaps his opinion was not worth consulting, & he would simply lay down a few simple rules for his observance, as respected diet, exercise and attention to a daily evacuation of the bowels, &c.; and without putting any questions, and almost refusing to be informed of the patient's case, said he must read the directions for preserving health as laid down in his Book, p. 72; and again repeating that he was no physician, yet prescribing a dose to be taken daily until he saw him again, took his leave. A few days after he called again, enquired how R. K. was and had been, and if the medicine prescribed had done its duty. He then began to interrogate R. K. on his case—felt his pulse, examined his tongue and said: Sir, you wished to state your case to me on my first visit, perhaps you may wish to do so now, for I have time and leisure, and should be glad to hear your statement, which was immediately and concisely given. He was attentive, said he believed he understood the case; that in his opinion the digestive functions had for some time been imperfect and that acidity of the stomach was the cause of the attack of gout, and would perhaps be the best thing that could now happen to him; yet that much was to be done by a strict attention to the advice laid down in his book, to which he could add little or nothing. *Common Sense* was all he asked for in a patient; and then enquired if R. K. knew how Common Sense could be defined? He was answered that it was termed common because common to more than one. Abernethy then entered into a short digression upon this important quality. . . . To eat and drink what agreed with us, when the stomach was out of order to suit the quantity to its powers of digestion. From this he proceeded to laugh and joke a little, telling some droll stories about himself. When asked if mental occupation in the way of business would be of

The arrangements having been made for his sailing, Mr. King embarked for home on the 3d of July, and after a long but quiet voyage of thirty-eight days arrived in New York, better in health than when he had started. But he had been so seriously indisposed during the first week on the vessel that when he began to mend and felt better his son told him that he had feared he would not be able to survive the voyage. Arriving in New York, he remained there a short time, and then removed to Jamaica, living alone with two trusted servants, visited from time to time by his sons, who were immersed in business in New York.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, Sep. 11, 1826.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I sincerely rejoice, that you are again in the Bosom of your Family, with all the Comforts, that the Affections, Intelligence, and Solicitude of kind Children can afford. Although your health be enfeebled, according to the Law of our Nature, you cannot fail to enjoy, in a more eminent Degree, than falls to the lot of many, the conscious Satisfaction of having passed a long life, with great Utility to your Country and Friends; and with a Fame without Blot or Soil. This may be spoken with great Truth, and is very rare, especially among Statesmen. Washington & Jay are justly entitled to this Character. While we have had many men very wise & great, among the Heroes & Sages of our Revolution, there were few whose merits do not require some Indulgence for various Deviations, from that Steadiness and Constancy of Virtue, which forms the perfect man. Of the associates of our early Days many have passed off. Tyler died lately, bearing, in the Newspapers, as much of the Good, as we ever knew of him. Poor Dawes

disservice, he replied, "my business is to lecture, but if my stomach is disordered, I will not lecture."

He then gave particular and general directions for treatment.

"He is a singularly precise and curious person, 5 feet 5 tall; rather thick set, a victim of Rheumatism, about 60, has a quick intelligent eye, and of a countenance indicating great self-possession and confidence in his own skill and experience as a physician, altho' he denies that he is so. Sir Astley Cooper is reported to have said that his manners were worth £5000 a year to him."

sunk at last, as he had lived, some years back. Dexter, with an Imbecility, and gross Folly, that amounted to Fatuity suffered himself to become the Dupe of a silly & profligate Son. He is, with Infirmity of Mind & Body, living in Cambridge, with very Meagre Means, having been obliged to sell the Estates of which he was possessed, and which were ample for all his Purposes, and those dependant on him. Baylies was here, this Summer, in like health as formerly, and as I learn, in good & comfortable Circumstances. Our old Friend Freeman, is bearing with Christian Patience & Fortitude, the like Disorder which put an End to the life of Mr. Cabot. He walks a little, which is the only Exercise he can take,—has not been in the Pulpit for the last year, and has no Prospect of ever being there again. He is at Newton. This is all I know of the Companions of our youth.

Your faithful Friend

C. Gore.

H. W. Addington to J. A. King.

17. Cork St., 11 Septr., 1826.

My dear Sir :

It was only on my return from Downing Street at 6 o'clock this evening that I received your very welcome and obliging note : and I hasten to congratulate you very sincerely on the comfortable intelligence the Packet of the 16th. conveyed to you of your Father's arrival on his natal shore in health somewhat improved.

I had a strong feeling that such wd. be the case, and it gives me unfeigned pleasure to find that feeling verified.

I beg you when you write, to present my best regard to my worthy old friend, and to tell him that I hope to hear of him as an octogenarian yet

Yours very sincerely

H. W. Addington.

J. A. King to R. King.

London, 14th Sept., 1826.

My dear Father :

By a letter from my wife, written the night of your arrival, I received the gratifying intelligence of your safe return to your

native land, in health somewhat improved, and so far as the short accounts go, after a comfortable though tedious passage of 38 days. The voyage, which I so much dreaded on your account, seems to have been safely, not to say beneficially passed; and as it is my sincere wish, so is it my earnest hope, that comforts and repose may accompany you along and throughout the rest of your way. I have been received and treated by Mr. Gallatin with the utmost frankness and confidence, and I know not where the Government could have found except in his person, so able a successor to him who filled the place. I will in my next give you, for your information, an account of what has been done since Mr. Gallatin's arrival. He has full powers and instructions upon every subject of difference. Up to this moment he has kept me well employed.

I received the message, which you were so good as to send me thro' my wife, and most gratefully appreciate the sentiments in which it was expressed, and the feelings of affection and attachment which prompted you to think of me so kindly: be assured that I am neither an insensible, nor an ungrateful son, and that I am now more than ever, if that can be,

Your true and most affectionate son

JOHN ALSOP KING.

Though Mr. King was able during his life at Jamaica to enjoy some pleasure from being once more at his own home among the trees that he had planted, now grown so as to afford shade and beauty to the place, and was able to drive out for exercise, there can be no doubt that he realized his condition and at times was greatly depressed. In a memorandum book, he thus expressed himself:

"October 19th, 1826.

"My life is limited in its employment. With my health Providence denies me the preservation of understanding and memory. I suffer no pain, but have little of the comforts of memory. How the scene will close is known to the author who continues it, and I am resigned to his power, and grateful for his mercies; for while others suffer great pain and agony, I am failing in another way which Providence enjoins. God's will be done and may I

be thankful. If I could utter a wish, it should be for understanding, and *that it might have been* continued : but as this might have been at the expense of other mercies granted to me, I ought to be grateful for those bestowed."

"Nov. 3, 1826.

'I hope it may be the will of Providence that my time may be mercifully considered, and myself prepared for the events I may be required to meet. I submit to the will of a merciful Providence, hoping that I may avoid impatience and all manifestation of the want of submission."

On November 24, 1826, Mr. King removed to New York, where, though much enfeebled, he continued to take daily drives. There was an earnest desire on his part that his son John, who had remained in London as Chargé d'affaires, and was at this time on the sea, should reach New York. On December 14th he makes a memorandum: "John arrived last night. Thanks to God for the same. May I be grateful for it." The last entry of moment in his book, though there is a daily record, is:

"Jany. 1, 1827.

"New Year. God grant in his mercy it may be a short one. I desire to die, when his mercy permits, and hope I discover no improper impatience ; I submit to God's will, as is my duty."

Failing daily in strength, Mr. King was carefully attended by his children in New York, his son Frederick being his loving and faithful physician, and died on April 29, 1827, in the seventy-third year of his age.

Among the conversations with his son on board ship he had alluded to his death, and said, among other things, that he desired to be buried at Jamaica, in Grace churchyard, between the graves of his wife and of his son Charles's wife, and that his resting-place should be marked by a plain marble stone with merely his name and the dates of his birth and death. He had himself put a similar memorial of his wife in the churchyard, in a spot in full view from the windows of his dining-room, and by which he passed when, as

was habitual with him, he went to the church. When he died his wish was of course carried out, and there is the simple record of his life—its history was to be sought for elsewhere, in what he had done.*

The estimate of Mr. King's character may be most accurately made by recalling statements in these volumes by contemporary chroniclers at different periods of his life. It may, however, be said that his early years were passed in a well-ordered New England home, where there is every reason to believe that habits of industry and careful restraint were used by parents who looked after their children affectionately and judiciously and brought them up to reverence them with old-fashioned affection and obedience. For when sent from home to school, the young man's conduct was such as a well-principled boy would manifest; and when, fully prepared, he was sent to Harvard College to obtain such an education as that institution was able to afford, he diligently pursued his studies, though the war greatly interfered with their regularity, and straitened means seriously impaired

* In the *Evening Post*, April 30, 1827, appeared the following notice of his death:

". . . Thus has departed another of our oldest Statesmen, the favorite of Washington, one whom his soul loved, in whom he wholly confided, one who rendered the most invaluable services in organizing and sustaining the early and difficult measures of the Government, one who has rarely been equalled for talents both profound and brilliant, and who in his meridian was numbered among the brightest stars in the galaxy of his country's glory."

On May 4th the Common Council of New York passed the following preamble and resolution:

"Whereas the Common Council having received information of the decease of the Hon. Rufus King, late Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Great Britain, and deeply sensible of the loss which his country has sustained by that melancholy event, and of the eminent services he has rendered during his long political life, and more especially as a member of the illustrious Convention which formed the Constitution of the United States, therefore

"Resolved, that the Common Council will in testimony of respect for the Honourable Rufus King, go in mourning by the usual mode of wearing crape upon the left arm for the period of thirty days.

"Extract from the Minutes. J. MORTON, Clerk."

his work. During this time no stain upon his moral life has ever even been suggested, and he passed from his college life thoroughly trained for that which was before him.

In his public career, when placed in positions of responsibility—for he never sought them himself—he never failed to exercise the highest powers of mind, fidelity to the trusts committed to him, firm adherence to the course which careful examination led him to approve and adopt, and unquestioned integrity and patriotism.

Mr. William Sullivan * says of Mr. King,

"At thirty-three years of age (1768) he was an uncommonly handsome man in face and form, had a powerful mind, well cultivated, and was a dignified and graceful speaker. He had the appearance of one who was a gentleman by nature and who had well improved all her gifts. It is a rare occurrence to see a finer assemblage of personal and intellectual qualities cultivated to the best effect than were seen in this gentleman. . . . Among his superior advantages was an accurate knowledge of dates and facts of most essential service to the Senate. . . . He was not a party leader but a leader of measures. . . . He died after a serene life which had never been marked by a quarrel nor an imputation. . . . There is not a man of greater integrity than Rufus King."

After having served in the councils of the nation from 1784 to 1795, and at the end of his first term in the Senate of the United States, he felt a desire for a change, and said to his friend General Hamilton that he thought he "could render some service to the public at the present period in England," there being a vacancy in the mission to that country by the resignation of Mr. Pinckney. General Hamilton suggested Mr. King's appointment as Minister there, writing to President Washington, and saying among other things: †

* *Public Men of the Revolution*, p. 59.

† R. King's *Life*, ii., 51, May 20, 1796.

"Mr. King is a remarkably well informed man, a very judicious one, a man of address, a man of fortune and economy, whose situation affords just ground of confidence; a man of unimpeached probity, where he is best known, a firm friend of the Government, a supporter of the measures of the President; a man who cannot but feel that he has strong pretentions to confidence and trust."

His career in the mission to which he was appointed was most successful, and tended to raise the respect for his country in the troublous times during which it lasted, to the highest degree, by his urbanity, his perfect understanding of her rights, and his ability to meet the ablest men in England, and by a firmness which suffered no wrong to be done to her.

It would require too much space to quote in full Mr. Faux's letter to Lord B. (probably Buchan),* giving an account of Mr. King in 1818 as a public man; but the close of the letter presents another aspect of him, which illustrates his moral character.

"Of Mr. King's moral character I can say nothing from my own personal knowledge as my acquaintance with him has not been long and intimate enough to judge correctly. I have not, however, heard anything alleged against it calculated to lessen his reputation as an honorable statesman and virtuous member of society. He is wealthy, and has, no doubt, something of pride and hauteur in his manner offensive to the delicacy of republicanism, and inconsistent with the nature of equality; but as a father, husband and friend, I have not yet heard him charged with any dereliction of duty, or any violation of those principles which tend to harmonize society and to unite man to man by the bonds of affection and virtue."

It would be easy to multiply extracts from previous portions of this history, to present some of the salient points of Mr. King's character, upon which it seems right to make a few reflections. Mr. Sullivan has remarked that there was a certain hauteur in his demeanor, which while it

* R. King's *Life*, vi., 86. The writer of these letters, signed S., is Mr. Faux, who was travelling in the United States at the time. See his Travels.

commanded respect, never prevented him from receiving from all classes of men the warmest evidences of intimate association. Even those most strongly opposed to him on public questions gave their personal friendship and sought and enjoyed his society; for they admired him for the manliness, courtesy, and honesty with which he maintained his views, and never allowed political differences to interfere with personal regard.

It is also said that he was not "a leader of men but a leader of measures." With all his acknowledged ability, with all the personal qualifications which drew men to him, with the generous and attractive manners which warmed their hearts and gained their friendship, he lacked that self-asserting and ambitious spirit which would have led him to claim and demand positions which all acknowledged him to be so competent to fill and adorn. While his heart might secretly crave distinction in certain directions, he was too modest,* or knew not how, to use the means to obtain it, and thus may seem to have failed where crafty and more unscrupulous men succeeded. Whatever political success he met with, and it was great, was the result of his acknowledged ability, and of the perfect confidence that he would execute the duties committed to him with fidelity. He could not trim his sails to catch the popular breeze, but had the conscious satisfaction of having striven to do his duty, as a citizen, a patriot, and an honest man.

He has left a name which has been suffered to be almost forgotten by his fellow-countrymen, but which may be recalled with just claims to their warmest remembrance, and to which his descendants may point with pride.

During his life Mr. King was the recipent of many honors from literary and religious associations. In 1803, Williams and Dartmouth Colleges accorded him the degree of LL.D., and Harvard College in 1806. In this same year he became a Trustee of Columbia College, remaining such until 1824. He was a Warden of Trinity Church, New York, from 1806

* R. King's *Life*, i., 126. Brissot's remark.

to 1812, and a member of several General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in which he was interested in the establishment of the General Theological Seminary of that Church. When he removed to Jamaica he was a faithful friend of Grace Church of that place, in whose yard he was buried; he became a Trustee of Union Hall Academy, under the able administration of the Rev. Dr. L. E. A. Eigenbrodt; and he was also a leading member of agricultural and literary societies, such as the Antiquarian and the Academy of Arts in New York.

APPENDIX I.

ON EXECUTIVE INFLUENCE—1816.

If there be any who entertain doubts on the progress of executive influence we call their attention to the following observations—

During the existence of the Berlin & Milan decrees property to a great amount belonging to American citizens was seized and confiscated by France and her dependent governments. King Murat performed the part assigned to him in the Play of the Robbers, and American ships and cargoes of the value of some millions, confiding in Mr. Madison's proclamation that those Decrees were revoked, were in 1810 confiscated in the ports of Italy.

We do not recollect to have heard that the merchants have heretofore made any stir on this subject, or that any serious attempt has been made by our Government to obtain indemnification for these losses—and had the Continent remained under the Napoleon Dynastie, it is probable that we should, merchants and all, have held our peace, and permitted to the "sic volo, sic jubeo" of the Iron Crown. But a great counter revolution has taken place, and a new and precarious organization of Europe has followed. The union of the four conquering Powers now parcels out Europe, prescribing constitutions and laws to its several states, "a high Police" is established and supported by great armies, which are fed, and clothed, and paid by degraded France. Europe requires and Europe forbids is the rescript of the Coalition, and the new law of Nations.

In the overthrow of the Napoleon dynasty, Murat the King of Naples has been driven from his throne and slain, and a Bourbon, by permission of the coalesced Powers, has been restored to his antient Kingdom, plundered and delapidated as it has been during his exile.

Altho' American property of no small amount was seized in France, in Spain, in Holland and in Denmark, as well as in the ports of Italy; altho' at the period of declaring the war agt. England our government proclaimed if France failed to make reparation for the property which she had plundered that we should make war against France also; we have no information that any thing more was done by way of reclamation during the reign of Bonaparte, than to repeat in measured terms, the plaintive notes which we had been accustomed to deliver at Paris and which his imperial majesty had commonly answered with reproaches agt. us as a mercenary, cowardly and degraded People.

Since the late restoration of Louis the 18th. surrounding nations, have made their demands on him for indemnity for losses which they had suffered by the injustice of Bonaparte; such of these claims as were approved by the coalesced powers, have been provided for by stipulations for compensation.

The U. S. have kept back, perhaps prudently. The successer to their late Minister to France, tho' appointed more than a year ago, has not yet proceeded on his mission: considering the amount of our claims the delay is a mystery, which, like all other mysteries incapable of explanation, is *incomprehensible* to ordinary minds. It would seem that a promise of indemnity by France wd. be important not only in respect to the greatness of the losses to be compensated but also by reason of its influence on other and inferior powers, and therefore that our first effort should be made at Paris where the good offices and influence of the Emperor of Russia, if seasonably applied for, would perhaps be employed in favor of our Reclamation. For this purpose, an able Minister should have been sent to St Petersburgh immediately after the transfer of Mr. Adams to London.

Instead of this course, one of a different character and which is recommended by a reliance on different means, has been resorted to.

The termination of the war with the Barbary Powers has been both extraordinary and illustrious; no event in our short history stands more conspicuous, none is more worthy of public admiration.

Decatur's good fortune in the Mediterranean, for his achievement as it has been the first will endure amongst the most illustrious in that policy which is soon to put an end to the piracies of the Barbary Powers, awakened the attention of the quiet citizens who had been plundered in the Italian Ports, and led them to believe that an American commodore with squadron might give the law in the bay of Naples, as had been done in the bay of Algiers.

Insinuations to this effect were put into circulation, but doubts arose whether the measures which proved successful at Algiers could be safely repeated at Naples. Credit is due to this hesitation; first impressions are sometimes advantageously corrected by a little sober reflection. Merchants are known to be persevering in the pursuit of their object, as well as accommodating and inventive in the manner of attaining it.

The squadron and the Commodore, not having been immediately approved of as negotiators at Naples, from Baltimore to Boston the Merchants were put in motion to urge the President to take some step in order to obtain indemnities from the restored King of Naples for losses suffered under the usurper Murat; that Ferdinand himself was the greatest sufferer by this usurpation was not felt to be an excuse why he shd. not bear his own losses and also compensate those of his fellow sufferers.

It was made to be understood that the U. S. provides but inadequate appointments for their foreign ministers. It was stated that the property lost in Italy was great in amount, that a moderate percentage on it would make up a purse of half a million of dollars, and no one doubted that the merchts. wd. cheerfully pay this sum in case of recovery; moreover that they wd. pay the extra expenses beyond the ordinary appointment of an Envoy of distinguished talents

who should be sent to Naples, backed by a naval escort, whether the mission failed or succeeded.

It is true that there is something of unsullied purity in the character of these special Heralds, whose benificent offices, disinterested as they are sacred, are occasionally interposed to protect humanity against the bad passions of our nature, but this reflection may not have occured to the merchants, and perhaps escaped the faded memory of the President, whose paternal regards extended alike to every class of citizens whose public duties are regulated by impartial justice and who equally hates corruption and abhors apostacy.

After maturely examining this Martimercurean project of diplomacy, after an anxious survey of the extraordinary and uncertain condition of Europe, after passing in review the eminently qualified men, who profess or have become proselites to the infallible creed, including those at home as well as those abroad from the impracticable and literary cynic at St James to the disgraced and sickly apothecary at the Hague, no individual could be discovered who surpassed Mr. William Pinkney in every requisite qualification for this extraordinary service, and this gentleman was therefore nominated by the President as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to St Petersburgh, with a special mission to Naples.

The news papers (and particularly "the Richmond Enquirer" the gazette of the Dynastie) quickly announced this mission as the most ornamental, the most munificient, and the most durable that had hitherto been sent from the U. S.

.The Envoy would embark in the Washington, a ship of the Line, commanded by a Commodore having a Post Cap. under him, the Squadron in the Mediterranean would be subject to the orders of the Ambassador, and the business at Naples being summarily accomplished, the Islands and coasts of Greece would be looked at, the ruins of Sparta, of Athens, and of Thebes might be visited.

"Climes of the unforgotten Brave,
"Whose Land from plain to mountain cave
"Was Freedom's home or Glory's Grave."

And thence the Envoy would proceed to irradiate the coast of the mighty Czar.

But against all anticipation the Senate, from motives that we are not permitted to understand since they close their doors when transacting Executive Business, approved of the nomination and mission to St Petersburgh, and disapproved of the mission to Naples.

This decision of the Senate, which it must be confessed was a little disloyal looked something like independence, or in courtly language insubordination, became matter for side conversation and even of personal recrimination. In the grand hall even where the electors Palatine assemble to choose for the good people a President of the U. S. symptoms of dissatisfaction were manifested not only in respect to the decision of the Senate, which found defenders among accusers, but concerning the nomination itself.

It was hotly asserted that the first and most gratifying offices should be received by the President, and distributed among those who have borne the heat

and burden of the day, and that those who came in at the eleventh hour, when the battle is over and the enemy prostrate, should be satisfied with subordinate stations.

To this argument it was however answered, and with a particular reference to the case which had happened, that "ex quovis ligno non fit Mercurius"; it was moreover contended that the executive patronage should be left free, especially pending the presidential election and allowed its natural influence on the restless imaginations of the opposition; that already individuals of notable reputation have been detached from their ranks, who after exorcism and drinking of the waters of Jealousy and swallowing the accursed morsel and delivering up to be buffeted friends and brothers and fathers, have been all gloriously transfigured and manifested to the people, in the high places of confidence and of honour.

APPENDIX II.

R. KING—CONVERSATION WITH MR. WILLING OF PHILADELPHIA IN HIS 87TH YEAR IN REFERENCE TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

PHILADELPHIA, Sunday, Nov. 8, 1818.

Called to see Mr. Willing who will complete his 87th. year the 17th. of the next month, As he was a member of Congress at the Declaration of Independence, I asked him whether there was any truth in the story that is going the rounds of the newspapers, that, on the first question respecting the Declar. of Ind., the States were equally divided and that Sam. Adams having gained over one of the Penn. Del. and thereby the voice of that State, a majority was secured; which being done, all the other States came into and agreed to the measure.

He said it was wholly untrue. That on the taking of the question in Comee. of the whole, there being 66 members, we all agreed to and voted for the measure, except the Delegates of Georgia (who were present, but not having their credentials did not vote) Mr. Reed of Delaware, who declined voting for or against the Declr., and himself, Mr. Willing and his colleague Humphries, who W. & H. voted against it.

That he wrote two letters to the Penn. Assembly asking their instructions on two dependent measures, viz, the Decon of Indep. and commercial Treaty with France. On the morning of the vote of the Com. of the whole, he wrote and delivered to the doorkeeper of the Assembly, a third letter which he stood and saw delivered to the Speaker; that not long afterwards he received a letter from the Speaker, acknowledging the receipt of his three letters, which had been laid before the Assembly; that the Assembly approved of his conduct in asking their instructions and authorized him to vote for a commercial Treaty with France, but said nothing about Indep.; that he laid the letter before Congress, where it was read—and he declared that in these circumstances he could not

vote in favor of Indep. Three of his colleagues however there being 5 delegates from Penn., voted for Indep.

That Govr. Clinton was not present at the taking of the vote; he thinks Chancellor Livingston was present.

APPENDIX III.

SALE OF PUBLIC LANDS.

On the 19th of February, 1819—a Bill passed the Senate for the regulation of the sale of public lands. It failed to become a law, apparently from the want of time to give it consideration.

Jany. 30.

Substance of the Remarks of Mr. King of New York in the Senate, on the Bill, providing relief for the purchasers of public lands.

Mr. King observed that this was a great question. Congress were called on to interfere in the whole subject of the public lands; it was a subject on which much more of hope had, from the first, been reposed than was authorized by any just expectations. The public had formed mistaken calculations of the value of the national domain as a source of revenue. He was of opinion that the country could not and ought not to rely on the public lands for a regular revenue. We must come to rely on taxation and not on the sales of lands for supporting the credit and advancing the prosperity of the country.

Mr. K. adverted to the manner in which the nation became possessed of this great property and to the opinions which were entertained of it as a source of income to the public treasury. Many had considered that it would be, for a long time to come, an entire substitute for taxation; but he believed it would turn out, as it had in those States which had possessed much unoccupied land, only as a great fund for the convenience of those who desired to go forth and become land holders. As such it was of great value; as it would be the foundation of a tenantry throughout the country, established with a degree of precision of which no other country can furnish an example. This was a solid benefit, and for this purpose, it was a happiness to have such a country.

Mr. K. proceeded to notice the course which had been, from the first, pursued in disposing of the public lands. The whole had been sold for forty-four millions of dollars; of which, strange as it might appear, but one half had been paid; thus leaving the enormous sum of twenty-two millions still due. Taking into view the present condition of society and all the circumstances of the times, he did not believe that any extended length of credit would restore to the debtors any facility of making payment of this great sum. No man could anticipate the payment of such a debt; and the continuance of it would be a source of extreme inquietude and inconvenience, while the creditor still calculates on it as a source of revenue, and the debtor knows that he never can and never will pay. This state of things requires that a large measure of liberality be

extended towards the debtor; and we had better come to the conclusion once for all to make such an adjustment as shall preclude the hope on our side of receiving the debt, and on the other the obligation of paying it. In one word —abolish the debt—that will be true economy; that will be wisdom; that will be the soundest policy.

He, Mr. K. would therefore say to all holding small tracts—you owe three, two, or one instalment; but whether more or less, he would say to the whole class of purchasers of a quarter section, you owe a certain sum and interest; if called on you cannot pay, and we have, in the mean time, so changed the system of selling public lands, as to weaken, if not destroy, competition on your part, and have in effect changed the condition of the debt; we will therefore give you a credit so far as in some measure to put you on a footing, with those who have since purchased at the present price for cash — by allowing a discount for prompt payment of a portion and a longer credit for the remainder. This would reduce the purchase money to within a fraction of what it would be, if now offered for cash. This, he (Mr. K.) would do as well for the reasons already stated, as because circumstances had changed the relation between the debtor and the Government.

Mr. K. then proceeded to explain the manner in which this adjustment would operate, by referring to the quantity which had been sold, the prices given in the various parts of the Union, the amount of payments in some quarters, the amount of debts still due, &c.

With regard to the large class of purchasers, he would give to them the faculty of transferring the instalments paid to any portion of their purchase, and also the privilege of completing the payment on such portion, in cash, with the same discount as should be allowed to the small purchaser — requiring in all cases that the portion retained and the payment completed should be consolidated. For the remainder of the purchases of the large class, he would allow no longer credit, but require a surrender of it to the U. S., and thus, so far as regards the large portion of this debt, the debt is abolished. To go further than this would be inexpedient. It was a principle that whatever was done and decided at one time ought to stand all time; but nothing in agriculture, in manufactures, or in any pursuit in life is in the same condition now that it was some years ago: every thing is changed in value. This relief had therefore become necessary; but he would go no further than he had mentioned. Go further than that, and you might as well go back to the first purchasers of lands. The measures of the Government should not have the character of exaction or hardship; they were for the relief of a part of the national family and should be such as a father would adopt under similar circumstances, towards one of his children. By this course we get rid of this great and alarming debt and we get back the land. The Government would gain much, while the individuals would lose nothing; and the terms would be moderate and reasonable on the part of the Government and just and proper to the debtors.

Mr. King said, that at the last session, when the great change was under discussion, by which they got rid of the increase of the debt, and laid the foundation for eradicating the evil entirely, for destroying, he might say, the poison of

affections between the people and the Government — at that time, he stated that he would be willing to do something of this kind, and was now ready to redeem the promise he had then given; but it must be on the conditions and in the way he had proposed. He referred to a number of facts relative to the acquisition and sale of the public lands, tending to support the views which he had submitted. The Government had purchased 172 millions of acres, and had surveyed of this 73 millions; of these 18 millions had been sold, so that 55 millions remained yet for sale; so if 22 millions of dollars be due on 18 millions of acres sold, there will be returned to the U. S. by the purchasers 9. millions of acres. &c. This simple fact must shew that the lands cannot be looked to as an eligible article of investment for capitalists, or that they can rise in price; there was therefore no ability in lands to pay debts, and it would be very bad policy to go any further in surveying the public lands, when there were seven acres yet for sale, for every one sold. It was, in his opinion, proper that the surveys of the public lands should be discontinued.

Mr. K. next adverted to the expense which had attended the purchase, the surveys and the sales of the public lands, particularizing the purchase of two millions from the Indians, the Yazoo lands, and, he might add, those of Louisiana. These expenses made in all a sum, that had actually gone out of the Treasury, of 24 millions of dollars; so that if the profit and loss were compared, it would be found there had been no considerable gain from this source of revenue, so much and so erroneously relied on by many persons. These facts were not stated to operate on the bill before the Senate, but merely with the view to deprecate somewhat the expectation that these lands were an inexhaustible source of wealth and revenue to this nation. But while this consideration was pressed, he hoped he should not be understood to mean that it would be proper to give these lands away. By no means. He would continue the sales to a certain extent as now authorized; he would preserve the system adopted for laying them out and settling them. It was beautiful beyond expression and beyond all example; but he would abandon the hope of enriching the public Treasury from them. But in estimating the cost of these lands, there were other items that ought to be taken into account. Look at the expenses of the defeats of Harmer and St. Clair, of the victories of Wayne and Jackson. Add these expenses to the others, and the aggregate would convince any man of the little value this public domain had been to the public Treasury, and shew the fact that more money had gone out of the Treasury for the public lands than had been returned to it. The great advantage which he anticipated from these lands, and at which he looked, was peace, was affection. In distributing them among those of our citizens who sought new homes, no power could do it so well, so permanently and so satisfactorily as Congress. It was therefore proper for Congress to retain that power in its own hands.

Mr. K. conceived, as he had before stated, that the Government was in its character parental, and the principles applicable to the purchasers of public lands might be extended a little further. There was another portion of society, which required relief as much as these and he threw himself upon the liberality of gentlemen, for mentioning it in connection with the present case. The

Bankrupt law was a question of difficulty, but there was not an entire dissimilarity between the two subjects; and was it not proper for the fathers of this republic to do something? As to trying to agree upon some plan of a Bankrupt system which should embrace the dissimilar views of all, it could not be anticipated. The only way to afford relief was to take that which once for all would answer the purpose of relief; and if the system should upon a fair trial be found bad, let Congress come forward and rectify the evil. Mr. King begged pardon for touching upon this subject, in connection with the bill before the Senate. &c

National Intelligencer March 8, 1820.

The Senate ordered the bill for the sale of the public lands to be engrossed and read the third time. Among the objections made to its passage was that it favored speculators. To this Mr. King answered:

"That if the change of system were favorable to speculators, he should be found in the negative; but so far from this being the fact, he considered the change as highly favorable to the poor man; and he urged at some length that it was calculated to plant in the new country a population of independent, unembarrassed freeholders; that by offering lands in 80 acre lots, it would place it in the power of almost every man to purchase a freehold the price of which could be cleared in three years; that it would cut up speculation and monopoly; that the money paid for the land, would be carried from the state or country from which the purchaser should remove; that it would prevent the accumulation of an alarming debt, which experience proved never would, and never could be paid, &c."

APPENDIX IV.

THE SUBSTANCE OF TWO SPEECHES ON THE MISSOURI BILL DELIVERED BY MR. KING IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.*

The Constitution declares "that Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property of the United States." Under this power Congress have passed laws for the survey and sale of public lands, for the division of the same into separate territories; and have ordained for each of them a constitution, a plan of temporary government, whereby the civil and political rights of the inhabitants are regulated, and the rights of conscience and other natural rights are protected.

The power to make all needful regulations, includes the power to determine what regulations are needful; and if a regulation prohibiting slavery within

* See page 233 of this volume.

any territory of the United States be, as it has been, deemed needful, Congress possesses the power to make the same, and moreover to pass all laws necessary to carry this power into execution.

The territory of Missouri is a portion of Louisiana, which was purchased of France, and belongs to the United States in full dominion ; in the language of the constitution Missouri is their territory or property, and is subject, like other territories of the United States, to the regulations and temporary government, which has been, or shall be prescribed by Congress. The clause of the constitution, which grants this power to Congress, is so comprehensive, and unambiguous, and its purpose so manifest, that the commentary will not render the power, or the object of its establishment, more explicit or plain.

The Constitution further provides that " new states may be admitted by congress in the Union "—as this power is conferred without limitation, the time, terms and circumstances of the admission of new states are referred to the discretion of congress ; which may admit new states, but are not obliged to do so—of right no new state can demand admission into the Union, unless such demand be founded upon some previous engagement of the United States.

When admitted by congress into the Union, whether by compact or otherwise, the new state becomes entitled to the enjoyment of the same rights, and bound to perform the like duties as the other states ; and its citizens will be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

The citizens of each state possess rights, and owe duties that are peculiar to, and arise out of the constitution and laws of the several states. These rights and duties differ from each other in the different states, and among these differences none is so remarkable or important as that which proceeds from the constitution and laws of the several states respecting slavery ; the same being permitted in some states, and forbidden in others.

The question respecting slavery in the old thirteen states had been decided and settled before the adoption of the constitution, which grants no power to congress to interfere with, or to change what had been so previously settled—the slave states therefore are free to continue or to abolish slavery. Since the year 1808 congress have possessed power to prohibit and have prohibited the further emigration or importation of slaves into any of the old thirteen states, and at all times under the constitution have had power to prohibit such migration or importation into any of the new states, or territories of the United States.—The Constitution contains no express provision respecting slavery in a new state that may be admitted into the Union ; every regulation upon this subject belongs to the power whose consent is necessary to the formation and admission of new states into the Union. Congress may therefore make it a condition of the admission of a new state, that slavery shall be forever prohibited within the same. We may, with the more confidence, pronounce this to be the true construction of the constitution, as it has been so amply confirmed by the past session of congress.

Although the articles of confederation were drawn up and approved by the old congress in the year 1777, and soon afterwards were ratified by some of the states, their complete ratification did not take place until the year 1781. The

states which possessed small and already settled territory withheld their ratification, in order to obtain from the large states a cession to the United States of a portion of their vacant territory, without entering into the reasons on which this demand was urged. It is well known that they had an influence on Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and Virginia, which states ceded to the United States their respective claims to the territory lying north-west of the river Ohio. This cession was made on the express condition that the ceded territory should be sold for the common benefit of the United States, that it should be laid out into states, and that the states so laid out should form distinct republican states, and be admitted as members of the federal union, having the same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence as other states! Of the four states which made this cession, two permitted and the other two prohibited slavery.

The United States having in this manner become proprietors of the extensive territory north-west of the river Ohio, although the confederation contained no express provision upon the subject, congress, the only representation of the United States, assumed, as incident to their office, the power to dispose of this territory; and for this purpose, to divide the same into distinct states, to provide for the temporary government of the inhabitants thereof, and for their ultimate admission as new states into the federal union.

The ordinance for these purposes, which was passed by congress in 1787, contains certain articles, which are called "Articles of compact between the original states and the people and states within the said territory, forever to remain unalterable unless by common consent." The sixth of those unalterable articles provides, "that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory."

The constitution of the United States supplies the defect that existed in the articles of confederation, and has vested congress, as has been stated, with ample powers on this important subject. Accordingly the ordinance of 1787, passed by the old congress, was ratified and confirmed by an act of the new Congress during the first session under the constitution.

The State of Virginia, which ceded to the United States her claims to this territory, consented by her delegates in the old congress to this ordinance—not only Virginia, but North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, by the unanimous votes of their delegates in the old congress, approved of the ordinance of 1787, by which slavery is forever abolished in the territory north-west of the river Ohio. Without the votes of these states, the ordinance could not have passed; and there is no recollection of an opposition from any of these states to the act of confirmation, passed under the actual constitution. Slavery had long been established in these states—the evil was felt in their institutions, laws, and habits, and could not easily or at once be abolished. But these votes, so honorable to these states, satisfactorily demonstrate their unwillingness to permit the extension of slavery into the new states which might be admitted by congress into the Union.

The states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, on the north-west of the river Ohio, have been admitted by congress into the Union on the condition and

conformably to the article of compact, contained in the ordinance of 1787, and by which it is declared that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said states.

Although congress possesses the power of making the exclusion of slavery a part or condition of the act admitting a new state into the Union, they may, in special cases, and for sufficient reasons, forbear to exercise this power. Thus Kentucky and Vermont were admitted as new states into the Union without making the abolition of slavery the condition of their admission. In Vermont slavery never existed, her laws excluding the same. Kentucky was formed out of, and settled by Virginia, and the inhabitants of Kentucky, equally with those of Virginia, by fair interpretation of the constitution, were exempt from all such interference of congress as might disturb or impair the security of their property in slaves. The western territory of North Carolina and Georgia having been partially granted and settled under the authority of these states before the cession thereof to the United States, and these states being original parties to the constitution which recognises the existence of slavery, no measure restraining slavery could be applied by congress to this territory. But to remove all doubt on this head, it was made a condition of the cession of this territory to the United States that the ordinance of 1787, except the sixth article thereof, respecting slavery, should be applied to the same; and that the sixth article should not be so applied. Accordingly the states of Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama, comprehending the territory ceded to the United States by North Carolina and Georgia, have been admitted as new states into the Union, without a provision by which slavery shall be excluded from the same. According to this abstract of the proceedings of congress in the admission of new states into the Union, of the eight new states within the original limits of the United States, four have been admitted without an article excluding slavery; three have been admitted on the condition that slavery should be excluded; and one admitted without such condition. In the few first cases, congress were restrained from exercising the power to exclude slavery; in the next three, they exercised this power; and in the last, it was unnecessary to do so, slavery being excluded by the state constitution.

The province of Louisiana, soon after its cession to the United States, was divided into two territories, comprehending such parts thereof as were contiguous to the river Mississippi, being the only parts of the province that were inhabited. The foreign language, laws, customs and manners of the inhabitants required the immediate and cautious attention of congress, which, instead of extending, in the first instance, to these territories the ordinance of 1787, ordained special regulations for the government of the same. These regulations were from time to time revised and altered, as observation and experience showed to be expedient, and as was deemed most likely to encourage and promote those changes which would soonest qualify the inhabitants for self-government and admission into the Union. When the United States took possession of the province of Louisiana in 1804, it was estimated to contain * 50,000 white

* This estimate was too high, as by the census of 1810 the whole province was found to contain only 97,000 inhabitants, viz.: 51,000 whites, 37,000 slaves, and 8,000 free persons of color.

inhabitants, forty thousand slaves, and two thousand free persons of color. More than four-fifths of the whites and all the slaves, except about thirteen hundred, inhabited New Orleans and the adjacent territory; the residue, consisting of less than ten thousand whites and about thirteen hundred slaves, were dispersed throughout the country now included in the Arkansas and Missouri territories. The greater part of the thirteen hundred slaves were in the Missouri territory, some of them having been removed thither from the old French settlements on the east side of the Mississippi, after the passing of the ordinance of 1787, by which slavery in those settlements was abolished.

In 1812, the territory of New Orleans, to which the ordinance of 1787, with the exception of certain parts thereof, had been previously extended, was permitted by congress to form a constitution and state government, and admitted as a new state into the Union, by the name of Louisiana. The acts of congress for these purposes, in addition to sundry important provisions respecting rivers and public lands, which are declared to be irrevocable unless by common consent, annex other terms and conditions, whereby it is established, not only that the constitution of Louisiana should be republican, but that it should contain the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, that it should secure to the citizens the trial by jury in all criminal cases, and the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus according to the constitution of the United States; and after its admission into the Union, that the laws which Louisiana might pass should be promulgated, its records of every description preserved, and its judicial and legislative proceedings conducted in the language in which the laws and judicial proceedings of the United States are published and conducted!

Guards so friendly to the rights of the citizens, and restraints on the state sovereignty so material to the gradual confirmation and security of their liberties, demonstrate the extensive and paternal power of congress; power, the wise exercise of which, on this occasion, is not confined to the inhabitants of the new state, but reaches and protects the rights of the citizens of all the states. The habits of the people and the number of slaves by whom the labor of the territory of New Orleans was performed, were doubtless the reason for the omission of an article in the act of admission by which slavery should be excluded from the new state.

Having annexed these new and extraordinary conditions to the act for the admission of Louisiana into the Union, congress may, if they shall deem it expedient, annex the like conditions to the act for the admission of Missouri; and moreover, as in the case of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, provided by an article for that purpose, that slavery shall not exist within the same.

Admitting this construction of the constitution, it is alleged that the power by which congress excluded slavery from the states north-west of the river Ohio is suspended in respect to the state that may be formed in the province of Louisiana. The article of the treaty referred to declares: "That the inhabitants of the territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the federal constitution, to the enjoyment of all rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States; and in the mean time, they shall be

maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess."

Although there is a want of precision in the article, its scope and meaning cannot be misunderstood. It constitutes a stipulation, by which the United States engage that the inhabitants of Louisiana should be formed into a state or states, and as soon as the provisions of the constitution permit, that they should be admitted as new states into the Union on the footing of the other states; and before such admission, and during their territorial government, that they should be maintained and protected by congress in the enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion. The first clause of this stipulation will be executed by the admission of Missouri as a new state into the Union, as such admission will impart to the inhabitants of Missouri "all the rights, advantages and immunities" which citizens of the United States derive from the constitution thereof; these rights may be denominated federal rights, are uniform throughout the Union, and are common to all its citizens. But the rights derived from the constitution and laws of the states, which may be denominated state rights, in many particulars differ from each other. Thus while the federal rights of the citizens of Massachusetts and Virginia are the same, their state rights are dissimilar, and different, slavery being forbidden in one, and permitted in the other state. This difference arises out of the constitutions and laws of the two states, in the same manner as the difference in the rights of the citizens of these states to vote for representatives in congress arises out of the state laws and constitution. In Massachusetts every person of lawful age, and possessing property of any sort of the value of two hundred dollars, may vote for representatives to congress. In Virginia no person can vote for representatives to congress unless he be a freeholder. As the admission of a new state into the Union confers upon its citizens only the rights denominated federal, and as these are common to the citizens of all the states, as well as those in which slavery is prohibited, as of those in which it is allowed, it follows that the prohibition of slavery in Missouri will not impair the federal rights of its citizens, and that such prohibition is not restrained by the clause of the treaty which has been cited.

The remaining clause of the article is expressly confined to the period of the territorial government of Missouri, to the time between the first occupation of the country by the United States and its admission as a new state into the Union. Whatever may be its import, it has no reference nor application to the terms of the admission, or to the condition of Missouri after it shall have been admitted into the Union. The clause is but the common formula of treaties, by which inhabited territories are passed from one sovereign to another; its object is to secure such inhabitants the permanent or temporary enjoyment of their former liberties, property and religion; leaving to the new sovereign full power to make such regulations respecting the same as may be thought expedient, provided these regulations be not incompatible with the stipulated security.

What were the liberties under the French government, the enjoyment of which under ours called for protection, we are unable to explain; as the United

States have no power to prevent the free enjoyment of the Catholic religion, no stipulation against their interference to disturb it could be necessary; and the only part of the clause whose object can be readily understood is that relative to "property."

As all nations do not permit slavery, the term property, in its common and universal meaning, does not include or describe slaves. In treaties therefore between nations, and especially in those of the United States, whenever stipulations respecting slaves were to be made, the words, "negroes" or "slaves" have been employed, and the ommission of these words in this clause, increases the uncertainty whether, by the term property, *slaves* were intended to be included. But admitting that such was the intention of the parties, the stipulation is not only temporary, but extends no farther than to the property actually possessed by the inhabitants of Missouri when it was first occupied by the United States. Property since acquired by them, and property acquired or possessed by the new inhabitants of Missouri, has in each case been acquired under the laws of the United States, and not during and under the laws of the province of Louisiana. Should therefore the future introduction of slaves into Missouri be forbidden, the feelings of the citizens would soon become reconciled to their exclusion, and the inconsiderable number of slaves owned by the inhabitants at the date of the cession of Louisiana would be emancipated or sent for sale into states where slavery exists.

It is further objected, that the article of the act of admission into the Union, by which slavery should be excluded from Missouri, would be nugatory, as the new state, in virtue of the sovereignty, would be at liberty to revoke its consent, and annul the article by which slavery is excluded.

Such revocation would be contrary to the obligations of good faith, which enjoins the observance of our engagements; it would be repugnant to the principles on which government itself is founded; sovereignty in every lawful government is a limited power, and can do only what is lawful to do—sovereigns, like individuals, are bound by their engagements, and have no moral power to break them. Treaties between nations repose on this principle. If the new state can revoke and annul an article concluded between itself and the United States, by which slavery is excluded from it, it may revoke and annul any other article of the compact; it may for example annul the article respecting public lands, and in virtue of its sovereignty, assume the right to tax and to sell the lands of the United States.

There is yet a more satisfactory answer to this objection. The judicial power of the United States is co-extensive with their legislative power, and every question arising under the constitution or laws of the United States is cognizable by the judiciary thereof. Should the new state rescind any of the articles of compact contained in the act of admission into the Union, that for example by which slavery is excluded, and should pass a law authorizing slavery, the judiciary of the United States, on proper application, would immediately deliver from bondage, any person detained as a slave in said state. And in like manner in all instances affecting individuals, the judiciary might be employed to defeat every attempt to violate the constitution and laws of the United States.

If Congress possesses the power to exclude slavery from Missouri, it still remains to be shown that they ought to do so. The examination of this branch of the subject, for obvious reasons, is attended with peculiar difficulty, and cannot be made without passing over arguments which to some of us might appear to be decisive, but the use of which, in this place, would call up feelings, the influence of which would disturb, if not defeat, the impartial consideration of the subject.

Slavery unhappily exists within the United States. Enlightened men in the states where it is permitted, and every where, out of them, regret its existence among us, and seek for the means of limiting and of mitigating it. The first introduction of slaves is not imputable to the present generation, nor even to their ancestors. Before the year 1642, the trade and ports of the colonies were open to foreigners equally as those of the mother country, and as early as 1620, a few years only after the planting of the colony of Virginia, and the same year in which the first settlement was made in the old colony of Plymouth, a cargo of negroes was brought into, and sold as slaves in Virginia by a foreign ship.* From this beginning the importation of slaves was continued for nearly two centuries. To her honor, Virginia, while a colony, opposed the importation of slaves, and was the first state to prohibit the same, by a law passed for this purpose in 1778, thirty years before the general prohibition enacted by congress in 1808. The laws and customs of the states in which slavery has existed for so long a period, must have had their influence on the opinions and habits of the citizens, which ought not to be disregarded on the present occasion.

Omitting therefore the arguments which might be urged, and which by all of us might be deemed conclusive, were this an original question, the reasons which shall be offered in favor of the interposition of the power of congress to exclude slavery from Missouri, shall be only such as respect the common defence, the general welfare, and that wise administration of the government, which, as far as possible, may produce the impartial distribution of benefits and burdens throughout the Union.

By the articles of confederation the common treasury was to be supplied by the several states, according to the value of the lands, with the houses and improvements thereon, within the respective states. From the difficulty in making this valuation, the old congress were unable to apportion the requisitions for the supply of the general treasury, and were obliged to propose to the states an alteration of the articles of confederation, by which the whole number of free persons, with three-fifths of the slaves contained in the respective states, should become the rule of such apportionment of the taxes. A majority of the states approved of this alteration, but some of them disagreed to the same ; and for want of a practicable rule of apportionment, the whole of the requisitions of taxes made by congress during the revolutionary war, and afterwards, up to the establishment of the constitution of the United States, were merely provisional, and subject to the revision and correction as soon as such rules should be adopted. The several states were credited for their supplies, and

* Stith's *History of Virginia.*

charged for the advances made to them by congress ; but no settlement of their accounts could be made for the want of a rule of appointment, until the establishment of the constitution.

When the general convention that formed the constitution took this subject into their consideration, the whole question was once more examined, and while it was agreed that all contributions to the common treasury should be made according to the ability of the several states, to furnish the same, the old difficulty recurred in agreeing upon a rule whereby such ability should be ascertained, there being no simple standard by which the ability of individuals to pay taxes, can be ascertained. A diversity in the selection of taxes has been deemed requisite to their equalization : between communities, this difficulty is less considerable, and although the rule of relative numbers would not accurately measure the relative wealth of nations, in states, in the circumstances of the United States, whose institutions, laws and employments are so much alike, the rule of number is probably as nearly equal as any other simple and practical rule can be expected to be, (though between the old and new states its equity is defective,) these considerations, added to the approbation which had already been given to the rule, by a majority of the states, induced the convention to agree, that direct taxes should be apportioned among the states, according to the whole number of free persons, and three-fifths of the slaves which they might respectively contain.

The rule for the apportionment of taxes is not necessarily the most equitable rule for the apportionment of representatives among the states ; property must not be disregarded in the composition of the first rule, but frequently is overlooked in the establishment of the second. A rule which might be approved in respect to taxes, would be disapproved in respect to representatives : one individual possessing twice as much property as another, might be required to pay double the taxes of such other ; but no man has two votes to another's one ; rich or poor, each has but a single vote in the choice of representatives.

In the dispute between England and the colonies, the latter denied the right of the former to tax them, because they were not represented in the English parliament. They contended that according to the law of the land, taxation and representation were inseparable. The rule of taxation being agreed upon by the convention, it is possible that the maxim with which we successfully opposed the claim of England, may have had an influence in procuring the adoption of the same rule for the apportionment of representatives ; the true meaning, however, of this principle of the English constitution is, that a colony or district is not to be taxed which is not represented ; not that its number of representatives shall be ascertained by its quota of taxes. If three-fifths of the slaves are virtually represented, or their owners obtain a disproportionate power in legislation, and in the appointment of the President of the United States, why should not other property be virtually represented, and its owners obtain a like power in legislation, and the choice of the President? Property is not confined to slaves, but exists in houses, stores, ships, capital in trade, and manufactures. To secure to the owner of property in slaves greater political power than is allowed to the owners of other and equivalent property, seems to be contrary to

our theory of the equality of personal rights, inasmuch as the citizens of some states thereby become entitled to other and greater political power than the citizens of other states. The present House of Representatives consists of 181 members, which are apportioned among the states in a ratio of one representative for every thirty-five thousand federal numbers, which are ascertained by adding to the whole number of free persons, three-fifths of the slaves. According to the last census, the whole number of slaves within the United States was 1,191,364, which entitle the states possessing the same, to twenty representatives, and twenty presidential electors more than they would be entitled to, were the slaves excluded. By the last census, Virginia contained 582,104 free persons, and 392,518 slaves. In any of the states where slavery is excluded, 582,104 free persons would be entitled to elect only sixteen representatives; while in Virginia, 582,104 free persons, by the addition of three-fifths of her slaves, becomes entitled to elect, and do, in fact elect, twenty-three representatives, being seven additional ones on account of her slaves. Thus while 35,000 free persons are requisite to elect one representative in a state where slavery is prohibited, 25,559 free persons in Virginia may and do elect a representative—so that five free persons in Virginia have as much power in the choice of representatives to Congress, and in the appointment of presidential electors, as seven free persons in any of the states in which slavery does not exist.

This inequality in the appointment of representatives was not misunderstood at the adoption of the constitution; but as no one anticipated the fact that the whole of the revenue of the United States would be derived from indirect taxes (which cannot be supposed to spread themselves over the several states according to the rule for the apportionment of direct taxes), but it was believed that a part of the contribution to the common treasury would be apportioned among the states by the rule for the apportionment of representatives — the states in which slavery is prohibited, ultimately, though with reluctance, acquiesced in the disproportionate number of representatives and electors that was secured to the slave-holding states. The concession was, at the time, believed to be a great one, and has proved to have been the greatest which was made to secure the adoption of the constitution.

Great, however, as this concession was, it was definite, and its full extent was comprehended. It was a settlement between the original thirteen states. The considerations arising out of their actual condition, their past connection, and the obligation which all felt to promote a reformation in the federal government, were peculiar to the time and to the parties; and are not applicable to the new states which congress may now be willing to admit into the Union.

The equality of rights, which includes an equality of burdens, is a vital principle in our theory of government, and its jealous preservation is the best security of public and individual freedom; the departure from this principle in the disproportionate power and influence allowed to the slave-holding states, was a necessary sacrifice to the establishment of the constitution. The effect of this concession has been obvious in the preponderance which it has given to the slave-holding states, over the other states. Nevertheless, it is an ancient

settlement, and faith and honor stand pledged not to disturb it. But the extension of this disproportionate power to the new states would be unjust and odious. The states whose power would be abridged, and whose burdens would be increased by the measure, cannot be expected to consent to it; and we may hope that the other states are too magnanimous to insist on it.

The existence of slavery impairs the industry and the power of a nation; and it does so in proportion to the multiplication of its slaves. Where the manual labour of a country is performed by slaves, labour dishonours the hands of freemen.

If her labourers are slaves, Missouri may be able to pay money taxes, but will be unable to raise soldiers, or to recruit seamen, and experience seems to have proved that manufacturers do not prosper where the artificers are slaves. In case of foreign war, or domestic insurrection, misfortunes from which no states are exempt, and against which all should be reasonably prepared, slaves not only do not add to, but diminish the faculty of self-defence; instead of increasing the public strength, they lessen it, by the whole number of free persons, whose place they occupy, increased by the number of freemen that may be employed as guards over them.

The motives for the admission of new states into the Union are the extension of the principles of our free government, the equalizing of the public burdens, and the consolidation of the power of the confederated nation. Unless these objects be promoted by the admission of new states, no such admission can be expedient or justified.

The states in which slavery already exists are contiguous to each other; they are also the portion of the United States nearest to the European colonies in the West Indies; colonies whose future condition can hardly be regarded as problematical. If Missouri and the other states that may be formed to the west of the river Mississippi, are permitted to introduce and establish slavery, the repose, if not the security of the Union may be endangered; all the states south of the river Ohio and west of Pennsylvania and Delaware, will be peopled with slaves, and the establishment of new states west of the river Mississippi will serve to extend slavery instead of freedom over that boundless region.

Such increase of the states, whatever other interest it may promote, will be sure to add nothing to the security of the public liberties, and can hardly fail hereafter to require and produce a change in our government.

On the other hand, if slavery be excluded from Missouri, and the other new states which may be formed in this quarter, not only will the slave markets be broken up, and the principles of freedom be extended and strengthened, but an exposed and important frontier will present a barrier, which will check and keep back foreign assailants, who may be as brave, and, as we hope, will be as free as ourselves. Surrounded in this manner by connected bodies of freemen, the states where slavery is allowed will be made more secure against domestic insurrection, and less liable to be affected by what may take place in the neighboring colonies.

It ought not to be forgotten, that the first and main object of the negotiation which led to the acquisition of Louisiana, was the free navigation of the

Mississippi, a river that forms the sole passage from the western states to the ocean. This navigation, although of general benefit, has been always valued and desired, as of peculiar advantage to the western states; whose demands to obtain it, were neither equivocal nor unreasonable. But with the river Mississippi, by a sort of coercion, we acquired by good or ill fortune, as our future measures shall determine, the whole province of Louisiana. As this acquisition was made at the common expense, it is very fairly urged that the advantages to be derived from it should also be common. This it is said will not happen, if slavery be excluded from Missouri, as the citizens of states where slavery is permitted, will be shut out, and none but citizens of states where slavery is prohibited, can become inhabitants of Missouri.

But this consequence will not arise from the proposed exclusion of slavery. The citizens of states, in which slavery is allowed, like all other citizens, will be free to become inhabitants of the Missouri, in like manner as they have become inhabitants of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, in which slavery is forbidden. The exclusion of slaves from Missouri, will not therefore operate unequally among the citizens of the United States. The constitution provides "that the citizens of each state shall be entitled to enjoy all the rights and immunities of citizens of the several states"; every citizen may, therefore, remove from one to another state, and there enjoy the rights and immunities of its citizens. The proposed provision excludes slaves, not citizens, whose rights it will not, and cannot impair.

Besides, there is nothing new or peculiar in a provision for the exclusion of slavery; it has been established in the states north-west of the river Ohio, and has existed from the beginning in the old states where slavery is forbidden. The citizens of states where slavery is allowed, may become inhabitants of Missouri, but cannot hold slaves there, nor in any other state where slavery is prohibited. As well might the laws prohibiting slavery in the old states become the subject of complaint, as the proposed exclusion of slavery in Missouri; but there is no foundation for such complaint in either case. It is further urged, that the admission of slaves into Missouri would be limited to the slaves who are already within the United States; that their health and comfort would be promoted by their dispersion, and that their numbers would be the same whether they remain confined to the states where slavery exists, or are dispersed over the new states that may be admitted into the Union.

That none but domestic slaves would be introduced into Missouri, and the other new and frontier states, is most fully disproved by the thousands of fresh slaves, which, in violation of our laws, are annually imported into Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi.

We may renew our efforts, and enact new laws with heavier penalties, against the importation of slaves: the revenue cutters may more diligently watch our shores, and the naval force may be employed on the coast of Africa, and on the ocean, to break up the slave trade—but these means will not put an end to it; so long as markets are open for the purchase of slaves so long they will be supplied; and so long as we permit the existence of slavery in our new and frontier states, so long slave markets will exist. The plea of humanity is

equally inadmissible ; since no one who has ever witnessed the experiment, will believe, that the condition of slaves is made better by the breaking up, and separation of their families, nor by their removal from the old states to the new ones ; and the objection to the provision of the bill, excluding slavery from Missouri, is equally applicable to the like prohibitions of the old states : these should be revoked in order that the slaves now confined to certain states, may, for their health, and comfort, and multiplication, be spread over the whole Union.

That the condition of slaves within the United States has been improved, and the rigours of slavery mitigated, by the establishment and progress of our free governments, is a fact that imparts consolation to all who have taken pains to inquire concerning it. The disproportionate increase of free persons of colour, can be explained only by the supposition that the practice of emancipation is gaining ground ; a practice which there is reason to believe would become more general, if a plan could be devised by which the comfort and morals of the emancipated slaves could be satisfactorily provided for ; for it is not to be doubted that the public opinion everywhere, and especially in the oldest state of the Union, is less favorable than formerly to the existence of slavery. Generous and enlightened men in the states where slavery exists, have discovered much solicitude on the subject : a desire has been manifested that emancipation might be encouraged by the establishment of a place, or colony, without the United States, to which free persons of colour might be removed : and great efforts for that purpose are making, with a corresponding anxiety for their success. These persons, enlightened and humane as they are known to be, surely will be unwilling to promote the removal of the slaves from the old states, to the new ones ; where their comforts will not be multiplied, and where their fetters may be riveted forever.

Slavery cannot exist in Missouri without the consent of Congress ; the question may therefore be considered, in certain lights, as a new one, it being the first instance in which an inquiry respecting slavery, in a case so free from the influence of the ancient laws, and usages, and manners of the country, has come before the Senate.

The territory of Missouri is beyond our ancient limits, and the inquiry whether slavery shall exist there, is open to many of the arguments that might be employed, had slavery never existed within the United States. It is a question of no ordinary importance. Freedom and slavery are the parties which stand this day before the Senate : and upon its decision the empire of the one or the other will be established in the new state which we are about to admit into the Union.

If slavery by permitted in Missouri, with the climate, and soil, and in the circumstance of this territory, what hope can be entertained that it will ever be prohibited in any of the new states that will be formed of the immense region west of the Mississippi? Will the co-extensive establishment of slavery and of new states throughout this region, lessen the danger of domestic insurrection, or of foreign aggression? Will this manner of executing the great trust of admitting new states into the Union, contribute to assimilate our

manners and usages, to increase our mutual affection and confidence, and to establish that equality of benefits and burdens which constitutes the true basis of our strength and union? Will the militia of the nation, which must furnish our soldiers and seamen, increase as slaves increase? Will the actual disproportion in the military service of the nation, be thereby diminished? a disproportion that will be, as it has been, readily borne, as between the original states, because it arises out of their compact of union, but which may become a badge of inferiority, if required for the protection of those who being free to choose, persist in the establishment of maxims, the inevitable effect of which, will deprive them of the power to contribute to the common defence, and even of the ability to protect themselves. There are limits within which our federal system must stop; no one has supposed that it could be indefinitely extended — we are now about to pass our original boundary; if this can be done without affecting the principles of our free governments, it can be accomplished only by the most vigilant attention to plant, cherish and sustain the principles of liberty in the new states that may be formed beyond our ancient limits: with our utmost caution in this respect, it may be justly apprehended that the general government must be made stronger as we become more extended.

But, if instead of freedom, slavery is to prevail and spread, as we extend our dominion, can any reflecting man fail to see the necessity of giving to the general government, greater powers to enable it to afford the protection that will be demanded of it; powers that will be difficult to control, and which may prove fatal to the public liberties?

APPENDIX V.

ON THE MOTION OF MR. MILLS, THAT THE SEVERAL AMENDMENTS BEFORE THE SENATE, RESPECTING THE ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, BE INDEFINITELY POSTPONED.

In Senate, March 18, 1824.

Mr. KING, of New York, observed, that the excitement respecting the next election, had become such among the people, and in Congress, who had been, for the two last years, much occupied about it, that the sober and impartial examination of the very important subject of amendments of the Constitution, cannot be now expected. The amendments should, therefore, be postponed to a period when the Senate may hope for a more temperate and rational examination of them than at the present time can take place.

Without entering into any examination of the proposed amendments, he should vote for their postponement, not only for the reasons which he had assigned, but for another, and, as he thought, a still more important consideration; in referring to which, he must request that he might not be supposed in want of respect for, or to claim authority over, the opinions of any member of the Senate.

We all stand here as equals, and it was for this cause, after the expression of his deference to the rights of others, he hoped, without offence, that he might exercise his own rights. He should, therefore, proceed, after touching on certain fundamental provisions of the Constitution, or bond of union, of the United States, constituting what he called the true balance of power to our political system, to draw the attention of the Senate to a new, extraordinary, self-created, central power, stronger than the power of the Constitution, which has risen up, at the seat of government ; a power which *has assumed* the direction and control of the fundamental provisions of the Constitution, relative to the election of the President. In attempting to reform the Constitution, it is not only necessary correctly to understand its established and well-considered regulations, but to make inquiry concerning the manner in which these regulations have been observed, and the advantages or disadvantages which are found by experience to proceed from the observance of or departure from the established provisions of the compact, by which, under the guarantee of all to each, the States expected to remain separate, co-equal and sovereign republics.

It is, therefore, expedient, on a motion for the indefinite postponement of the proposed amendments of the Constitution, in whatever light we may have hitherto regarded them, to allude to, to designate, and call upon the Senate to examine, the nature, tendency and danger, of this new and extraordinary power, which has risen up and established itself, at the very Seat of Government ; which has already assumed authority unknown to the Constitution, and threatens to overturn the balance of power—proceeding from its division and distribution between the States and United States.

We all know that the Constitution of the United States is the fundamental act of the union of the States, defining the power yielded by each state to the United States, establishing the reciprocal rights and duties of the states and of the United States, and, in respect to the latter, determining the manner in which their authority shall be exercised.

The authority of the United States is divided into three great departments, and the manner of appointing the members of each department is equally fundamental as their division, and necessarily excludes every other manner of division or appointment.

The dangers to which experience had shewn that the election of Executive Chiefs are liable ; dangers which had led other nations to prefer hereditary to elective Executives, were, without doubt, well considered by the members of the general Convention, who, nevertheless, did indulge the hope, by apportioning, limiting and confining the electors within their respective states, and by the guarded manner of giving and transmitting the ballots of the electors to the seat of government, that intrigue, combination, and corruption, would be effectually shut out, and a free and pure election of the President of the United States made perpetual.

At an early day, however, and on the first and only difficulty which has ever occurred in the manner of electing the President, an alteration of the constitution was made by the states. This alteration, which now forms the Constitution upon the subject, while it may prevent what, at the moment, was believed by a

majority of the states to be a mischief, which was feared only, as it never happened, has unfortunately left the United States unprotected against present and future evils of greater magnitude, against which the primitive provision would have proved an adequate security.

The excitement of that period, proceeding from causes not likely again to have happened, admonishes us against future alterations at periods of agitation, and dissuades from proposing further alteration at this time.

Here follows a statement of the existing provisions by which the President and Vice-President shall be elected, especial attention being directed to the clause which requires that the Electors "*shall meet in their respective states*, and vote by ballot," &c., &c.

Such are the actual provisions of the Constitution respecting the election of the President. The Constitution itself, as we are informed by the report of the Convention, to the old Congress, was the result of a spirit of amity and of mutual deference and concession — greater powers were surrendered to the United States by the large states than by the small ones, because their numbers and resources were greater.

The House of Representatives is composed on the basis of the numbers of the respective states, the small states here yielding to the large ones, and the Senate is composed on the basis of the equality of states, the large states here, in turn, deferring to the small ones. The Executive is chosen by neither rule, but by the influence of both rules united; it is well known that the small states would not have consented to the choice by electors, a mode favorable to the large states, but upon the consent of the large states, on the failure of the choice of the President by the electors *on the first trial*, that the House of Representatives voting by states, the representation from each state having one vote, shall choose the President, not from those they deem the most worthy, but from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for by the electors, thereby restricting the choice of the House of Representatives to the three highest candidates nominated by the large states. To this adjustment, which was brought about by compromise between the states, no objections were made at the period when the Constitution was afterwards under the discussion of the several states. Though great difficulties occurred in the debates of the State Conventions on other portions of the Constitution of the United States, no opposition appeared to the provisions of the Constitution respecting the manner of electing the President — and no such objection occurred until the fourth election of the President, which was made by the House of Representatives; since that period, five presidential elections have taken place, and, in eight of the nine elections, the President has been chosen by the electors; the fourth election is the only instance in which, the President not being chosen by the electors, the election devolved on the House of Representatives. The compromise, on the subject of the presidential election, which has been always *binding in honor* and good faith, seems of late to have been forgotten; and dissatisfaction and complaint have appeared at the Seat of Government in Virginia,

New York, and other states, that the influence of the great states was unreasonably impaired by the provision of the Constitution, that, after the failure to choose the President by the Electors, the election should devolve upon the House of Representatives, although the House of Representatives is restricted to the choice of the President from three Candidates, nominated by the Electors, a majority of whom are appointed by the large states. Hence it has happened, from year to year, that attempts have been made by certain states to alter the Constitution on the subject of the Presidential election, notwithstanding this election is matter of compromise and compact between the states, without which, no constitution or union could have been formed. Hitherto these attempts have all failed, and, since the addition of so many new states, the probability of any alteration of the Constitution is much diminished; but, while the chance of any regular alteration is lessened, the dangers of the Constitution are much increased. The formidable central power, which has appeared at the seat of government, which is neither deputed from, nor apportioned by any established rule among the states, but proceeding from a self created body, unknown to the Constitution — a body which acknowledges no law founded upon common and equal rights, knows no superior, and which reaches, and is systematically combined with affiliated bodies at the seats of government of the great states — a body that already constitutes a power, greater than the power of the provisions of the Constitution, and assuming the right to nominate the President of the United States, expects, by the assistance and increase of their distant associates, and the discipline and popularity of their leaders, to elect the President in violation of the manner prescribed and established by the Constitution.

The *central power* at the seat of government is at present composed of a select number of the members of Congress who, from their official station, have access to, and intercourse with, the foreign ambassadors, as, likewise, with the great officers of the government, and, by aid of the Post Office, and the public Press, communicate with their associates throughout the country. Such a body are capable of having, and actually do possess, great influence in every part of the Union. They are under no restrictions as to the number and condition or residence of their members; the Judges of the Supreme Court, should they consent, may be added to this central junto, an addition which would increase their respectability and influence; they might proceed further, and the Heads of the Executive Departments might be requested to become members of the central junto; should they also unite with them, their influence would be still further increased. Should perilous times occur, and men of unchastened ambition become the President and Vice President of the United States, they would employ this central power to fill the two Houses of Congress with their favorites, and, by their co-operation with the Governors and popular clubs at the seats of the state governments, be able to effect in our own free country changes which might utterly subvert our beautiful scheme of government. Should this central power, extending to all portions of the Union, be able, by the co-operation of its associates, to discredit and supersede the separate powers of the states in the choice of President, it would afterwards find less difficulty in effecting the consolidation of the Executive power of the United States, which, by the

Constitution, proceeds from, rests upon and is bound to defend, the separate authority of the respective states. This done, the reform will not stop at the consolidation of the Executive power of the United States, ruinous as that measure may prove; but will extend to the legislative department, and, difficult as the attempt may seem, endeavor to abolish the equality of the states in the Senate. This alteration may, in the commencement, be a mere recommendation, like the *congé d'élire* or nomination of the President by the central power at the seat of government; but, recommendations often repeated, will, in time, become imperative commands, and to this end it will be urged that, by these means, our plan of government will become more economical, more simple, more magnificent, and less liable to change from occasional popular excitement. We may have one Chief Magistrate, instead of 25 — one Legislature of 300 members, instead of 25 legislatures of three or four thousand members — one Judiciary, instead of a thousand, supported by lawyers, whose numbers would form an army — and instead of an irregular choice of the President by the present mode, we may have one unbroken succession of Presidents, from a consistent and perpetual body, whose plans of policy and pretensions to power had been settled by uninterrupted and secret deliberations.

These changes may not occur, and our best security that they will not, depends upon the patient, firm, and constant adherence to the provisions of the Constitution. The compact between the states has already received the sanction of one generation; the alteration which it suffered, during this period, may, perhaps, by common consent, hereafter be itself altered, and the Constitution restored to its primitive form; the changes which happened in the government of Holland, in the Italian Republics, and the progressive steps by which elective magistrates have elsewhere become hereditary, should induce us to adhere with decision and fidelity to the checks and securities which our Constitution has provided for the preservation of our representative system of government, balanced as it is by the division of power between states, unequal in territory, numbers, and wealth, and between them and the United States.

The successful attempts to alter the Constitution, originating in most instances in the belief, that the proposed amendments would be positive improvements, although they have failed, have, nevertheless, not only disturbed the repose of Congress, but weakened the stability of the Constitution.

While the subject was under debate in the general and state conventions, every article and provision thereof was open to free examination. In those discussions difficult questions arose upon the division of the powers between the states, and between them and the United States; and particularly in determining the manner in which the powers of the last should be exercised. On this subject, the journals of the General Convention show that the deputies from the great states desired an influence proportionate to their greater numbers and resources; while those from the small states shewed an equal or greater solicitude to preserve, as far as possible, the influence of equal sovereigns, which they enjoyed under the confederation, and in fact possessed in the formation of the Constitution itself. The Constitution, therefore, ought to be regarded as a compact expressive of the liberality and prudent policy of the states, and its

apparent inequalities constitute a peculiar system of balances, derived from permanent natural differences among the states, which is believed to be superior to any artificial establishment or political charter, heretofore devised. The unceasing struggle between the natural superiority of the great states, and the self love and spirit of equality of the small states, (which will endure so long as their freedom shall exist) constitutes an equipoise of unceasing efficacy in the maintenance and preservation of our political system. This system is able to maintain and preserve our envied freedom, if it fortunately has influence sufficient to create in the hearts of the citizens of the United States that affection and fidelity without which no plans of freedom ever have succeeded, or can succeed.

It is demanded that any member of the Senate would point out an article or clause of the Constitution which authorizes, or gives the slightest encouragement to, measures of any sort, by which a concentration of the votes for the President may be effected, previously to the choice of electors in the several states. If no such authority can be shown, and Mr. K. said that, in his opinion, none could be pointed out, it may be fairly inferred, from the provisions of the Constitution, and the power of Congress to give effect to those provisions, respecting the times of appointing the electors, the time, manner and places where, they must assemble and give their votes, *within their respective states*, not only that no such authority exists, but the precise and definite regulations which restrict and confine, within the respective states, the initiatory process in the election of the President, exclude every other and different manner of beginning the election, and, connected with the prohibition of Members of Congress and persons holding offices under the United States from becoming electors, demonstrate the illegality and dangerous tendency of a central power, at the seat of the general government, combining to nominate the President of the United States, eight months before his election. Members of Congress belonging to this central power, and, moreover, possessing great talents, learning and experience, will obtain an influence with the executive departments which must impair the just influence of others, not possessing the same authority. With these discriminations, such members, received with distinction by foreign ambassadors, and necessarily holding, under circumstances of favor, intercourse with the chief officers of the government, will form connections, and establish regular intercourse with persons of like talents and learning in the several states, and, in a special manner, at the seats of government of the principal states — these distinguished men becoming the *Illuminati* of our country, and being regulated by a sort of freemasonry, the sign and pass word of which will, at once, place the initiated in full confidence and communion with each other, in all parts of the Union. Such combinations secure to the members of the central power influence and advantages in the making of laws, as well as in the procuring of appointments of every sort, and, above all, in promoting the election of such candidate for the Presidency as they may select and nominate. The members of the central power will, under such circumstances, devote more of their time, during the sessions immediately preceding an election, in arranging, combining, and extending the means to effect the election of their candidate, than will be

bestowed on the ordinary and regular business of Congress; and, instead of doing the business that they were deputed to perform, they will be engaged in other duties which interfere with them.

The course of events, during the last winter, may have already led near observers to suspect a connection existing between a central power of this description, at the seat of the general government, and the legislatures of Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia and New York, and perhaps of other states.

It is supposing men to be blind to the influence and results of former examples of this nature, that have appeared in other times and countries, to believe that individuals, distinguished by talents and experience, aided by skilful associates, especially at the seats of the state governments, will be easily defeated, or be likely to fail in the accomplishment of their purpose.

Rome, in former times, was the seat of a great central power, which reached to her remotest provinces, and the life, liberty and property of the citizens were every where held at the mercy of this power. Paris, in our own time, has also been the seat of a great central power, which extended over all parts of France, and, acting upon the people in all their towns and villages, punished opposition to its mandates, and whatsoever were deemed errors in political opinion, with confiscation of property, and loss of life.

These remarks are not to be answered by a reference to the practice of the State Legislatures. Conferences and meetings among the members of those local bodies, to agree upon measures in reference to state policy, are not liable to the same objections. Their influence is less powerful, and they operate within more limited spheres, and the members are more responsible for their political acts, as well by the greater frequency of state elections, as by the scene of their political operations being nearer to the supervision and inspection of their constituents. Neither are there the same constitutional objections arising from the inequalities of the states and from our federative and balanced system of government.

It was to protect the people of the states from this great central power that, instead of concentrating power in one place, the Constitution has provided for the division and distribution of it throughout and among the states. By adhering to this division and distribution of power, though we find our government less simple, more expensive and less magnificent, we may rationally hope to preserve our political integrity, and to perpetuate our liberties.

There are apparent defects in our Constitution. We have nevertheless, increased and prospered under it. If these defects were cured, the very means which should effect the cure may introduce, as has happened, other and greater defects, especially when these alterations are made in the midst of political excitement, and without opportunity of regarding all the evils connected with the remedial amendments.

All that is the work of man, is like him, imperfect. We probably enjoy a greater portion of freedom and happiness than falls to the lot of other nations; and, because we desire yet more, we must be careful not to lose what we have, by hasty and partial alterations in our plan of government. He would, therefore, prefer to adhere, for the present, to the Constitution as it is, in hopes that

adequate means may be devised to suppress this great and alarming central power, which is now oppressing the Constitution itself, by controlling and uperseding its wise and well considered provisions.

APPENDIX VI.

Mr. T. H. Benton, referring to the retirement of Mr. King from the Senate in 1825, after a warm commendation for his conduct in the War of 1812, writes:

"Like Mr Macon & John Taylor of N. C. Mr King had his individuality of character manners and dress, but of different types; they of plain country gentlemen, and he a high model of courtly refinement He always appeared in the Senate in full dress; short clothes, silk stockings and shoes, and was habitually observant of all the courtesies of life. His colleague in the Senate during the chief time that I saw him there was Mr Van Buren: and it was singular to see a great State represented in the Senate at the same time, by the chiefs of opposite political parties; Mr Van Buren was much the younger and it was delightful to behold the deferential regard which he paid to his older colleague always returned with marked kindness and respect.

"I felt it to be a privilege to serve in the Senate with three such Senators as Mr King Mr Macon and Mr John Taylor of North Carolina and was anxious to improve such an opportunity as a means of benefit to myself. . . . With Mr King it required a little system of advance on my part, which I had time to make, and which the urbanity of his manner rendered easy. He became kind to me; readily supplied me with information from his own vast stores, allowed me to consult him and assisted me in the business of the State (of whose admission he had been the great opponent) whenever I could satisfy him it was right —even down to the small bills which were entirely local or merely individual.

"More, he gave me a proof of real regard and in that most difficult of all friendly offices — admonition, counselling against a fault; one instance of which was so marked and so agreeable to me (reproof as it was) that I immediately wrote down the very words of it in a letter to Mrs Benton and now copy it both to do honor to an aged Senator who could thus act a '*father's*' part toward a young one and because I am proud of the words he used to me. The letter says 'Yesterday (May 20th 1824) we carried $70,000 for improving the navigation of the Mississippi and the Ohio; I made a good speech but no part of it will be published. I spoke *in reply* and with force and animation. When it was over Mr King of N. Y. came and sat down in a chair by me and took hold of my hand and said 'he would speak to me as a father — that I had great powers, and that he felt a sincere pleasure in seeing me advance and rise in the world, and that he would take the liberty of warning me against an effect of my temperament when heated by opposition; that under these circumstances I took an authoritative manner and a look and tone of defiance which sat ill upon the older members; and advised me to moderate my manner.' This was real friendship, enhanced by the kindness of manner, and had its effect. I suppressed that speech through compliment to him, and have studied moderation ever since.

"In one of our conversations, and upon the formation of the constitution of 1787, he said some things to me, which I think ought to be remembered by future generations to enable them to appreciate justly those founders of our government who were in favor of a stronger organization than was adopted. He said 'You young men who have been born since the Revolution look with horror upon the name of a king and upon all propositions for a strong government. It was not so with us who were born subjects of a King and were accustomed to subscribe ourselves "His Majesty's most faithful subjects"; and we began the quarrel which ended in the Revolution not against the King but against his parliament; and in making this new government many propositions were submitted which would not bear discussion and ought not to be quoted against their authors, being offered for consideration and to bring out opinions, and which though behind the opinions of this day were in advance of those of that day. These things were said chiefly in relation to General Hamilton, who had submitted propositions stronger than those adopted, but nothing like those which Party Spirit attributed to him.'"

APPENDIX VII.

The King Mansion, which is represented in the frontispiece to this volume, was built in the last century, but was much enlarged by Mr. King after he removed to it in 1806. An account of it and its surroundings was written by his son, Charles King, and published in *Homes of American Statesmen*, in 1869, p. 355, with an interesting sketch of his father's life and work. It omits, however, to mention the noble horse-chestnut trees on each side of it, which were large trees at the time it became the residence of Mr. King, and still in perfect health adorn it. The red oak, whose acorn was planted by Mr. King in 1810, is in perfect condition and now a splendid tree.

It having become necessary to dispose of the property some two years back, the authorities of the town of Jamaica, sustained by a vote of the people, bought the ground, about ten acres, in the middle of which stands the house with its fine trees and shrubbery, for a public park, to be called "King Park," and kept as such. Since the consolidation of Jamaica with New York, the Park Commission have decided that "the colonial dwelling should be preserved as a typical Long Island homestead of the most dignified class," the older portion certainly dating back to colonial times.

Three generations of the King family have dwelt in this house,

and cared for it and its surroundings, and now it will be protected as a memorial of Rufus King, by those who know and appreciate his eminent services to his country, and of his eldest son, John Alsop King, and his family.

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